A quarter century in Germany

I ~~knew~~ saw Germany in 1894 ~~England~~ & 1926. In 1894 I knew well in 2 small towns in country land in many cities in many towns & hamlets. In 1926 I flew by germany here & there. What I saw has little scientific validity but it gave an instant of fantastic human meaning. I set it down for what it was worth.

And first of all comes the domination of Berlin, Germany of ~~1926~~ 1894 (Some Prussians & Conservatives) resented Berlin & laughed at its pretensions. It had no art and Dresden, Munich and Leipzig Vienna laughed Leipzig. But in 1926 in fact some Leipzig Vienna seemed & felt lonely & half foreign in its more ambitious modernity (Antagen) cried up Berlin ~~was the~~ as the "Great City"

I understood as I came to Berlin. Berlin is in many ways the greatest city of the world ~~The Tiergarten~~ as a park is far ahead of Central Park & ~~Queen~~ & in many ways of the Bois de Boulogne & Berlin is behind Paris & London in Theatres, Greater ~~Berlin~~ in well built houses & ~~streets~~ slums, well ~~slums~~, good boulevards, ~~Unter den Linden~~ and ~~Friedrich Strasse~~ centering a vast bustling business & industrial

3/1 - 5 - 17

Simplicissimus It is a caricature of this drama the genius art & mastery of a mighty land — its art museums its public squares, its statues, its anniversary of 1 great, ~~academy lectures & [illegible] Its ancient~~ Trend ~~spell~~ But it is a city currently charged by B. was a city of army officers faultlessly clothed arrogant wooden; of fragments — suddenly attention as their Brandenburg The times of Wilhelm von Gottes Gnaden, king; Of hof celebrations much grand ~~ceremonies~~ & soldiers — soldiers, soldiers. To day no officers and few soldiers. Orderliness are of middle class, all- ~~clothed~~ ~~awkward~~ people. Every sign of economic disorder ~~ceased~~ as ended: gone are dance halls & night & exhausted army — ~~17 [illegible] to London~~

There are new references & calmness; "No more war for us" and a man servant — "we are not afraid — the next never [illegible] — the [illegible] — and no more war" Other attitudes — The calmness of those who cooked at the Kaisers desk where Army of 1911 "at 5 o'clock, he declared war was ~~ended~~. Berlin — germany craves the [illegible] pageantry. Cf. ~~[illegible]~~ Compare Wilhelms wealthy with The Italian King & the celebration of the Republics birthday: — the other soldiers & few officers: The black-coated [illegible] von Hindenburg, ~~[illegible]~~, almost no uniforms; the rain,

Yet it is a foreign land first. In these hints

of, crowd English unemployed demands. Today German industry is tremendous. Cinema in 1923 a small, broken, conventional German town with a river, a town hall (one hall & c) now crowd movie factories, the Warburg Commercebank — The old ~~[illegible]~~ dividing the new opera house — hotels & cafes a Cafe Kranz, a grand Russian restaurant — factories — The old Alster "Kaufmannische geschäfts" The grand Rhein — Ruhr — Rhine — Rise — the Rhine — its empty docks — Chimneys where once the above Ruhr — Cranes [illegible] & yet the ruins & wells, Not what it was a decayed [illegible] or sad [illegible]. Dancing, homeless legality — Nothing settled — unpossessed — Colours — one must have Colours

The German Women — The frigid in dresses [illegible] & arresting — the beautiful actresses & Prostitutes — Friedrichstrasse — stock girls & chorus crowd. Kinder Kirche & Küche of any day

Ideals — In Potsdam palace — the women demanding the Kaiser & his gang

Communists & the real ruler
quiet & behind today is big business
— the great Deutsche Bank — dissolved
indirectly. It wants, Republic or restored
& absolute Empire — it rules

Members like Bingster — a Delbrück, Bergedorf
& Hansen

Currently name the broken Change

Vorwärts = Ebert Gradual concentration
from democratic

Vossische = Ebert and of Hamburg — from
Rosenberg & Hades circle

Allgemeine Zeitung and Der Offizier &
Reserve Jokes

Both the stage names are
Nadel form
" Kaiserling " & Parvus
The new work with this
Clausewitz name description

The Kriegsrat.

The whole new Cabinet — Wallenstein plan
The new ruling — Conductor & old reactionaries
The

31-2-18

"Kleines Stübchen" in Droom. The dessert
for the [illegible] breakfast together - dinner
& supper then & meals together in strictly
unity. The rule of work-room reads
Sauf dich voll
Friss dich dick
Halt dein Maul
von Politik

The French French of Arrangements —
The Marching Order - The Parliament army
The King the King the King — (King & Court)
Siegen allee - War & Victorious Warriors
& the Good man the biggest common —
& now! The terrible Völkerschlacht
Denkmal in Leipzig finished in 1913!

Confirmation Classes & Trials of Lotting
& allotting Rem & Re Refractories - remembering
the beautiful days with Re Karen

Dust — The brother who has found his
Mother & wife. The old Germanic rules
& the Social Democrats of my day. Today
the dream of Democrats, Republican Socialists &

Die Workmyrmis homes

Tea garden

Die Mausoleum at Charlottenburg & its family
legat

Palaces as museums & showplaces

Die New Think gelid & 10%

Actorial & sweets - ice cream & cuckes

Die Paris glasses of 12. Frauenkirch Hof

Berlin: Where Goethe was born
Die old wooden houses & Jewish ghetto
Die Rathaus - Einstein & Carnal Otto's Scientific

Köln: Cathedral & Nordsternsee Orte the

in Seville

Thumper - Warburg bank

Lecking - shrunk from its clothes

begging & refused

Universities in Berlin

High taxes - high rent

more than legno work 1200 marks a month

unemployment benefit

31-2-19

A Quarter Century in Germany

Kaiser
Hoch-Adel
Palaces
Statues
Officers
Luxury cars
Wealth
Theatres
Kings
Prostitutes
Factories
Stores & Shops
Cafes & Cakes
Women's hair
Silences
Economic classes
Berlin Growth
Leipzig
Newspapers
Vorwärts
Fl. Blätter
Vossische
Celebrations
Siege-mark

The great City (Leipzig)
Force & Victory
Change
Audiences — Hoch Adel
Officers
Luxury cars — Frankfurt
Prostitutes
Reviews
Silences
Palaces — Desk
Newspapers
Celebrations — Kaiser & Soldiers
Industry
Eisenach
Made in Germany
Maps & guides
Colonies
Women
Prostitutes
Dance
Music
Hair
K K K
Rulers
Kingship & Republic
Monument of Volkerschlacht
"auch mit die Mutter"

There is trouble brewing in Germany
15 million people stand & be counted
against King & Parliament in a fixed
election where every treason & slay
and torture was used — Does you want
Revolution — Do you want the Russian
Armed-Force. Von Hindenburg warned us.

Kaiser William & Viking Command
the Land Army & Kaiser the dominated
of a Corps Armée

All schools, all courts, all
ambassadors in touch by Monarchists
Schools do not teach republics —
Courts have changed, Ambassadors did
not celebrate republic

Germany, 1894--1926

I saw Germany in 1894 and in 1926. In 1894 I knew it well for two full years, in every part, in many cities, in many homes and hearts. In 1926 I flew by, glancing here and there. I saw but little and yet I had a fleeting basis of comparison. I set it down for what it is worth.

First of all comes the domination of Berlin. Germany, in 1924, as a whole resented Berlin and laughed at its pretentions. Berlin had no "Gemueth," said Muenchen. It had no ~~are~~ art, said Dresden. It had no industry or learning, said Leipsig. In 1926 Leipsig ~~fought~~ fitting loosely and half forlornly in its ambitions boulevards, Muenchen ~~seems~~ almost silent, Dresden ~~is~~ for off the main road ~~and~~ all look to Berlin ~~is a~~ as the great city.

34-2-30

When I came to Berlin, I understood that in some respects Berlin is the greatest city in the world—not, of course, in all. Its park, the Tiergarten, is a real forest set in the city, and unique among parks. Not even the Bois de Boulogne compares with it as a magnificent forest. In theaters ~~it~~ Berlin lags behind Paris and London. In well-built homes and absence of slums it is far ahead of them. It has four millions of people and is the center of vast banking and industrial interests. It is a real capital and has drawn unto itself the genius, art and wealth of a mighty land. Its art museums, its public squares, its university, (grown in housing and numbers beyond my ken,) all show its power. As a city, in these years, it has curiously changed in detail. My Berlin was a city of army officers, faultless in uniform and arrogant; a city of almost daily pageants, that pranced and caroled ghrough the Brandenburg Gate and brought the world to sudden salute before William, by the Grace of God. Everywhere were soldiers, soldiers, soldiers. Today there are almost no visible officers and only soldiers now and then; ~~and~~ the high nobility is curiously absent and the streets are filled with a middle class of indifferently clothed people. There is everywhere sign of economic revolution: dance halls, extravagance, luxury, ~~new~~ never rich, ~~new~~ now poor.

"No more war for us," said one railway porter. "We were not afraid. We were never beaten. We were starved; but no more war!" ~~Every~~ Elsewhere one senses other attitudes. I stood with a group of Germans in the palace and had pointed out the Kaiser's desk "where on August 4, 1911, at five o'clock" war was declared. There was silence all about me, neither word nor whisper; and I remembered how, in that other day, I saw the King of Italy in Berlin celebrating with ~~Rome~~ William the Magnificent, the renewal of the Triple Alliance. Berlin, without doubt, grieves its lost pageantry. The celebration of the birthday of the Republic was a tame and sombre thing in rain and mist. Compared with the gorgeous past, the black garbed president, Von Hindenburg, seemed almost in mourning.

34-2-31

Germany is a powerful land and one sees coming back the source of its power. Today German industry is tremendous. Eisnach, with its ~~gardens~~ guardian Wartburg, where Luther hid, was a small, conventional German town in 1914, lovely and sleepy. It is now alive with factories and splashes with new commercial squares, hotels, and parks ~~and carlines~~. I remember the old Ober-Pfarrer. He complained of the conversation on the street "Lauter Geshaeft" ("only business") What would he say now, if he saw not only his busy Eisnach, but the transformation of the Rhine itself; ~~with~~ its wide flat swift-moving ~~stream~~ steamers beneath the rocks of the Lorelei; and, ~~at last~~ alas! the Lorelei themselves tunneled!

Germany is not what it was before the War or what it dreamed it would be, after; but it is far more powerful than in other days. It has grown to be a world-power despite defeat. ~~The~~ Some weight of the change has fallen upon German women. They are fighting ~~in the first place toward bobbing their hair, but on the other hand~~ today for bobbed hair; they are pouring into the music halls and dance places; and the "kinder, kirche, kueche", (children, church, kitchen) of a generation ago have been replaced today by many things. Yet the old Germany sits stark and not altogether moved. I sit, a once broad ~~great~~ facade of the

the other day fifteen millions of ~~them~~ workers against every known method of social pressure came out and openly voted to deprive the former Emperor of the millions of dollars worth of property which he is claiming. The schools, the courts, the embassies are in the hands of the monarchists and are teaching and spreading autocracy, but the people in Germany are meeting and marching and upholding the republic. There will be a ~~the~~ time in Germany when these forces clash and the most of the working people in Germany, bewildered by their new power, ~~are~~ divided from right to left into republicans, socialists and communists, ~~and~~ are looking across the eastern boundary continually to Russia. It is Russia that is holding up the hands of Republican Germany.

Meantime in Germany life lingers. One sees bicycles and horses, and also ~~But also there is~~ the cinema and the musical review; curiously enough the conditorei with its chocolate ~~instead of~~ is almost replacing the restaurant with its beer and cheese.

great Potsdam palace and the ~~men~~ women beside me were bewailing the exiled Emperor and his "Ganz Kleines steubchen" ("poor little chamber") ~~in~~ Doorn, doubtless there are numbers who associate all present misfortune in Germany with the ~~dispense~~ absence of the Empire; who look with amazement upon the divorce of the social power and wealth; and to whom ~~the home and~~ the vote of ~~xxxx~~ workingmen ~~as~~ as a huge and terrible joke. I remembered the delicious ~~brewery~~ beer hall motto:

"Sauf dich voll,

Fris dich dick,

Halt dein maul von politik."

(Drink yourself full,

Eat yourself thick,

Hold your jaw from politics.)

There is still in Berlin and Germany the terrible silent ~~power~~ propaganda of the monuments; the marching of soldiers, the victorious armies, the King, the Emperor, ~~King~~, the King! There is that astonishing ~~"seiges alee"~~ Sieges Allee where king after king of the rather stupid line of Hohenzollern standsout in magnificent marble with people like Emanuel Kant in the back ground. Nothing indeed ~~has~~ stirred me more than that terrible Battle of the ~~nation's~~ nations monument in Leipsig, ~~of~~ a mountain ~~statue~~ to commemmorate the overthrow of Napoleon in 1813, finish~~ing~~ed only ~~it~~ in 1913 and embellished with every device ~~emblem~~ of the artist to show that God is ~~always~~ with the victorious armies and that a soldiers death is Sacrificed to Civilization! All this in 1913; and in 1914, the world fell.

~~But~~ On the other hand, and this is ju st as remarkable and in its way quite as magnificent, the workingmen in Germany today is the political master. In the days before the war, ~~Berlin used the~~ old gerrymander ~~system of voting which~~ deprived the Social democrats of their political power. Today the people, the workingmen, hold the political power of Germany. Against them is tremendous economic and social power gathering in force and boldness and secret alliance in England and France and America. And yet

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44-2-127

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44-2-39

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women beside me were bewailing the exiled Emperor and his "ganz kleines steubchen" ("poor little chamber") in Doorn. There are doubtless numbers who associate all present misfortune in Germany with the disappearance of the Empire; who look with amazement upon the divorce of the social power and wealth; and to whom the vote of workingmen is a huge and terrible joke. I remembered the delicious beer hall motto:

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44-2-430

44-2-42

1926 (?)

THE RADICAL

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

In theory, the radical is the "root and branch man"; the social philosopher, who believes that things as arranged at present are so fundamentally wrong, that they must be either distroyed root and branch, or so entirely changed as to make a really new world. Now in truth, there are few people that really desire as much as this, who are really absolutely radical. What we in reality denominate as radical is the program of the man who proposes to make a fundamental change in our own lives. Radicalism which does not affect us personally in this way is a thing that does not greatly concern us, except as a matter of curious speculation or smiling comment. A radical change in the conception of the forces of the universe by an Einstein, does not even interest most people; it calls for no new laws or new arrangements of police power; but, on the other hand, a proposal that the land of Manhattan Island should have its title of ownership fixed in the State rather than in the individual who happened to seize it first and his descendants—a proposal of that sort calls for heated comment, the mobilization of the militia, if not the regular army, the curtailment of freedom of speech and organized social coercion to such an extent that men rather submit to ignorance than voice knowledge in Carnegie Hall.

34-2-102

Radicalism, therefore, has always to do in practice with dominate interests; and dominate interests today are matters of property and income. There is, to be sure, talk of radicalism in religion; but even there the opposition to radicalism is not

at all a matter of what men actually believe as rather the way in which this belief will affect present and material interests.

Given then, these deminant economic privileges and interests today, the radical is the man who stands for change and for that reason he stands in opposition to state and society. He must be looked upon as the enemy of the present "good" order. He is regarded and is dangerous to the Powers in the world; if his ideas are spreading, he must be warned, harassed, locked up or killed.

34-2-103

The greatest indictment of modern culture is that we have evolved apparently no civilized method of doing the job which the radical must do. Given an organization of men by which, as a result of human thought, effort, work, and service, the goods of the world are distributed, so that a few get more than they can use and most people feel poverty or see it in the future; there ought to be some rational way by which the necessity and advantages of change in this situation could be placed fairly before the reason of men. In spite of theory, there is no such method today. We merely talk and write and agitate about minor and unimportant changes; or so long as our voices are low and do not carry far, we may advocate tremendous changes and even revolution; but when it comes to reaching the real audience of the thinking world, we find that the newspapers are acting, like the New York Times, in the case of Russia and the British strike, deliberately spreading misinformation concerning the facts and the causes. Or that they are quite silent, as is the case of most newspapers and magazines concerning the plight of the American Negro. Or they are violently biased and abusive, as in the case of most

organizations of public opinion towards divorce and birth-control.

Now since we cannot, by rational and logical method, advocate change in present organizations, and since a change in present organization is the thing that has saved the world in the past, and will save it in the future, we must have the radical and the radical must come forward in the guise as fool, martyr, or super-man: as fool, because most of the things which most men propose to better the world are wrong or partially wrong in practice. Man never was a good Prophet! If the world were free to speak and think this wrong could be easily proven without disaster; coerced as the world of thought is today, underground propaganda which is foolish and wrong stands an even better chance of being heard than propaganda which is far-sighted and wise, and both are treated the same way by the powers that be. So again the radical faces either open or that infinitely more devastating martyrdom which most educated evangelical ministers are going through when they think they are compelled to say that they believe what every human being knows they do not and cannot believe. Finally, the radical may be a super-man: the seer who hurls himself against the enemies of change and progress with such unheard of force that they must yield. But, alas, super-men are always rare and usually despite their triumph they are crucified.

The radical, therefore, is the man who seeks change and believe thereby uplift the world and push it tottering and drunkenly forward; but at the same time there are other Radicals who are not called by the name or thought of as comprehended in the term: they

34-2-104

are first those who try to push the world backward and secondly those who would hold it eternally still. They are both Revolutionists—"root and branch" men, who succeed only by uprooting and killing progress. And yet the rewards of the three are far different.

34-2-105

The man who worships present conditions—holds to them, defends them with life and property is rewarded and be-medaled, knighted and made rich and powerful. The radical who looks backward may gain small following but he is not feared: we know or think we know the past. We entreat its advocate and defender with toleration and vast pity.

But the future we fear and it is well that we do. We punish the poet who would make his fantastic dreams true; or the miner who wants a sure income of $1500 a year. Why? Many people receive $1500 a year and some get that much a month. But we all know that if 700,000 miners are to get such an income, then a large number of bankers, brokers, manufacturers and professional men will get less than they now receive. And that this kind of revolution beginning with miners might utterly change the face of present society. What shall be done? Well, first do not allow the matter to be discussed because the majority of people receive less than $1500 a year and if they think they can get more by their votes what will happen?

,To all this there are ramifications: we need cotton, palm oil, cocoa, spices, tea, sugar—a thousand things which are raised by black, brown and yellow labor. We pay huge sums for these and similar tropical and semi-tropical commodities. But these huge sums are not paid to Negroes and c and such. They are paid to merchants and ship owners and bankers and they in turn by the help of armies and navies pay for these commodities prices so low that the colored laborers are practically slaves. Hence the enormous profits of imperialism, banking and foreign trade.

34-2-106

Suppose now a colored "radical" arises with the simplest of programs: conference of colored peoples; inquiry into facts; education of Negroes; away with the Bolshevist and Revolutionist; discredit him; laugh him out of court; silence him and prove to colored folk that Christianity and love are the roads to inter-racial peace!

Such men are not in truth real radicals. They are merely inquirers--seekers after knowledge. But the world forces them into extreme radicalism; makes them revolutionists; they find no ears or sympathy save among the socially disfranchised, the outcasts and the bitter. A caste of radicals is thus created of men whose only common thought or protest is against the suppression of ideas. Left to itself this radical mass has no logical coherence; but whipped by the same rod they appear as a Radical Party. And unless Civilization finds a way to reform itself openly and reasonably, it will stagger on by secret and sudden upheaval fired by radicals.

1926

The Economic Advance of the Freed Men

Armed with some political power, limited as it was, and helped by the economic ruin of the South and the consequent cheapness of land, the Negroes began about 1870 to develop. There was a great demand in Europe and in the northern part of the United States for the products of his labor:-cotton, sugar cane, rice and other things. There was some competition too for his labor between the old slave-holders and new capitalists from the South and the North. The black man used his own political power, small as it was, to insist upon education. He did not know enough likewise to insist upon land although he continually made the proposal that each head of a family be given 40 acres and a mule. But in those days of 19th century philosophy this seemed paternalistic and even his friends did not encourage him. His advance under these circumstances can best be studied by taking one typical state, Georgia, where today more than a million Negroes live.

S4-2-45

The Negroes began working the land on shares. They worked under the same conditions as in slavery days and most of them received no wages. But a few, by managing to sell their labor in the highest market, accumulated a little capital and began to rent land. Then some began to buy. By 1874, the 550,000 Negroes of Georgia owned 340,000 acres of land. This increased to 600,000 in 1880, 1,000,000 acres in 1890, 1,100,000 in 1900, and today 1,500,000 acres worth, with improvements, $46,000,000. In the United States today Negroes conduct as owners and tenants 1,000,000 farms of which they own 220,000 with 15,000,000 acres of land valued at $56,000,000.

1924

But all this has been accomplished under all sorts of diverse surroundings, in the midst of competition and lawless oppression. The Negroes have had inadequate protection of life and limb. Since 1880, 5,200 of them accused of crime have been lynched by mobs, without trial. And thousands of them who were not even accused, have been killed in riots. They have been systematically insulted by law: compelled to ride in separate cars on the railroad; compelled to live in segregated parts of cities; their women subjected to unpunished aggression on the part of white men; compelled to go to separate schools and these schools given inadequate funds and inadequate encouragement. Three fourths of their voting population has by fraud and unjust administration of the law been deprived of their right to vote.

34-2-46

The center of all this oppression has been, naturally, the former slave states. As the Negro has begun to move North - and something like a million have migrated in the last decade - their freedom and economic chance has been increased, although even in the North they are more or less segregated and form at least spiritual units cut off from the mass of the population.

Nevertheless their advance despite all hindrance has been marvellous outside of agriculture. Two thirds of their adults today can read and write. They are represented in the professions. They have 18,000 clergymen, 6,000 lawyers, 3,000 physicians, 30,000 teachers and in addition to this, 650,000 working as common and skilled laborers in manufacturing and trades, 275,000 working in transportation, 130,000 in business and 1,000,000 as public and private servants. Their more prosperous individuals have accumulated wealth, and control perhaps 2,000,000,000 in property and capital.

At the same time the mass of the black people of America are

poor and ignorant and fighting a hard battle. The mass of white laborers recognise their needs and abilities only when compelled to, and against his exclusion from trade unions the Negro is compelled to fight by underbidding his fellow white worker. In this way he has forced some of the unions to admit him to membership and he is joining today in larger numbers than ever before although even inside the union he is discriminated against.

34-2-17

In a peculiar way the fight of the American Negro laborer is the fight of labor all over the world. Just as long as Negroes in America and the colored races of Africa and Asia can be exploited and compelled to work for low wages for the owners of capital and controllers of credit throughout the world, just so long the attempt of white labor to emancipate itself and achieve real industrial democracy will be in vain. Black labor in America is fighting in the van of all colored labor to obtain the same rights and the same political power that white labor is beginning to attain.

1926

The Emancipation of the Slaves

The agitation against slavery in America began almost with this institution back in the 17th century, and slowly gathered head. It became a real living force when Negroes like Frederick Douglass stood side by side with the white Abolitionists and pleaded for the recognition of manhood. They organized, with the help of their white friends, systematic methods by which the slaves ran away from the South and took refuge in Canada or in the swamps of Florida. This system was called "the underground railway".

Then finally there came to the help of these agitators the fact that the competition of slaves in industry was being felt by the white working men. And they began to realise that no modern industrial state could be raised upon a basis of slavery. But there was hesitation. What would be done with the slaves? Because taught by long experience to despise black men and think of them as slaves, few American could envisage them as free American citizens. There were already a considerable number of free Negroes. In 1860 there were nearly a half million free black men in America as contrasted with 4,500,000 slaves and this free black population had increased from 100,000 at the beginning of the century to 300,000 in 1830.

The first proposal was that the colored population be transported to Africa, but the slave holders leaped in and got control of the so-called Colonization Society and used it to get rid of the free Negroes and bind the shackles more closely upon the slaves. But their efforts were in vain. A few free Negroes went to Africa and founded Liberia but most of them stayed in the United States.

And then the whole matter came to a head in a dispute over the ownership of the free, rich Western land. Should this land be

1926

seized by rich slave holders and worked by slaves or should it be kept open for free white farmers. This dispute led to civil war and in that struggle 200,000 black soldiers and at least 300,000 black civilians helped 800,000 Northern soldiers conquer 700,000 Southerners. Of course the nation did not like to acknowledge that they were fighting about Negroes and so the Northerners called the war a war for preserving the integrity of the United States and the Southerners called it a war to preserve their local autonomy. But the only reason that there was danger of disrupting the nation was the fact that the South wanted slave labor and the North did not, and the only invasion of local rights by the national government was threatened interference with slavery.

34-2-49

The result of this war was to stop the slave trade, to destroy the legal title of the owners in their slaves. Outside of this it did nothing for real emancipation. The slaves were given no land; they were given no capital; they were given only rudimentary rights in the courts and in public places. In reality they remained slaves in practically everything except legal designation.

However, the North was compelled to go a little further than this. Otherwise they would have had the war to fight over again. Missionaries and philanthropists began to educate the mass of slaves in newly organized schools and when the North found that it could only reorganize the Southern states and keep them as an integral part of the nation by using the potential political power of the slaves, they tried to enfranchise the slaves. This again was only partially successful because the slaves were poor and ignorant and under the economic domination of the whites. But nevertheless it forced the Southern whites into a political battle rather than a purely economic battle. While this political battle to keep Negroes from voting and

1924

holding office was going on, the slaves began to take such steps toward education and economic freedom that the advance of the Negro has not been stopped even to this day.

34-2-50

PAN AFRICA, 1927.

The Fourth Pan African Congress was held in New York City August 21 to 24, 1927. It comprised over two hundred delegates from twenty-one American states, from nearly all the West Indies Islands, and from South America, Gold Coast, Nigeria, Liberia and South Africa on the continent of Africa.

While the Congress was meeting the colored Elks held their annual convention in Harlem. Near a hundred thousand of Negroes from all over the country poured in to see their colorful and impressive ceremonies. Harlem was decorated from 125th to 145th Street, and probably never before has a great northern city entertained so large a number of Negro visitors, and with so quiet and pleasant a welcome.

Despite, however, all the distractions and interesting ceremonies of this fraternal organization, the Pan African Congress attracted intensely interested audiences for four successive days. Probably a larger amount of precise and catalogued information concerning the Negro groups of the world was brought together at this Congress than ever before. It was exhibited in charts and maps at their headquarters, and it was explained and elucidated by many speeches during the Congress.

What now is the comparative situation of these various groups? The Congress first stressed the fact that Pan Africa today consists of 50 million Negroes under the British flag, 25 million under the French, 11 million in America, 10 million in Abyssinia, 9 million in Brazil, 8½ million in the Belgian Congo, 8 million in Portuguese Africa, and from 12 to 15 millions scattered elsewhere.

The varied problems that met these people were brought out in the resolutions of the Congress. These resolutions start with a strong demand for the withdrawal of the United States troops from Haiti. The delegate from Haiti, M. Dantes Bellegarde, former Haitian minister to France and commander of the Legion of Honor, has a world-wide reputation from his work in the League of Nations where he say for several years as delegate. It was Bellegarde who brought to the attention of the world the outrageous booming of the Bondel zwarts by officials of the Union of South Africa and he also sat upon the League Commission on Slavery. M. Bellegarde's story of present conditions in Haiti was moving. He assured us that more Haitians were killed in one year under the American Corvee System than had been killed previously in all the revolutions that had taken place in Haiti!

36-1-26

British West Africa has seen improvement since the Third Pan African Congress in that the beginning of popular elections has been made in the four colonies. All of the legislative councils now have a small elective element, although it is a minority and the official element still predominates. The economic situation of the cocoa farmers is not, however, satisfactory. Chief Amoah III appealed for Negro American trade and capital and trained guidance.

In Kenya and Southern Rhodesia the natives are still being dispossessed of the land, although there are proposals in Rhodesia for some limit to this outrageous policy. They are given no voice or consideration in government.

The reactionary efforts of the Herzog Government in South Africa to give no real relief to the natives deprived of their land; to keep them out of skilled labor and make them landless laborers of the lowest grade; and to maintain and even increase their present disfranchisement was a matter of great complaint in the Congress; and in all British Africa "it is lamentable to note how little is being done to educate the natives".

French Africa has its scheme of native education but this has not been extended as widely or as fast as it ought to be; outside of Senegal there is very limited participation of the natives in their own governments. The exploitation of Equatorial Africa principly for the benefit of French investors goes on at a rapid pace.

In the Belgian Congo there has been an increase in the appropriation for education but it is still far below the need; and there is no evidence of any movement to restore land ownership to the natives or to let them have any real voice in government. The Congo is still regarded mainly as a profitable investment for Belgian trade.

36-1-27

The various West Indian Islands were especially well represented in the Congress and many interesting matters brought out. For instance, there was shown that because of lack of federated government in the British West Indies that the expense of governors and judicial establishments for each island made the cost of government outrageously high. To govern a little over two million Negroes in the West Indies, costs $175,000 a year in salaries for British governors alone, not to mention colonial secretaries, judges and other officers. Perhaps the total cost of white officials from abroad reaches a quarter of a million dollars a year in salaries. At this rate the President of the United States should receive a salary of about $10,000,000. Educational facilities, while good as far as they go, are far below the demand, and the exploitation of workers by corporations and landholders breeds wide unrest, poverty and migration. The Congress urged united political action against that grievance and went on to say that the "first step toward this to be an utter erasing of that color line between mulattos and blacks, which sprang from slavery and is still being drawn and encouraged by those who are the enemies of Negro freedom".

Lack of popular education in Abyssinia was deplored as well as the threat of Italian agression and the increasing and growing power of the Firestone rubber concession in Liberia was a subject of warning to the Liberian Government and to colored voters in the United States. The financial power which holds Portugal in its grip was declared to be the reason for the practical impotence of her liberal colonial code. Her colonies are largely in the hands of concessionary companies who are exploiting the natives to the last degree.

Of missions, the Conference said: "We believe in missionary effort but in missionary effort for health, morals and education and not for military aggression and sectarian superstitions".

The Negroes of the United States were advised to use their political power for helping to solve international problems of the color line, as well as national problems in America. Independent voting regardless of party was advised. To improve the economic situation, the Negroes were urged to enter trade unions and to rely upon consumers' cooperation.

Finally, the Conference said:

"Upon matters that lie outside our own problems, we must also express our thought and wish, because the narrow confines of the modern world entwine our interests with those of other peoples. We desire to see freedom and real national independence in Egypt, in China and in India and we demand the cessation of the interference of the United States in affairs of Central and South America.

"We thank the Soviet Government of Russia for its liberal attitude toward the colored races and for the help which it has extended to them from time to time.

"We urge the white workers of the world to realize that no program of labor uplift can be successfully carried through in Europe or

American so long as colored labor is exploited and enslaved and deprived of all political power."

The Congress voted sympathy and cooperation with the Brussels Conference of Oppressed Peoples and appointed a committee to call a Fifth Pan African Congress two years hence.

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois.

36-1-29

RUSSIA AND THE RACE PROBLEM

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

Whatever we may think theoretically of Russia's revolution and the Soviet government two things are certainly true - first, the economic system based on private capital which is prevalent in the world today is imperfect and is and has been widely criticised. There is scarcely a student of the system past or present who does not regard it as a makeshift which can and must be improved. Whether the dictatorship of the proletariat as exemplified in Russia will bring the needed improvements or not, only time will tell. But certainly this second proposition can not be controverted: we must judge Russia by what she does and not simply by what she says and certainly not by what other people say about her. We must remember that private interests both economic and social wish the failure of the Russian experiment and we must listen to their voices in books, speeches and the public press with reserve.

To us as Negro Americans, the chief question is: What is Russia's attitude toward the world problems of race? We include in this, her attitude toward Negroes in America and Africa and toward the colored peoples of the East. This is not all. Most Americans do not know that within Russia are numerous race problems. The territory of the union of the Soviet republics consists of over eight million square miles, or one-sixth of the land surface of the earth and of one hundred and fifty million people of different races and languaged, including five varieties of Slavs, two sets of Lithuanians, five of the Latin and Teutonic races, seven Iranians, ten varieties of Finns, twelve groups of Turks and Tartars, two sets of Monguls; besides Jews, Gypsies, Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and five or six other races. No such

49-9-60

tremendous mixture of race under one government has been seen elsewhere in the world, not even in the United States of America.

Here then, above all, is the place to ask: How does the new revolutionary government of Russia face the question of race? And the answer is clear and unequivocal. Russia stands for absolute equality of races - political, social and civil. She recognizes on the one hand the rights of her constituent peoples to maintain their own language and their own culture and to have schools, teachers and literature to sustain these. So far as practicable, she gives all the different nations local governmental autonomy. Russia consists of ten autonomous soviet socialistic re ublics; and within these republics, are various partially autonomous governments based on race and language.

On the other hand, Russia does not force racial segregation. A Tartar may send his child to a Tartar school or to a Russian school, just as he pleases. In the Tartar school, he learns Russian. Every inducement is held out to make the different groups acquainted with the language and the culture of the leading races in Russia. But they are not forced to this. They are invited.

I visited in Moscow the state printing office where Russia is printing books - textbooks and general literature, pamphlets and placards, for the peoples of Russia. Books were being printed in thirty or forty languages. A school of apprentices with an attendance of about one hundred - Jews, Chinese, Tartars, Arabs - boys and girls from a score or more different peoples, was making new alphabets, printing placards, doing all sorts of things in black and white and in color. Students are chosen and sent in by trade

unions and supported either by the unions or by public expense. This year three million dollars will be spent in equipment and this, the manager assured me, is only ten per cent of what is needed.

What will be the result of this experiment in the encouragement of races and nations, groups and languages, within a great nation? Usually nations have tried to suppress variant groups. They have hammered and pounded them into submission and disappearance as the Germans sought to do with the Poles, as the Hungarians treated the Slavs and as England, France and Spain have treated numerous smaller groups. Here in America, we are trying to make Germans, Irish, Hungarians and Italians ashamed of the race that gave them birth, unwilling to remember their languages and claiming only English descent. Russia has set her face in the opposite direction. For the first time in decades, the Ukraine can be proud of its literature and language; the Poles can talk Polish, the Armenians can have their own little government, the Jews can not only be free in their own Soviet republic, but everywhere they wish to go in Russia.

49-6-62

This is not all. The colored peoples of the East - the dark Tartars, the Chinese and the Monguls within the bounds of theRussian republic,-are given every encouragement. In Moscow there is a university for the Eastern peoples with a thousand students, with everything - clothes, food and tuition - free. There is a Chinese university with about five hundred students giving a course of two years.

And finally in all public celebrations, the importance of the different racial elements in Russia is given free and frank encouragement. I saw the tenth annual celebration of Youth Day in September, 1926. Two hundred thousand children and youth marched in the public

square. There were not only Russians of all sorts and kinds but over one hundred Chinese and many Tartars, Caucasians and people from Turkestan and two or three Negroes. I have never seen a greater variety of human types.

Not only in Russia but outside of Russia and in her general diplomacy and relations in the world, Russia has taken a firm stand for racial equality. She has demanded decent treatment for Africans and persons of African descent throughout the world and has gone out of her way to treat Negro visitors with courtesy.

Above all, today Russia is the hope of Asia. She is the backbone of the present Chinese revolution andthe hope of nationalism in India. This is the reason and the sole reason for the recent attack upon Russia in England, America and Italy and to some extent in France. The solidarity of white Europe toward the colored world has been broken by Russia and the white world, led by England, is determined to punish Russia at any cost.

All this is quite outside of questions of economic policy, of political trend and of debt settlements. The attitude of Russia on the race question within and without her boundaries is of tremendous significance to us and of such significance to the races of the world that it bids fair to overshadow other and in many respects, lesser questions.

Article

Copy

The Negro in American Life

There were perhaps five thousand Negroes in all the Americas in the 16th Century. They had come as body servants and laborers, a few being free, most of them being regarded as slaves. They took part in exploration: they were with Balboa and De Soto, and one of them, Estevanico, led the expedition from Mexico that discovered the Southwestern part of the United States in 1539.

Negroes were permanently landed in what is now the territory of the United States in Virginia in 1619. They were the answer to the problem of new free land which America had thrust upon Europe. This land called for labor, and the labor was supplied by stealing white men in Europe and black men in Africa. The supply of white men, however, was lessened by the needs and labor laws of Europe. The supply of black men was practically unlimited by the disintegration of African life ~~which~~ begun by the Mohammedan invasion and increased by the slave trade ~~caused.~~ itself.

The result was that by the beginning of the 18th Century, large numbers of Negroes had been brought to the West Indies and some fifty thousand to the United States. This importation of slaves became profitable in two ways: It furnished labor for a new and widely demanded set of crops. And, on the other hand, the carrying trade was tremendously advantageous to the sea-faring nations.

Fierce rivalry began for the monopoly of this trade in black men. The Dutch secured it in the 17th Century, but in 1713, the crowning triumph of the end of the war between England and Spain was the securing of the monopoly of the American slave trade by the English. The result was that by the middle of the 18th Century, the fifty thousand Negroes in the United States had increased

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to two hundred and twenty thousand and the crops of tobacco, sugar and rice began to cross the seas and to appeal not simply to the rich and privileged, but to the mass of middle-class buyers. The demand for these crops and the extension of their culture, led to vigorous activity in the slave trade during the latter part of the 18th Century, so that by the beginning of the 19th Century, there were 900,000 Negroes in America and a fourth crop had been added to the other three, destined to become the greatest crop of all, and the foundation stone of a new modern economic kingdom. This crop was cotton. The United States raised eight thousand bales of cotton in 1790. By 1820, it was raising 650,000 bales, which began the economic foundation of a new American labor problem.

37-5-28

At the same time, there were various indications that the slave system was not securely established. From the very beginning, there had been serious slave revolts, like that of the Maroons in the West Indies, and early revolts in Mexico and Virginia. This culminated in the great revolt of Haiti, where after spasmodic fighting between mulattoes and the white masters, suddenly on August 22, 1791, the black slaves arose and eventually succeeded in driving out the whites and taking charge of the country.

In the United States, 5,000 black soldiers had been used in the Revolutionary War, and others were used in the war of 1812. These facts, coupled with the new humanitarianism of the 19th Century, brought efforts at slave revolt in South Carolina and Virginia, and the abolition movement in the North. The abolition movement began to be successful when it secured actual slaves, like Frederick Douglass, as personal exhibits of the injustice of slavery.

At the same time, the two rapid expansion of the cotton kingdom brought an economic crisis in the decade 1850-60 which led to a demand

for more slaves and more slave territory and met the opposition of Northern labor and Northern humane feeling.

By 1850, there were 3½ million Negroes in the United States and this increased to over four million at the time of the Civil War. After the war, there came a reconstruction of Democracy in the United States and in this the Negro played an important part. Through his vote, it was possible to restore the South to the Union; to establish in the South a public school system, and to begin a new social legislation.

37-5-29

The Negro paid the penalty for helping the nation in this way by suffering disfranchisement and caste, so that by the beginning of the 20th Century, he was unable for the most part to vote, to travel [illegible] to live, to frequent public places, like other American citizens. Today, in the second quarter of the 20th Century, there are between 12 and 13 million Americans of Negro descent, and we must regard them not simply as a class of Americans, a degree physically separate from the mass of Americans and forming a separate series of problems, but as persons, who because of their long connection with American life, are a part and an important part, of American civilization.

Democracy in America, for instance, has been developed because of the pressure of the slaves for freedom and recognition. The status of women has been changed greatly because the Negro woman was a working woman before she was a housewife, and her example and competition has spread among white working women. Education, particularly in the South, has become popular, and the public school is an accepted institution because of the insistence of Negroes on free education.

But above all, in two fields, the Negro has made his great contribution to American culture, and that is in art and in labor. We do not usually connect these two things. The more or less open ambition of every American is to become so rich that he will not have

to work, and the only native American art is ~~Negro and~~ Negroid, and consequently has not been highly regarded by most Americans. But the hard manual labor of the American Negro has helped to develop America, ~~has furnished a tremendous laboring force,~~ and some time when we have a greater respect for work, it will be recognized as a great contribution. Beyond this the Negro has helped in skilled work and invention

On the other hand, we are already beginning to see the beauty of Negro Art in ~~American music~~ (in American literature, in music and dancing and such moral ideals as good will and sacrifice;) and we shall come to see beauty in other lines to which the American Negro has contributed. We can, therefore, well think of the Negro element in America as an integral part of American life and as having made a permanent contribution to American civilization.

37-5-20

The Negro in American Life

There were perhaps five thousand Negroes in all the Americans in the 16th Century. They had come as body servants and laborers, a few being free, most of them being regarded as slaves. They took part in exploration. They were with Balboa and DeSoto, and one of them, Estevanica, led the expedition from Mexico that discovered the Southwestern part of the United States in 1539. Negroes were permanently landed in what is now the territory of the United States in Virginia in 1619. They were in response to the problem of new free land which America had thrust upon Europe. This land called for labor, and the labor was supplied by _____ white men in Europe and black men in Africa. The supply of white men, however, was lessened by the needs and labor laws of Europe. The supply of black men was practically unlimited by the disintegrationof African life which the slave trade caused. The result was that by the beginningof the 18th Century, large numbers of Negroes had been brought to the West Indies and some fifty thousand to the United States. This importation of slaves became profitable in two ways: It furnished labor for a new and widely demanded set of crops. And, on the other hand, the carrying trade was tremendously advantageous to the sea-faring nations. Fierce rivalry began for the monopoly of this trade in black men. The Dutch secured it in the 18th Century, but in 1713, the crowning triumph of the end of the war between England and Spain was the securing of the monopoly of the American slave trade by the English. The result was that by the beginning of the 18th Century, the fifty thousand Negroes in the United States had increased

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economic crisis in the decade 1850-60 which led to a demand for

more slaves and more slave territory and met the opposition of Northern labor and Northern humane feeling. By 1850, there were 3½ million Negroes in the United States and this increased to over four million in the time of the war. After the war, there came a reconstruction of Democracy in the United States and in this the Negro played an important part. Through his vote, it was possible to restore the South to the Union; to establish a public school system, and a new social legislation. He paid the penalty for helping the nation in this way by suffering a disfranchisement and caste, so that by the beginning of the 20th Century, he was unable for the most part to vote, to travel, to live, to frequent public places, like other American citizens. Today, in the second quarter of the 20th Century, there are between 12 and 13 million Americans of Negro descent, and we must regard them not simply as a class of Americans physically separate from the mass of Americans and forming a separate series of problems, but as persons whom because of their long connection with American life, are a part and an important part, of American civilization. Democracy in America, for instance, has been developed because of the pressure of the slaves for freedom and recognition. The status of women has been changed greatly because the Negro woman was a working woman before she was a housewife, and her example and competition has spread among white working women. Education, particularly in the South, has become population, and the public school is an accepted institution because of the insistence of Negroes on free education. But above all, in two fields, the Negro has made his great contribution to American slavery, and that is in art and in labor. We do not usually connect these two things. The more or less open ambition of every American is to become so rich that he will not have to work, and the only native American art is Negro and Negroid, and consequently

49-5-67

has not been highly regarded by most Americans. But the hard work of the American Negro has helped to develop America, has furnished a tremendous laboring force, and sometimes when we have an eye for work, it will be recognized as a great contribution. On the other hand, we are already beginning to see the beauty of Negro in American music and we shall come to see beauty in other lines to which the American Negro has contributed. We can, therefore, well think of the Negro element in America as an integral part of American life and as having made a permanent contribution to American civilization.

89-5-68

[c1928]

Read "Mungo Park" by Thompson.

How well some of the Negroes, especially Negro women, come out in contfast to his so-called "Hadjis", and what indomitable will the man had and many other fine qualities. Altogether, I thought steadily that he was divinely appointed.

46-2-91

BREAKING THE BUSINESS LINE

Mr. Daniel G. Monroe Opens a New Avenue

Mr. Daniel G. Monroe, who, on the first of November, opened the Monroe Insurance Agency, Insurance Underwriters, at 1216 U Street N. W., is a man of high integrity and good business standing. He is worthy of the trust imposed in him by officials of the great insurance companies. His wide experience in insurance matters gives him ample knowledge of the writing of insurance policies. In so far as we are aware, he is the only man of our group who has reached this height in the matter of general insurance.

Residing here for twenty-four years, Mr. Monroe has gained the confidence of the wide range of people with whom he has had contact. He has worked for, and contributed to, all such worthy movements as the Y. M. C..A., the N. A. A. C. P., the Howard University Medical School Endowment Fund, and others. He has held position as bookkeeper and clerk in the civil service of the United States government for more than twenty years. Some of us still remember him as fullback on the Howard University varsity football teams of 1903-04 and '05 and as a star track athlete of those days.

Mr. Monroe is deserving of 100% cooperation from the public in the effort he is making to open to our group this avenue in general insurance. Such cooperation will enable him and his associates to prove to the world that we are ready to branch out further in the business world and also that we have worthy men and women ready to serve efficiently.

24-1-116

The South.

[1928]

There will be a big vote in the South this year. No matter how large the anti-Smith vote is, the regular Democratic vote will be larger. For many years the South has trained itself to count out opponents at the polls — black opponents, white opponents. They beat the Populists and the Progressives this way and they can beat the Republicans and the Progressives this way and this year they will beat the Republicans. And who is to blame for the South this?' The Southern Christian church, the white women & immorality, white secrecy & hypocrisy & lawlessness have forged the chains that make effective political reform or protest impossible in S.C., Ga., Fla., Ala., Miss., & La., & intolerable anywhere south of Mason & Dixon's line. They've disfranchised the Negroes. They've got a White Man's Government & it's the most murderous mess in the U-S-A.

"For this the sport & slave the engineer
"Hoist with his own petar"

There is but one remedy: The advent of a suffrage minded ~~of~~ with Southerners who think politics hell worse than they think "niggers".

Replaced a record Smithson vote with the returns which it was really cast for.

36-2-152

THE CRISIS is now entering upon the 20th Year of its existence, having been founded November 1, 1910. At that time, the dominant philosophy of the colored world and of its friends inculcated insistence on the duty of Negroes to be thrifty and hard-working, and to seek elementary and industrial education, and to insist as little as possible on political, civil and social rights, and above all, not to complain. When the N. A. A. C. P. grew out of the Niagara Movement of 1906 and the New York Conference of 1909, there came a new program of insistence on full wanted rights, exposure of the evils of lynching and disfranchisement, and the widest encouragement of trained ability in all lines.

We who had for many years studied the race problem in the United States, felt strongly that unless ~~that~~ this new program was carefully and continuously explained and popularized and unless the facts of race discrimination were exposed in detail and their results made clear, the N. A. A. C. P. and its program would be handicapped if not smothered by misapprehension and misinterpretation.

On the other hand, many earnest friends from long experience in philanthropic work, advised against the publication of an organ and pointed out that official organs were invariably a drain upon the resources of the organization which the new N. A. A. C. P. could ill afford. One tried friend expressed it: "Magazines as thick as the flies of Egypt. If you are not committed to this new venture, for heaven's sakes drop it."

Nevertheless, others insisted that without defense facts and answers to inevitable attack and misrepresentation, we could not survive. We argued the matter from August through October, and in November, printed the first number of The Crisis, ~~with the understanding that the N. A. A. C. P. treasury would meet deficits up to but not exceeding~~

4-7-5-96

~~$50. a month.~~ The first number of The Crisis laid down this platform:

> The object of this publication is to set forth those facts and arguments which show the danger of race prejudice, particularly as manifested today toward colored people. It takes its name from the fact that the editors believe that this is a critical time in the history of the advancement of men. Catholicity and tolerance, reason and forbearance can today make the world-old dream of human brotherhood approach realization; while bigotry and prejudice, emphasized race consciousness and force can repeal the awful history of the contact of nations and groups in the past. We strive for this higher and broader vision of Peace and Good Will.
>
> The policy of THE CRISIS will be simple and well defined:
>
> It will first and foremost be a newspaper: it will record important happenings and movements in the world which bear on the great problem of inter-racial relations, and especially those which affect the Negro-American.
>
> Secondly, it will be a review of opinion and literature, recording briefly books, articles, and important expressions of opinion in the white and colored press on the race problem.
>
> Thirdly, it will publish a few short articles.
>
> Finally, its editorial page will stand for the rights of men, irrespective of color or race, for the highest ideals of American democracy, and for reasonable but earnest and persistent attempt to gain these rights and realize these ideals. The magazine will be the organ of no clique or party and will avoid personal rancor of all sorts. In the absence of proof to the contrary it will assume honesty of purpose on the part of all men, North and South, white and black.

The subsequent history of the Crisis is well known. We have in 19 years sold 8,591,979 copies all over the world and received in subscriptions, agents payments and advertising, $768,210. Our expenses have been about $780,000, leaving January 1, 1930, an indebtedness of approximately $10,000, against this indebtedness $12,000 of debts due us. Perhaps half of this is uncollectible, leaving a net debt of $5,000, which must be met by future profits.

The result of 19 years of business has been that from a position of dependence where our editor was a paid officer of the N. A. A. C. P. and we shared their offices without paying rent, we advanced in five years to complete financial independence and had good hopes of gradually accumulating a working capital for expansion. The workdwwar dashed these hopes. Suddenly, increased costs of publication necessitated a fifty percent advance in our subscription rates, while the field of advertising remained narrow.

Then, too, we began to feel now the results of two decades of successful teaching and agitation. We are no longer ~~to live~~ the lone herald on the walls preaching a radical and unpopular doctrine. On the other hand, with a unanumity quite remarkable, the essential program of the N. A. A. C. P. and The Crisis has been accepted throughout the Negro world and largely by the whole world. All American Negroes stand today for political rights, civil freedom, educational opportunity and social equality. There are still differences of interpretation and diverse opinions as to future procedure to obtain these ends, but the end and ideal has been planted on solid rock. Moreover, the new Negro newspaper has arisen to collect and broadcast news of the colored world in modern wise to an extent unknown 20 years ago.

What then of the future of The Crisis and its program? This 20th Years of our existence is truly critical for the answering of this question. When the 13th Amendment was adopted, Garrison ceased publication of the Liberator on the ground that the slave was free. But the slave is not fully free yet, sixty-five years after.

So, too, while The Crisis has in large parts accomplished its original mission, there is still a vast field of future usefulness to be occupied. First and obviously, the spiritual ground

gained must be held. There must be no careless slipping back from the ideal of full manhood rights for Negroes, and the fighting of every plan of discrimination based on race and color.

But beyond this there is a great new work to be done—a work of education and ideal beyond the practical steps of the N.A.A.C.P. This field includes:

1. The presentation of the facts of racial adjustments as shown by individual experience and organized investigation. This will bring to light much that is not "news" in the ordinary sense but is most valuable information.

2. A careful interpretation of social development among American Negroes, among African and West Indian Negroes, and among other colored folk; a watchful following of the development of thought and culture in the civilized world and of its influence on our program.

3. The future guidance and development of American Negro art and the setting of proper standards in prose and poetry, illustration and portraiture; the wider knowledge of past efforts and establishment of future ideals: our authors and artists must be paid and encouraged by awards, their books and pictures must be brought, their ideals must be clarified.

4. The organization of Economic life must be carefully thought out and directed. The white economic world is at the threshhold of widespread and fundamental reorganization. The democratization of industry is fast approaching. Our place in the economic world is not simply a question of individual work, thrift and investment—it is looming as a vaster question of income, technique, organized co-operation and social ideal.

5. Finally, a new era of self-appraisement and self-criticism faces us. We have in 20 years swung from violent self-depreciation and humility to rightrace consciousness and boasting. The time approaches for rational weighing of what we are and what we have done and what we may do.

6. In this new self-appraisement, the role of youth and its education for life as American Negroes must be carefully considered. The reaction from the exercises of war time, the new educational opportunity, the new self-assertion and independence call for as perhaps nothing else, the building of new and clear goals, a new adjustment of parent and child, and old and young, and white and black.

In all these fields as in others that will occur to you, like the expenditure of our income, the preservation of health and the constitution of the home. I believe The Crisis is prepared to blaze a trail in the next 20 years as clear and true as in the past 20.

But to do this, The Crisis needs capital for expansion. We can with our present income pay current expenses, provided such expenses are kept at a minimum. Beyond this, we can gradually liquidate our old debts. But we cannot expand as we need to and add new young talent to our editorial and business equipment, explore and spread our field of readers and advertisers. The new funds thus needed will, I confidentially believe, constitute simply the new adjustment of capital necessary in every branch of business and will, in a few years, re-establish The Crisis on a broad field of financial solidity, as well as spiritual leadership.

47-5-91

Extended report and booklet

THE CRISIS is now entering upon the 20th Year of its existence, having been founded November 1, 1910. At that time, the dominant philosophy of the colored world and of its friends inculcated insistence on the duty of Negroes to be thrifty and hard-working and to seek elementary and industrial education and to insist as little as possible on political, civil and social rights, and above all, not to complain. When the N. A. A. C. P. grew out of the Niagara Movement of 1906 and the New York Conference of 1909, there came a new program of insistence on full wanted rights, exposure of the evils of lynching and disfranchisement, and the widest encouragement of trained ability in all lines.

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We who had for many years studied the race problem in the United States felt strongly that unless that new program was carefully and continuously explained and popularized and unless the facts of race discrimination were exposed in detail and their results made clear, the N. A. A. C. P. and its program would be handicapped if not smothered by misapprehension and misinterpretation.

On the other hand, many earnest friends from long experience in philanthropic work, advised against the publication of an organ and pointed out that official organs were invariably a drain upon the resources of the organization which the new N. A. A. C. P. could ill afford. One tried friend expressed it: "Magazines as thick as the flies of Egypt. If you are not committed to this new venture, for heaven's sakes drop it."

Nevertheless, others insisted that without defense facts and answers to inevitable attack and misrepresentation, we could not survive. We argued the matter from August through October, and in November, printed the first number with the understanding that the N. A. A. C. P. treasury would meet deficits up to but not exceeding

$50. a month. The first number of The Crisis laid down this platform:

> The object of this publication is to set forth those facts and arguments which show the danger of race prejudice, particularly as manifested today toward colored people. It takes its name from the fact that the editors believe that this is a critical time in the history of the advancement of men. Catholicity and tolerance, reason and forbearance can today make the world-old dream of human brotherhood approach realization; while bigotry and prejudice, emphasized race consciousness and force can repeal the awful history of the contact of nations and groups in the past. We strive for this higher and broader vision of Peace and Good Will.
>
> The policy of THE CRISIS will be simple and well defined:
>
> It will first and foremost be a newspaper: it will record important happenings and movements in the world which bear on the great problem of inter-racial relations, and especially those which affect the Negro-American.
>
> Secondly, it will be a review of opinion and literature, recording briefly books, articles, and important expressions of opinion in the white and colored press on the race problem.
>
> Thirdly, it will publish a few short articles.
>
> Finally, its editorial page will stand for the rights of men, irrespective of color or race, for the highest ideals of American democracy, and for reasonable but earnest and persistent attempt to gain these rights and realize these ideals. The magazine will be the organ of no clique or party and will avoid personal rancor of all sorts. In the absence of proof to the contrary it will assume honesty of purpose on the part of all men, North and South, white and black.

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37-5-22

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3. The future guidance and development of American Negro art and the selling of proper standards in prose and poetry, illustration and portraiture; the wider knowledge of past efforts and establishment of future ideals: our authors and artists must be paid and encouraged by awards, their books and pictures must be brought, their ideals must be clarified.

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6. In this new self-appraisement, the role of youth and its education for life as American Negroes must be carefully considered. The reaction from the exercises of war time, the new educational opportunity, the new self-assertion and independence call for as perhaps nothing else, the building of new and clear goals, a new adjustment of parent and child, and old and young, and white and black.

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Johnson - James Weldon

BLACK AUTHORS AND WHITE PUBLISHERS

32-4-55

It is said that when H. G. Wells and the late William Archer differed on any point, each had to write a book about it. Weldon Johnson and myself are not as voluminous as this but we take it out in articles. Frankly, I think that Johnson in his July Crisis article is, in modern parland, "all wet!" Mr. Johnson's argument was as our readers will remember that young colored writers have little cause for complaint; that white publishers are eager to publish good work, and that as a matter of fact, most of the books published deal with the better class of Negroes. To this I demur. I would illustrate my point this way. Here is the Negro world:

Here is the fiction written about it:

Now the point is this colored fiction as a fair reflection of Negro life is ludicrously out of proportion. Touts, thieves, prostitutes, gamblers and sadists have been painted to represent a typical Harlem if not a typical American Negro. Moreover, these are not the real "lower classes" whose annals are always of deepest human interest and dramatic force. Such persons are the Negro laborers and servants, the mass of black church goers, the plodding 10 of our 12 millions as contrasted with a million criminal and a million rich, and it is precisely this great middle mass that white publishers have long with few exceptions encouraged Negro authors to forget. Led by Carl Van Vechten, the publishers want "hot-stuff" from Harlem, and the more lewdness and drunkenness and gambling, the better. The publishers here but follow their public. The white public, emancipated by the dirt of war, want candid sex talk. But they don't want it about white women. They prefer to see their own sex desires and perversions elucidated by

colored folk. Hence, one searches literature almost in vain for the picture of a decent—I do not mean simply puritanically "pure"—but reasonably human and decent colored woman or for a colored man who is not obsessed by white female "beauty".

This is all abnormal, rot and will and must change.

Far from contemporary literary judgment being infallible and eternal as Mr. Johnson intimates, the exact opposite is nearer the truth. I maintain that the young black author today who wants to write of a real Negro will have a hell of a time with 9 out of 10 white publishers.

32-4-56

C. Williams

37-4-60

WHAT INSPIRATION CAN WE DRAW FROM NEGRO LITERATURE?

The inspiration to be drawn from any literature depends upon the literature that one has in mind and the personality which is doing the drawing. There are all sorts of Negro literature; some of it will in time become classic, as representing on the whole and with fair accuracy the situation, reactions and aspirations of Negroes in America; there is a good deal of Negro literature which is a revelation of the attitude of the white world, and represents what they think of Negroes and wish concerning them; this, too, will be more or less permanent as their attitude is permanent; then, there is a good deal of literature which is merely local and temporary in its effect.

The readers of all these sorts of literature take inspiration according to their character and ideals: they may be encouraged to express the truth more clearly as they see it; or to refute what they believe is untrue; or to restate thoughts and feelings and situations which they believe have been inadequately handled.

This answer to your question is vague because the whole matter is vague. True art must always be vague in the mind of the artists, and he is above rule and reason.

W. E. B. Du Bois

[1929?]

Liberals, Radicals and the Negro

The relation between liberals and radically-minded Americans, on the one hand, and Negroes and their friends, on the other, is a matter that has seldom been discussed and yet continually leads to difficulty and misunderstanding. It is, for instance, commonplace for a liberal-minded American to discover with astonishment and to meet the discovery with partial criticism, that American Negroes are often unacquainted with great liberal movements, or if acquainted , not advocates of them; not opposed to them. Radicals; that is, those who believe in thorough-going and even revolutionary reform, are especially astonished that Negroes display so little interest in their problems. On the other hand, the colored people themselves are continually disappointed at the patent fact that men may be liberal on so many matters of reform in America and in the world and yet be unsympathetic and even reactionary so far as the Negro problem is concerned. And it is quite common to find radicals who have no place in their program for Negroes. This situation is not only anomalous but dangerous. It interferes with logican thought in reform and it tends to make the Negro provincial, unprogressive and even selfish in his outlook.

Let us for instance consider certain problems of reform. We may think of the movement for peace and disarmment, for the uplift and emancipation of women; for the spread of Democratic government; for the education of children; for the abolition of poverty; for vocational guidance and training; for a more just distribution of income; for health and eugenics; for recreation;

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for greater social solidarity and the breaking down of class lines; for tariff reform; for civil service reform; for the increase of international co-operation; for the obtaining of racial and national prejudices; for prohibition; for religious liberals. For all these matters and for many others there are groups of earnest people working, spreading propaganda, proposing laws and administrative action. According to the degree of their earnestness and the character of the measures which they advocate, they are listed as Liberals or Radicals. Between most of the groups advocating reforms in these measures, a certain sympathy has grown up so that it is not difficult to find people who are sympathetic toward a whole groups of these reforms, and certainly it would be unusual and unexpected to find a persons who favored universal peace and at the same time was not in favor of some measure of tariff reform, or who wanted the death penalty in crime abolished, and was opposed to the emancipation of women. On the other hand, it is so surprisingly common to find the person who is liberal on nearly all of these matters, who nevertheless, has grave question as to how far the Negro should be regarded or accepted as an American citizen with the same rights as other citizens, or as to how far the Negro race in the United States should be treated as the potential equal of other races. So common is this attitude that it is not sufficient for a Negro to be told that this person is a Liberal; this candidate stands for a radical program; or that organization is progressive. He is disposed to ask rather _____ , pacifically, what the attitude of this person or organization is toward Negroes, and to require certain undoubted proofs before he is willing to give his sympathy, or his co-operation or part.

On the other hand, it is equally true that the majority of intelligent Negroes are apt to be ignorant or reactionary of the greater matters of modern social reform. The man who regards color

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prejudice as the greatest evil of modern life; who an_____-
slavery and the color bar, may, nevertheless, be a red-hot patriot;
a supporter of a large army and a big navy; one who suspects other
nations and has no sympathy with Chinese or Japanese; who believes
generally in the capitalistic system; who does not believe in trade
unions; who thinks that jails and capital punishment is the only way
to fight crime, and has a deep conviction that the place of women is
in the home.

To those who first become conscious of all of the larger part
of this contradictory set of facts, the natural reaction is
impatience and anger. The white workingman who is called to discuss
the Negro problem, sees in the Negro problem nothing else than the
fact that most Negro workers are not membersof trade unions, and gets
their jobs by scabbing. The advocate of universal peace is horrified
and sarcastic to find Negroes ready to fight, to hurrah for the flag,
to join military organizations, and to vote for a big navy. Advocates
of _____ reform cannot understand the utter lack of interest which
Negroes have in this matter of which they are so openly and greatly
the victims. Negroes, on the other hand, are quick to accuse of
downright hypocrisy most white Liberals and Radicals. They assert
that the advocates of peace seem to be absolutely unconscious that one
of the great causes of war is the fact that black folk are not regarded
as human beings, and that this leads to war, not so much because white
and black fight each other, as that whites fight white for the dis-
crimination and ownership of blacks and blacks fight blacks because
they are egged on by whites. They assert that Democracy is becoming
a dead letter in the United States, principally because the disfranchise-
ment of black people, and the uplift and emancipation of women in the
lines of most white folks, means the protection of white women and
the stripping of black women of every protection or difference in law

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or custom.

There is danger in this situation, and it is the purpose of this paper to apoint out in the first place the cause of the logical discrepancies here revealed, and the obvious remedy. In the first place, it is perfectly natural that liberal thought should forget all about the Negro. Most of the causes in which liberal and radical thought is interested antidate any active or important Negro problem. It is usual in the United States for people to go through the world and quite forget black folk until they are forcibly called to their attention. Most liberal movements, therefore, are simply uneducated when it comes to the Negro problem, and a persistent cause of education, backed by facts, figures and examinations, has got to be entered upon in order to convince Liberals and Radicals that the Negro problems are human problems so inter-mingled and connected with other problems of human reform, that they simply cannot be neglected. They must be openly faced, each in all inclusive human problem is to be worked out. Liberals and Radicals cannot be blamed for continually refusing to face these problems. When woman suffrage was becoming a national movement for civil war, its advocates were frighten to death lest in any way it should be mixed up with the so-called Negro problem. They were not only willing but eager to have the problem of the uplift of women considered without reference to black women, and yet the thing was eternally impossible. So today, one of the difficulties of making Democracy effective in the United States and carrying through thorough-going irradical reform, is the whole problem of the black vote, a problem most advocates of democracy simply refuse to face. It is conceivable that there should be in the United States and in other culture countries a movement for the uplift of labor through better wages, shorter hours, better conditions of work, protection against

unemployment and education, which should openly and definitely confine itself to white laborers. But if consciously and clearly such a movement was launched, immediately thinkers would be forced to remember that such uplift of white labor must ineffectively depend upon the virtual slavery of yellow, brown and black labor, and that that slavery would have bad effect upon the effort to better the condition of white laborers and might indeed absolutely check the success of such efforts. At any rate, the problem has got to be faced if it is going logically to be thought out. Or, consider the matter of navies which has organized recently so large a part of the thought of great countries. We are spending sums upon great war machines, which are nothing less than ridiculous in their amount. We propose continually by international agreement to cut down this expenditure. So far as the main reasons for this cutting down of naval strength are discussed, it seems so obvious that it is difficult to understand the objection. Englishmen do not want to fight Americans. Americans do not want to fight Englishmen. The French and the Germans have had all the fighting that they want. It is inconceivable that the Italians really want to kill Frenchmen. But the difficulty is that the real pawns, the real prizes at stake, are not distributed. They are not brought into the picture. Hardly a word was said about them at the London Conference, atthe Geneva Conference, at the Washington Conference. All that Italy wants is the control of certain masses of laboring black folk in areas now controlled by France. What England wants is to hold intact a great Empire predominantly colored and not to have her economic advantage there shaken by the incursions of powerful commercial interest in the United States. What Germany wants is to get big areas of colored labor and raw material which she lost in the great war. These matters are so important to all these countries that despite what is said large numbers of men and influential groups are willing to direct

477-3-5

organized murder in order to keep their present advantage or to increase their advantages. Moreover, the victims of this situation, the black laborers, and yellow laborers, and brown laborers, in Asia and islands of the sea, are not only voiceless in these conferences, but the mass of the intelligent people of England, France, Germany, Italy and America do not consider that the interest of colored peoples is of enough importance to be considered as compared with the income and wealth of white people. Manifestedly under these circumstances, the great degrease and abolition of navies and armies is unthinkable, and manifestedly, we have got to face with unblinking eye the color problem before the problem of naval reduction, military disarmment and peace can be settled.

On the other hand, advocates of social reform had a clear case against American Negroes, if not against other colored folk in the world. They did admit, many of them, that much of what he has said with regard in which the color problem entered other problems, is quite true. But they say, we get no support from colored people in our general efforts at reform. The colored people are very eager to have us help them, but their attitude is too often an attitude which seems to say: What we want is personally to escape from our disabilities. We want greater wealth and freedom and political power, and we propose to use this for ourselves and we would not be at all adverse if we got power to tramping other less fortunate people and less fortunate classes under our feet. Thus, there is continually disclosing a territory of colored people to be curiously provincial in their thought and aspiration. They haven't the slightest interest in the peace movement. What they want is to abolish lynching of Negroes in the United States. They are not advocates of democracy, so far as China or India is concerned or so far as the foreign-born of the United

States is concerned. What they mean by democracy is the right of black America to vote. We want better wages, but they are perfectly willing to accept better wages at the expense of lower wages for other groups, whether they be American whites or brown or black people in other lands. In other words, reformers have a right to complain that instead of appointing themselves as a part of the great mass of people for whom social reform is trying to work amelioration of condition. They tend to appoint themselves as a reason. The only victims of oppression and the ones for whom not only Negroes themselves must work but all other people must give up their interests and join in the settlement of their problem. It is manifest now that the time is here when this logical failure to understand each other must come to an end. Reformers must realize that after all one of the chief difficulties with the thought of American Negroes is that they have been so long excluded from contact and conference with the mass of their fellow citizens that it is not easy for them to realize what these people are thinking of and where the shoe pinches in the case of white Americans and yellow Asiatics, today the education which Negroes have received has quite naturally given them the attitude of prosperous Americans of the previous century, but in their textbooks they have learned the advantages of wealth and power and the low and despicable position of other nations and races. That the only thing that has counteracted this general knowledge has been the specific knowledge of their own disabilities. But under these circumstances, it is natural for American Negroes to be radical so far as the Negro problem is concerned, but to be reactionary or intelligent on all other social problems. The American Negro, therefore, needs an intensive course of study, not only in schools but in adult life of the difficulties of the world and the reform movements, and the part which Negroes as citizens of the world must play in reform.

417-5-7

Just as truly, no man today has a right to discribe himself as liberal or radical who refuses to face the problem of black folk and colored people; who proposes to reform the world for the benefit of white people on the tacit assumption that other folk are not human in the same sense that white people are human. To achieve this attitude, they have got to become acquainted with what is known as the Negro problems; they have got to face the facts of their problem; they have got to realize its human difficulties and implications; they have got to know Negroes as human beings.

I doubt if that once there is this orientation of thought among Negroes, Liberals and Radicals, and there is going to be a chance for reform in the United States which today seems almost impossible. We are quite used today to seeing efforts of reform backed by unassailable logic and deep sympathy, fall on absolutely deaf ears, and the reason is that back of the spoken word is the whispering campaign which says this will never do: Look out for Japan; look out for the Negroes of the South; look out for the yellow peril. But, on the other hand, every effort to make the Negro act as a thinking human being, an intelligent voter, an advocate of liberal causes, is again made by the whispering campaign, These people are , , they don't believe in you, and you can't trust what they say. I know of no single line of work in the modern world and in America which promises more immediate and gratifying result than a thorough understanding and unification of the race problems and the problems of social reform.

2500 words

1930

Liberals, Radicals and the Negro

by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

The relation between those who wish to reform and uplift society, on the one hand, and Negroes and their friends, on the other, is a curious one. Yet it is a matter seldom discussed and continually leading to difficulty and misunderstanding.

It is, for instance, commonplace for a liberally-minded American to discover with astonishment, and to meet the discovery with stinging criticism, that American Negroes are often unacquainted with the great liberal movements of the day—or if acquainted, not advocates of them; or even opposed to them. Radical advocates of thorough-going and even revolutionary reform, are especially astonished that Negroes display so little interest in their programs. Conservative friends of the Negro hail this as common sense, but radicals call it stupidity.

32-5-1

On the other hand, the colored people themselves continually express bitter disappointment at the fact that men may be liberal on so many matters of reform, and yet be unsympathetic and even reactionary so far as the Negro problem is concerned; indeed, it is quite common to find radicals who have no place at all in their program for Negroes. The usual explanations are of two sorts: Liberals explain that their programs and proposals are such that if adopted they will automatically solve the Negro problem—that indeed the so-called Negro problem is not a problem of Negroes at all but simply a human problem of economics, of education, of democracy, of crime and what not. But, on the other hand, Negroes declare that liberal and radical platforms cannot attack the problems of the mass of men without first recognizing Negroes as men; that failure to do this is so fundamental a fault that it negatives all effective effort at social uplift. They regard, therefore, the Color Line as the first test of real liberalism

or radical reform.

Here now is a serious impasse. It is a situation not only anomalous but dangerous. It interferes with logical thought and it tends, on the one hand, to make the Negro provincial, unprogressive and even selfish in his outlook; and, on the other, to make honest reformers openly dishonest in their thought and action.

This may best be illustrated by certain groups of specific proposals for social reform such as war and disarmament; education and illiteracy; income, wage, unemployment, housing and poverty; recreation, health, crime and punishment; voting, taxation and the tariff; prohibition. On all these matters and for many others there are earnest people working, spreading propaganda, proposing laws, administrative action and social change. Between most of the groups a certain sympathy has grown up so that it is not difficult to find people who are advocates of most of these reforms; and certainly it would be unusual and unexpected to find a person who favored universal peace and at the same time was not in favor of some measure of tariff reform; or who wanted the death penalty in crime abolished, but was nevertheless opposed to popular education.

37-5-2

On the other hand, it is surprisingly common to find the person who is liberal or radical on most of these matters, but who nevertheless is unwilling to express any opinion concerning Negroes—as to whether they should be regarded as a human race, potentially equal to other races; as to whether they should be treated as American citizens; as to whether the 15th Amendment is as important as the 18th.

So common is this attitude that certain quite illogical attitudes of mind are not questioned. For instance, it is not sufficient for a Negro to be told that this person is a Liberal; that this candidate stands for a radical program; or that such and such an organization

is progressive. He is disposed to inquire specifically what the attitude of this person or organization is toward Negroes, and to inquire of them certain unquestionable proofs before he is willing to give them his sympathy, or his co-operation. When the Progressive Party was launched under Roosevelt, the Negroes asked one blunt question: How do you stand on votes for Negroes? When Al Smith was represented as a Liberal, Negroes refused to vote for him because he refused openly to oppose lynching or disfranchisement.

On the other hand, it is equally true that the majority of intelligent Negroes are apt to be singularly ignorant, uninterested or even reactionary on the greater matters of modern social reform. Thus, the man who regards color prejudice as the greatest evil of modern life, may, nevertheless, be eager to fight for his country, right or wrong; be a supporter of a large army and a big navy; and have no sympathy with trade unions, Indian freedom or Chinese nationhood; he may regard the capitalistic system as perfect and ordained of God; he may think that jails and capital punishment are the only way to fight crime; he may have a deep conviction that the place of woman is "in the home!"

Those who become conscious of some part of the contradiction in these attitudes, often display a natural reaction of impatience and anger. The white workingman who is called to discuss the Negro problem, sees in the Negro problem nothing else but the fact that most Negro workers are not members of trade unions, and got their present jobs by scabbing. The advocate of universal peace is horrified and sarcastic to find Negroes eager to get into West Point and summer military camps; advocates of modern methods of preventing and curing crime cannot understand the utter lack of interest which Negroes have in a matter in which they are so openly and frequently the victims.

Prohibitionists wonder at the apathy of black folk on the liquor question and those who fear the political power of the Catholic church find Negroes blissfully unconscious of danger.

Negroes, on the other hand, are quick to accuse of downright hypocrisy most white Liberals and Radicals. They assert that the advocates of peace seem to be absolutely unconscious that one of the great causes of war is the fact that black folk are not regarded as human beings, and that this leads to war, not so much because white and black fight each other, as that white fights white for the exploitation and ownership of blacks; and black fights black because he is deceived and and egged on by whites. Negroes assert that Democratic government is becoming a dead letter in the United States, not only because of the systematic disfranchisement of black people, but of the consequent disfranchisement of millions of whites which the Solid South makes necessary. Negroes aver that the emancipation of women, in the thought of most white folks, is compatible with laws and customs that strip black women of every protection for soul and body. There is danger in the situation which I have indicated; and it is the kind of logical danger which has in the past overthrown civilization, nations, social classes and religious sytems. Greece could talk about the rule of the people by the simple expedient of not regarding nine-tenths of the inhabitants as people at all. Christianity could proclaim the Prince of Peace and the love of neighbors and yet lead canturies of war in Europe, Asia and Africa, while burning witches and enslaving human beings at home. The United States in 1776, with "a decent regard to the opinions of mankind", could declare:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights; that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

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And they said this looking 600,000 black slaves straight in the eye. It is then the purpose of this paper to point out, in the first place, the causes of the logical discrepancies here revealed, and secondly, to seek to indicate the obvious remedies.

Historically, it is easy to trace the reasons of this blindness. The social heredity of nearly all our broader national problems leads back to the time when the Negro simply did not have to be considered--poverty is age old and why should a few million poor Negroes change its essential meaning? War has always been the crime of mankind—how can it be regarded today as part of the Negro problem. We have long had problems of women, education and crime.

Moreover, with the prevalent social separation by color and the silence of pulpit and press, the problems of Negroes and the problems of which Negroes are a part, simply do not occur to many eager and observant thinkers. A meeting like this may focus attention for a week; a visit to the South may remind some college-professor that the slavery question was not settled by the Civil War. White people every now and then meet a complaining Negro—become suddenly aware of him and ask in perplexity; well, what are you complaining of? Aren't you free? Do you expect me to ask you to dinner? A leading critical monthly recently had a sarcastic article on "Wailing Negroes" and pointed out that they had really very little to complain of. A new political party was recently launched advocating all possible modern reforms. When asked why their platform was silent on the Negro, they said frankly: "We forgot him!" They forgot one-tenth of the nation's population whose plight affects every one of the other nine-tenths.

Most liberal movements, therefore, are simply uneducated, when it comes to the present Negro problem, and a persistent course of education, backed by facts, figures and explanations, has got to be

entered upon in order to convince Liberals and Radicals that the Negro problems of the 20th Century are human problems, and so intermingled and inter-connected with other problems of human reform, that they simply cannot be neglected without ultimate disaster. They must be openly faced as part of an all inclusive human problem.

There are social reformers who know this and yet they are silent and the silence and inaction of such men presents the greatest difficulty of our day; and that is, the widespread pessimism concerning any possibility of solution. Again and again liberal-minded men come face to face with this problem, throw up their hands, and say by word or action, or by mute inaction: the question is simply unanswerable. We do not know and we cannot conceive how the Negroes of America, much less the Negro race in the world, is going to survive as a part of civilization. It is useless, they say, therefore, to try to include the Negro in any present program of reform. Admitting, as many do admit, that no complete consideration may be given to the problems of democracy, education and crime so long as we neglect the Negro element, nevertheless, their argument is that nothing can be done because the bringing in of any consideration of the Negro would make everything impossible.

37-5-6

One can see in the history of various movements the influence of this idea. When woman suffrage was about to become a national movement before the Civil War, its advocats were frightened to death lest in any way the question of the status of white women should be mixed up with the slavery question. You remember doubtless the delicious story of Sojourner Truth and the first national Suffrage convention. They were not only willing but insistent that the problem of the uplift of women be considered without reference to black women. And yet, of course, the thing was and is eternally impossible.

So today, one of the difficulties of making democracy effective in the United States and carrying out thorough-going radical reform, is the whole problem of the black vote, a problem most advocates of democracy simply refuse to face. It is possible to have college courses in Democracy, public forum debates on democracy, learned articles and long books without any serious consideration of American Negroes as part of democracy in America. The only reference which any respectable modern American allows himself is profound regret that the 15th Amendment was passed 60 years ago. It is conceivable that there should be in the United States and in other culture countries a movement for the uplift of labor through better wages, shorter hours, better conditions of work, protection against unemployment and education, which should openly and definitely confine its benefits to white laborers. And this is practically what the A. F. of L., the British labor party, the German and Austrian Socialists and the labor movement of the world does. But if consciously and openly such an object were clearly proclaimed, immediately thinkers would be forced to remember, that the uplift of white labor today depends on two elements: immense profits of white capital which depend on the semi-slavery and starvation wage of colored labor, an increasing but still a small share of this profit goes to white labor as the political and social power of the Labor movement compells employers to yield. Every thinking leader of the labor movement in white countries then faces a baffling dilemma: if he organizes to raise the status and wage of black and brown and yellow labor, he must either cut his own wage and standard of living or further reduce the profits of his employers. He does not dare do either and the result is that the Labor government of England fights Egypt and India, the Socialist bloc of France enslaves Syria and Burma, and the Democratic United States chokes Haiti, Nicararigua and the Philippines.

Or, consider the matter of navies which have occupied recently so large a part of the thought of great countries. We are spending sums upon war machines, which are nothing less than ridiculous in their amount. We propose continually by international agreement to cut down this expenditure. So far as the main reasons for this cutting down of naval strength are concerned, they are so obvious that it is difficult to understand any objection. Englishmen are overtaxed for war and do not want to fight Americans. Americans are overtaxed for war and do not want to fight Englishmen. The French and the Germans are overtaxed for war and have had all the fighting that they want for a century to come. It is inconceivable that the overtaxed Italians really want to kill Frenchmen or Yargo slavs. But the difficulty is that the real pawns, the real prizes at stake, the real things that all of them are willing to fight for, are not mentioned. They are not brought into the picture. They are deliberately forgotten. Hardly a word was said about them at the London Conference, at the Geneva Conference, at the Washington Conference. They, like the Negro problem with us, are regarded as an outside unrelated and unimportent problem.

All that Italy wants is the control of certain raw materials and masses of laboring black folk in areas now controlled by France. What England wants is to hold intact a great Empire predominantly colored and ruled autocratically over nine-tenths of its area and not to have her immense economic advantage there shaken by the incursion of powerful commercial interests from the United States. What Germany wants is to get back at least some of the areas of colored labor and raw material which she lost in the Great War.

These matters are so important, so vital to all these countries, that despite what is said the mass of employers and laborers, the teachers and scholars, the church people, and their priests are willing

to direct organized murder, spill oceans of blood, and dissipate uncounted treasure in order to keep their present advantage or to increase it at the expense of other lands.

Moreover, the victims of this situation, the black laborers, and yellow laborers, and brown laborers, in Asia and islands of the sea, are not only voiceless in these conferences, but the mass of the intelligent Christian people of England, France, Germany, Italy and America do not consider that the interest of colored peoples is of enough importance to be even mentioned when compared with the income and wealth, the comfort and luxury, the world power and civilization of white people. Manifestly under these circumstances, any great decrease or abolition of navies and armies is unthinkable; and manifestly, before the problem of naval reduction, military disarmament and world peace can be settled, we have got to walk up and face with unblinking eye the problem of the place and use and future of the majority of mankind who do not happen to be white.

37-5-9

On the other hand, advocates of social reform have a clear case against American Negroes, and against many other colored folk in the world. Many of them admit much of what has been said with regard to the color element in all world problems. But they say: We get no sympathy or support from colored people in our general efforts at reform. The colored people are very eager to have us help them, but their attitude is too often an attitude which seems to say: What we want is personally to escape from our present disabilities. We want greater wealth and freedom and political power, and we propose to use this for ourselves; and we would not be at all adverse if we got power to trampling less fortunate white people and our own less fortunate social classes under our feet. Unless the Negro American group sees direct advantage to itself, it shows little interest in public movements. How many Negroes are interested in the release of political

prisoners? How many have enlisted in the war against capital punishment? What interest have they in tariff taxation, high or low? Nor is this all: in matters where they do show interest they have continually bee on the wrong side. Negroes voted overwhelmingly against woman suffrage; they continually are found siding with the rich, the fashionable, the well-to-do and against the poor and ragged and unfortunate. There is no social snobbery that can outdo the pretentions of black folk who have achieved large income and some social recognition from the dominant white world. The colored groups of the world are proverbially groups of oppression and social discrimination; the ignorant tyranny of the Egyptians over the black Sudan gives England excuse for more scientific exploitation there, just as caste and religious sectarianism delivers India to her man, bound hand and foot. The silly ostentation of Indian rajahs, the present anarchy in China where rich merchants have for years joined rich foreigners in enslaving the coolies—all this seems to most Liberals reason for less action rather than for more—for despair, rather than increased determination.

32-5-10

There is continually disclosing a tendency of colored people in the United States to be curiously provincial in their thought and aspiration. Even when they are right they are narrow. They have not the slightest interest in the peace movement. What they want is to abolish the lynching of Negroes. They are not advocates of democracy, so far as China or India is concerned, or so far as the foreign-born of the United States are concerned. What they mean by democracy is the right of black America to sell its delegates to the highest bidder at National Republican conventions. They want better wages, but they are perfectly willing to accept better wages at the expense of lower wages for other groups, whether these groups be American whites or brown or black people in other lands.

The complacent attitude of colored people in religion is particularly exasperating to liberal-minded folk. Their churches are still largely centers of an unintelligent, uncivilized practice of emotional self indulgence, with almost no attempt to face the religious problems of the day. When the great M. E. Church fought hard and kept its colored members, they kept a block of members who voted against theaters and dancing, fifty years after these questions had been dead as Tophet. The Baptist are split not only by the color line but by a line of civilization which leaves the colored church 50 years behind and proud to be so. The colored Episcopalians and Congregationalists are content to be humble objects of white charity. Where is religious freedom, independent assertion and renewal of high ideals in such a group? The leading Fundamentalists today are in the white South and the black church.

32-5-11

In other words, reformers have a right to complain that instead of regarding themselves as a part of a great mass of people for whom social reform is trying to work out some amelioration of condition, Negroes tend to regard themselves as the only victims of oppression and the ones for whom not only Negroes themselves must work, but all other people must give up all other interests to join in the settlement of their problem.

It is manifest now, that the time is here when this logical failure to understand each other must come to an end. Reformers must realize that after all, one of the chief difficulties with the thought of American Negroes is that they have been so long excluded from contact and conference with the mass of their fellow citizens that it is not easy for them to realize what these people are thinking of and where the shoe pinches in the case of white Americans and yellow Asiatics. Today the education which Negroes have received has quite naturally given them the mental attitude of the prosperous Americans of a

previous cnetury; in their textbooks they have learned the advantages of wealth and power and the low and despicable position of other nations and races. The only thing that has counteracted this general knowledge has been the specific knowledge of the disabilities of Negroes. Under these circumstances, it is natural for American Negroes to be radical so far as the Negro problem is concerned, but to be indifferent or reactionary on all other social problems. The American Negro, therefore, needs an intensive course of study, not only in schools but in adult life of the difficulties of the world, of the meaning of reform movements, and of the part which Negroes as citizens of the world must play in reform.

33-5-12

Just as truly, no man today has a right to describe himself as liberal or radical who refuses to face the problem of black folk and colored people; who sits down before one of the greatest of world problems and seeks to settle it by saying it cannot be settled; who proposes to reform the world for the benefit of white people on the tacit assumption that other folk are not human in the same sense that white people are human. To ~~achieve~~ change this attitude, they have got to become acquainted with what is known as the Negro problems; they have got to face the facts of that problem; they have got to realize its human difficulties and implications; they have got to know Negroes as human beings and treat them as such.

I doubt not but if once there is this orientation of thought among Negroes, Liberals and Radicals, there is going to be a chance for reform in the United States which today seems almost impossible. We are quite used today to seeing efforts of reform, backed by unassailable logic and deep sympathy, fall on absolutely deaf ears, and the reason is that back of the spoken word is the whispering campaign which says: this will never do: Look out for Japan; look out for the Negroes of the South; look out for the yellow peril. But, on the other hand,

every effort to make the Negro act as a thinking human being, an intelligent voter, an advocate of liberal causes, is again marred by the whispering campaign. These people are hypocrits, they do not believe in black folk, and you cannot trust what they say. I know of no single line of work in the modern world and in America which promises more immediate and graitfying result than a thorough understanding and unification of the race problems and the problems of social reform.

I have purposely omitted here a discussion of the obvious differences that must lie between liberal and radical programs. This is because exact definition of reform is secondary to my main purpose of saying that social reform of any kind must include Negroes, and that Negroes must work for social reform.

37-5-13

But I shall not shirk the secondary matter because it is the theme of the Crisis magazine which I edit. I can say that today any honest and thorough Liberal reformer must stand for ideals looking toward the following matters:

World Peace

Anti-Imperialism

The Reduction of Poverty

Increase social control of property and income.

Democracy in politics and in industry.

Public education

Internationalism and the breaking down of artificial barriers between nations and races.

The scientific curse of crime, Health and war on disease.

Freedom of thought and expression in the pursuit of truth and beauty.

And the abolition of dogma in religion.

I cannot conceive of anyone calling himself intelligently liberal in 1930 to whom these ideals do not appeal as objects of effort. On the other hand, what are the Negro problems today? They are, I take it, Military oppression of the colored races, including lynching

The denial of self-government

Low wages and organization of industry and commerce which keeps wages low.

Disfranchisement in politics and industry.

Restricted education

Race prejudice which prevents human contact

Crime, due principally to poverty, disease and discrimination.

32-5-14

The inability to complain of these conditions without incurring public disapprobation or even mob law.

One cannot compare these two lists without seeing that they are simply two sides of the same set of problems: the one side larger in the United States because of the majority of whites; the other side, larger throughout the world because of the majority of colored people. And yet, whether we regard the color problem as a problem of the people or the United States or as a world problem, the same thing must be true. No permanent social advance can be made and maintained, if, on the one hand, liberal-minded reformers refuse to face the Negro problems, and if, on the other hand, the American Negro and the colored races seek to escape from their present disabilities without working hand in hand with the reformers of the world.

Granted this obvious fact and there comes the practical matter as to how this social advance can best be achieved. The worse victims of military oppression, the slaves of imperial industry, the unemployed of civilized states; those who suffer from the greed

of organized wealth in politics, industry and education. The social classes disfranchised for their manners, their poverty or their color; the weak, the wretched and the insane. The victims of economic and religious intolerance. Such folk, so far as they consciously think and feel, must tend toward the radicals. They must tend to seek relief from present conditions only in force and even revolution. On the other hand, in a happy city like this, which is in many aspects a paradise for the well-to-do, where owners of safe bonds congregate weekly in comfortable churches and worship a God who has ceased to threaten; people to whom the present organization of society and industry has furnished undoubted advantages, and who are, therefore, disposed to rejoice that they are not as the Russians are, and to be glad that John Brown planned his anarchy eighty years ago and not today — such people, naturally, will be only mildly Liberals. They will be neither excited nor extreme about remedies for present ills, and they will easily turn to regard reform as simply a matter of personal charity.

37-5-15

Between these extremes, where shall the American Negro stand? I maintain that his position in this land with his poverty and ignorance; his limited economic opportunity; his disfranchisement and social ostracism, forces him logically to take his stand rather with the poor than with the rich, with the workers and not with the employers, with the unfortunate and not with the well-to-do. He should help raise from that great and propelling tide of protest which must soon awaken America and the world to the short-comings of present civilization and to the insistent need of thorough-going reform. He will be kept from extreme methods of revolutionary reform, on the one hand, by the memory of what he himself has accomplished by means of the benevolent charity of others, and the persistent agitation of his own organization. But this will not seduce him into complacency and fatuous contentment which is found

impossible if he is to survive as an efficent member of a modern civilized state. It is more necessary that he guard himself against the complacency and mild liberalism of the well-to-do than against the agitation of bitter complaint of the outcasts of the world. And it is here between radicals and the Negro, between revolution and the colored races, that the Liberals, and particularly the Liberals of America, hold the balance. If their recognize the desperate plight of the poor and the black, they will have forestalled radical upheaval by intelligent reason and immediate reform. But if their climb upward makes them blind and deaf to the world's ills, they will be the ones who will find themselves appealing to force and bloodshed in order to oppose the bloodshed and the force of thoses determined to be free.

And right here lies, as it seems to me, the real common ground of Liberal, Radical and Negro.

32-5-16

Africa

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What Black America Thinks of South Africa (Please forward)

The development of interest in South Africa among American Negroes has been noticeable in the last ten years. When Bishop Turner of the African Methodist Church a generation ago returned from South Africa and talked of its problems and prospects, his words fell on deaf ears. The American Negro had become prejudiced against Africa because of the effort of the slave holders to get rid of the problem of the free Negro by shipping him off to Africa. Ever since Emancipation, American Negroes have maintained that they are Americans and not Africans. Gradually, however, they have begun to acknowledge their kinship of interest with the black folk of Africa. This has been brought about by the African students who have been training in America; the American Negroes who have visited Africa as missionaries and travelled, and the Pan-African Congresses, held in Paris, London, Brussels, Lisbon and New York. Today, there is widespread and lively interest among American Negroes in their brothers of Negro descent in Africa and they think of South Africa as the country where the race problem is most intense and where its settlement means most for the Negro in the world. It is not easy for American Negroes to get first-hand knowledge of what is happening in South Africa. Their knowledge comes chiefly from the visits of South African natives and from the South African native papers, and from the little that they can get in the white press. The general idea among American Negroes of the South African problem is that the whites there are the most bitterly prejudiced set of modern persons who have come in contact with the Negro race. Negroes there are discriminated against and drawn race lines which are worse than anything that we have experienced in the United States: Separate residential districts; separate post office entrances;

separate railway cars and street cars, and things of that sort. Moreover, they understand that this separation is based on law and that the laws upon separation are increasing. In the United States most of the race discrimination is illegal and systematic appeals to the courts are gradually breaking it down. There are separate cars in the Southern states, but they must, according to law, give "equal" accommodation. The discrimination as to voting is patently illegal and it is only a matter of time when it will be broken down. The United States courts have repeatedly declared that separation by race in residential districts is against the fundamental law of the land. In South Africa, on the other hand, we learn that Negroes cannot buy land except in restricted districts; that they cannot build and live in homes, except by special permission, and that they can vote only in the Cape Province ~~of Capetown~~, and even there they cannot vote for Negro officials. In seven states of the United States Negroes sit in the Legislatures, and we have one Negro in Congress, and will have more. We have several judges and several men high in administrative positions. Nothing of this sort, we understand, can happen in South Africa, there you have the vast majority of the black inhabitants ruled by white people and with absolutely no effective voice in their own government. We cannot understand how any civilized country can defend a situation of this sort. Of course, to most American Negroes it is not clear that the mass of natives are not acquainted with modern civilization; that illiteracy is well-nigh universal, and that modern methods of work and living are unknown. But, despite this, American Negroes are astonished at the opposition to the education of the natives, of the very small relative amount of money that is spent on native education. Negro education is discriminated against in America but, nevertheless, it is growing by leaps and bounds. In 1900, we had only 1,500 Negro students in college. Today, we have 19,000. Two-third's of the adult Negroes in America can read and write. American Negroes are

38-15-92

especially incensed at the thought that the situation in South Africa involves the invasion of a people's country by foreigners and making those natives strangers and aliens on their own soil. We can understand how in America an alien race, even though brought against its own, will, should be ~~certainly~~ at first looked upon as strangers. Nevertheless, because of our long residence and our increase in knowledge and civilization, we are fighting a winning battle to be regarded, legally and conventionally, as American citizens. But in Africa, we see the astonishing situation of a million and half white people invading and seizing the land where six or seven million natives live and then setting up a government and a civilization which practically doesn't regard these natives as having any rights in their own continent. It envisages for them no future. Because in spite of the clap-trap which Jans Smuts has been distributing around the civilized world, any program for the future of African natives which involves their being cut off from modern civilization and confined to their primitive folk ways, at the same time that they are being heartlessly exploited by powerful industrial organizations, is headed for disastrous failure. We have ~~no~~ more sympathy with Hertgoz's plan, which while it is idiotic and can never be worked out, nevertheless has the merit at least of honesty and frankly proposing to do openly what already South Africa is doing. As to the future of South Africa, we can see but one out come. The native must become recognized as a part of the state with the right to ~~a future~~ vote and the right to work, with the right to own land and property and with universal education. If this can only be accomplished by a separation of races, then that separation has got to be a real and just separation. The land which the natives has must be just as good as the land of the whites, and if natives are kept out of white districts, whites must be kept out of native districts. Self-government for black people must become the rule in South Africa, and unless South Africa soon admits this and begins to work toward it, she is going to become

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an outcast among the nations. It is simply unthinkable that in a day when the black people of North America, the West Indies and South America are becoming incorporated in their respected states, when the yellow people of Asia are demanding and beginning to secure self-rule, when one can see the beginning of nationhood in Abyssinia and even in black West Africa, there should grow up in South Africa a state based upon the utter sub-ordination of three-fourths or more of its inhabitants.

38-15-100

W. E. B. DuBois (1930?)

Men as goods and social revolution. The new thing in the renaissance was not simply freedom, freedom of spirit and body, but freedom to destroy freedom; freedom to make slaves. The ancient world knew slaves and knew them well but they were slaves that worked in private and personal service or in public service like the building of pyramid and when slaves made goods the goods made them free because men knew the worker and the work and judged them humanly and sympatheticly. But when in the latter 15th century there came slaves, and mainly black slaves, they performed a different service. That service became for the most part not personal but labor that made crops and crops that sold widely and in the end promised vaster personal service than the first workers could directly give. This then was not labor but capital labor and the slaves were not laborers but a kind of capital goods and capital whether in labor or in goods; in men or in crops was impersonal, inhuman, a means to a mighty end. Immediately slaves became not men but things and valued as things are valued by the demand and supply of their labor force. They belonged, it happened, to a race apart, unknown, unfamilar because the available supply of people of that race was for the moment cheaper. Hence arose a doctrine of race based really on color but franticly extended.in every possible direction. The ancient world knew no races only families, clans, nations and degrees and contrast of culture. The medieval world evolved an ideal of personal worth and freedom for wider groups of men and a dawning belief in humanity as such. Suddenly comes America; the sale of men as goods in Africa; the crops these goods-men grew, the revolution in industry and commerce and manufacture and transport and trade and transformation of goods for magnificen service and power. The cry for the freedom of men's spirit became a shriek for freedom in trade and profit. The revolt of the liberal spirit was arrested by the theory of race so that black men became black devils or imbeciles.to be consumed like cotton and sugar and tobacco to make whiter and nobler men happier.

38-13-180

Fortunately as Gobineau rationalized this subjection of men Marx saw the virus of labor exploitation, of labor regarded and treated as goods poisoning Europe. He saw the social revolution, revolution in ideas which traffic in labor force for power and personal enjoyment brought and he saw this becoming the object of that very industrial revolution to which black slavery gave birth. Freedom then became freedom to enslave all working classes and soon the emancipation of the new wage slaves arising out of the hell of the industrial revolution was hindered by chattel slavery and men began dimly to see slavery as it really was. Then chattel slavery of black folk fell but immediately and in its very falling was rebuilt on African soil in the image and pattern of European wage slavery of the 18th and 19th centuries which at the time was crumbling before a new freedom. The abolitionists, however, did not realize where the real difference between white and black workers had entered. Initially the goods which the white workers made had made them free but the goods which black slaves made did not make them free. It long kept them slaves for these workers were isolated in far and wild America. The eaters and wearers and smokers of their crops, even the owners of their crops and bodies did not see them working or know their misery or realize the injustice of their economic situation. They were workers isolate from the consumer and consumers bargained only with those who owned the fruit of their stolen toil often fine, honest, educated men. Those then who in the dieing 19th century and dawning 20th saw the gleam of the new freedom were too busy to realize how land monopoly and wage slavery and forced labor in present Africa was threatening Europe of the 20th century and reestablishing the worst aspects of the factory system and dehumanizing capital in the world at the time when it was diligently attacked in culture lands. They did not see that here was the cause of that new blossoming of world wars which instead of being wars of personal enmity, of dynastic ambition, or of national defense become wars for income and income on so vast a scale that its realization meant the enslavement of the masses of men. All this then was the significance of that slave trade which we now study.

38-13-181

Leave blank
for Study

(1)

Ethiopia

by W. E. Burghardt DuBois

34-1-20

After the tumult and shouting, it may be well to review that which the great and distinguished writer, Arthur Brisbane, regards as the "circus" at Addis Abeba. The press correspondents had a most difficult time. Their original cue was to get a great deal of fun out of the crowning of this black King; and even after revelation had come to them, they restrained themselves with great difficulty. There were, for instance, the lightly veiled jibes at the architecture of this African capital; and there was the delicious story of machine guns guarding the new Emperor from his own army. There were the usual hints at splendor amid dust and mud, always described as barbaric, if it takes place outside Europe and New York, and unless it takes place in London, with the solemn ~~presence~~ aura of George V.

In other words, there was in the news from Ethiopia a certain note of haunting restraint. First, of course, there was the change of name: Abyssinia has long been in use. It is a country of white folk, mysteriously lost in Northeast Africa; but not Negro, Oh no! and not Negroid. "Ethiopia", on the other hand, which these people now curiously insist on calling their country, has the most unfortunate implications in America. When we have run the gamut of "colored", "Nigger" and "darky", we come down to the depths of "Ethiopian", and now comes an Ethiopian emperor! Then, too, this matter of color in the new incarnation of Ethiopia is a bit disconcerting. Not even the hardiest of the correspondents could describe th King of Kings as white, or even as "olive". Certain correspondents did find "white" children among those that swarmed for dimes before the Imperial throne. But sunlight effects the eyes in Africa.

"My God!" ~~said~~ cried the Anzacs, in world-war time, "We didn't know the Egyptians was Niggers!" They say that ~~precipitated~~ helped Zagloul's

rebellion. The thing that astonished the unsophisticated was the notice which all Europe took of this dark coronation, and more strange to say, the fact that even color-mad America and President Hoover, (who not a bit color blind, even in Southern politics), were up and coming in the very front rank behind the brass band. England, with the cunning eye for effect which seldom fails, sent a Prince of the Blood, and so did Italy; and these two naturally outranked everybody, save the conquering Lion of Judah himself.

America was represented by a real General in gold braid, a naturalized German banker, with the rank of Ambassador and a United States Minister, who received a gorgeous decoration. France was there (with a full fledged Marshall, baton, oak-leaves & all), and Germany, Japan and Turkey, and the Catholic church, the Netherlands and Poland, (Indeed, it looked almost like a swarming of vultures, too, for corpses in North Africa. This was emphasized by certain significant absences! Nearly all the darker world of Asia and Africa, save Japan, Turkey and Egypt, was conspicuously absent. Russia of course was not there, nor the little states of the Balkans; but the imperial masters of exploited yellow, brown & black races were there all smiles & clinking swords, and gold braid, decked out with pomp and circumstance. (And Lessmith too, all the way from a big English cattle & French & Belgian airplanes.)

The secret dispatches sent or carried home or even those uncommitted to paper, but whispered into the ears of wise Prime Ministers, have not been divulged to an eager public. Nevertheless, I seem to sense in my own mind as to what these delegates wanted to say, or at least we think we know, and that I am giving my guesses full publicity here, without assuming one iota of responsibility. My mind was sick & troubled, I can't quite verbalize!

England's Resident Minister, Sir Sidney Barton, hastened to cable in code.

"Good, we had Glouscester here! His medals and uniforms made a rather showing. And, of course, he outranked everything, even Italy. The Emperor was vastly flattered. At least he should have been. He is not a man quite as subject to flattery as I would like. He has got a cold eye

(Be conservative here & be careful.)

12-1-34

(Hell Hath no fury like a Woman scorned)

84-1-22

and it is fortunate for England that Kitchener met Marchand at Clochette Fashoda ~~[illegible]~~ before ~~the Frenchman Clochette~~ and the Abyssinians and ~~hurrying west~~ had a chance to join him. Otherwise, England never would have dominated the Nile Valley and Cape to Cairo would have been a ~~much vaguer~~ dream, ~~than it is today~~. Not that we are out of the woods yet, or rather, out of the swamps. For remember, America is dipping in. The elaborate American legation (enfin no all. Of course it really represented the White Engineering Company, who hope, to clinch that contract ~~that Abyssinia is going to let them dam~~ for damming Lake Tsana and thus control the Blue Nile. This is ~~very~~ most serious. Whoever thought that Abyssinia could get money ~~from any place~~ for such an undertaking (from any source but ~~except~~ London? Now ~~[illegible]~~ not only has ~~got~~ America ~~with~~ her finger in the pie, but Germany is lurking in the background. For mark you, ~~[illegible]~~ Ambassador Jacoby, who heads the special United States Legation, ~~with a rank of ambassador~~, is a German by birth, a Quaker by religion, and an international banker by trade! I'll wager he represents German ~~financial~~ colonial and industrial interests, and that Germany is using America to form a wedge against us in Abyssinia. It is a shame that we have not long since tied Abyssinia down with a big debt. Imagine such a situation!

" France and England must get together and watch Germany and America in Abyssinia. ~~And we had better~~ above all we must sound out Italy. She's still sore."

M. de Marechal Franchet d'Esperey (leading) must have been given an earful of ~~comments~~ The French mission, ~~consisting of notes and cables, also~~ had "After all, they all had to land in French territory'. Ships arrived and left Djibouti and all rode up the mountains to Addis Abeba on a French railway, —English milords, American shopkeepers and Italian Facisti. This gratifies but also reminds us of what we missed in 1898! I'm told that I think we are going soon to be able ~~to arrange~~ to extend the railway from Addis Abeba west ~~at least~~ as far as that empire of gold and mineral wealth ~~[illegible]~~ in the great mountains a few hundred miles away, ~~where it lies wealth in abundance~~. Ah, if we could have built that railway 30 years ago, and if Lagarde had not ~~blundered and~~ left poor Clochette, wallowing

Expansion of Tsana dams, the abatement of the Nile and Egyptian wheat crop.

in the swamps of Baro and Sobat, instead of joining Marchand before the battle of Omdurman. Alas, that cost France a pretty empire! Nevertheless, we are still dominant in Abyssinia [redacted]. The Emperor speaks our language alone of European tongues. We are educating more young Abyssinians than ~~either Germany or America~~ any other Country. We have more capital invested in Abyssinia than any European country and we are going to invest more. For the first time in her history, [redacted] Abyssinia ~~is going to make~~ is contracting a foreign debt. She may seek to borrow it in America, and a few months ago I would have sworn America would be silly enough to refuse. Now I'm not so sure. Germany would be glad to loan it but she hasn't it to loan, ~~Neither has England~~. France has got the money and Haile Selassie knows he has but to raise his finger. With a French debt, a French railway tapping all the resources of Abyssinia, we will be indeed paramount! From England, we have little to fear. Let the Emperor ride in his red Rolls-Royce, we handle his coffee, wax, ivory and skins. We may have to watch America narrowly, but our real trouble is Italy." Remember that Italy is ~~sore~~ angry. But thank God she's just about as ~~sore~~ mad as with England and Germany as with us. She knows perfectly well that England double-crossed her in 1896 ~~when the Black Mahdi had driven her from the Sudan~~ and ~~[redacted]~~ egged Crispi on. Italy has never forgiven Albion Perfide for those four thousand corpses at Adua. On the other hand, of course, our ~~present~~ naval impasse with Italy is her present chance to recall the way in which we ~~cheated~~ checked her ~~[redacted]~~ in North Africa and reneiged on the Treaty of London, ~~[redacted]~~." I have a proposal: Suppose we offer Italy the whole Hinterland, from Lybia by Lake Chad ~~and~~ straight down to the Belgian Congo, taking Wadai from ~~us~~ ourselves and Dafur and the Lybian Desert from England? We should give up nothing of value and help immensely the prestige of Mussolini; while Italy would be cut off from Abyssinia and set next the English Nile. ~~Think~~ this over."

They established the Kingdom of Italy in full regalia with many a strutting officer later

The Italians, did not, I imagine, talk out loud nor write. All that was too ticklish. I can see the Grand Council of the Fascisti with heads close together at Rome and Mussolini with his deepest frown.

34-1-24

"Remember, the French stole Algiers and Tunis and the hinterland of Lybia. French supplies helped Menelik outwit Great Britain and conquer an Italian army. It was Great Britain, France and Czarist Russia who on April 26, 1915, signed the secret Treaty of London which said: 'Should France and Great Britain extend their Colonial possessions in Africa at the expense of Germany, they will admit in principle Italy's right to demand certain compensation by way of an extension of her possessions in Eritrea, Somaliland and Lybya? Eritrea and Somaliland are bounded by Abyssinia and the sea.' I tell you we have got France and England in a logical corner and they know it. They have got to yield to us sometime, somewhere, for neither of them dare fight. Neither of them can afford to increase their military and naval expenditures, hard-pressed as they are for funds and unpopular as the mere mention of war is to the masses. We'll make these two countries bankrupt themselves in naval building to overreach us, unless they give us an opening in Africa. They needn't offer us Lybian deserts. What we want is Abyssinia. We'll get it and mainly by slow and peaceful pressure, if America and Germany do not interfere.

"Already, we are dangling the offer of a free port at Massowah to offset Djibouti. Massowah! What memories it brings back to us. Menelik got his arms and money from us at Massowah to conquer his empire. From Massowah we moved inland toward Adua. We had already the Treaty of Uccialli, with its celebrated Clause 17. We were going to loan Abyssinia four million lire. We notified the Congo Conference of our Protectorate of Abyssinia, and we got the full consent of Great Britain.

"Then Menelik got stubborn. With the backing of France,

34-1-25

C

and this diagram must be worked out.

6/ "Well, he conquered. Now (times have changed) we have to deal with a scared France, a ~~disintegrating Turkish empire, a conquered Germany and an England set upon by all the world~~. That means that ~~Germany and~~ America holds the key, and this conference shows that ~~they are~~ she is standing ~~together~~ with Germany, although perhaps ~~America~~ she doesn't know it. We must watch them. What cards have we to play against them? On the whole, America has been ~~complacent~~ friendly; but Germany, ~~of course~~, naturally will never forgive us for repudiating the Triple Alliance. Our real card is the Catholic Church--a secret card, a silent one, and powerful. We need fear no other religion. Remember old Emperor Theodore and his wrath at English missionaries?

That visit of the papal secretary last year was impressive. The Ethiopian church is Catholic. Once it becomes Roman and the battle is won. ~~We have~~ With church and schools, women and children, a cordon of coast territory and England and France afraid to stir, Forward Romans! Beyond Lybya, lies Ethiopia!"

~~Ethiopia~~

34-1-26

America in a sense, and talking German, consulted with Germany. They talked the whole thing out at length. I doubt if any of their words were put to paper, and I did not listen in. But if I had, I think perhaps the conversation might have run something like this:

"The present organization of the European world and by that token of the world which Europe dominates, simply cannot remain in its present condition for more than ten or at the utmost twenty years. There are ~~too~~ many impossible situations: the expenditures for war; territorial difficulties, like the Dantzig Corridor and Bessarabia; the question of minorities in Europe and Asia; the matter of war debts and reparations, the puzzle of ~~raw~~ material, and infinite questions of transport." All these mean that the world has got to break up into some new alignment. Where is the first crack coming? Probably not in Europe, for the ~~eyes~~ of the world are on Europe. ~~Strength~~ Strains will come there, but they probably will be kept from cracking for many years. Probably not in Asia. Asia is going off to itself. The ~~potentious~~ portentous power of India and China and the shrewdness of Japan, ~~is~~ are going to keep Europe from breaking her neck against the roof of the world. India is going to be free, China is going to be united, and that means Asia is going to be independent of Europe." Meantime, the real rift is about to come where we least ~~do~~ expect and that is in Africa. Semper Novi Quid ex Africa. Africa is in tremendous unstable equilibrium, ~~if matched in the European~~ Every European power meets in Africa. India is there through her emigrants, and America is there through her investments. Keep your finger on that last point. America will not consciously interfere in world politics. But she wants to make money; she will invest anywhere where profit is in sight, and these investments have carried her into war in the past and will in the future. The export of capital from America is ~~here presenting~~ today playing an increasing role. She has not yet reached the end of her exploitation of American resources, but she sees signs.

34-1-22

Our business is to get America to invest in Abyssinia and in Tanganyika. Then, when the natives begin to raise hell in South Africa and in Kenya, added and abetted by the Indians, with the moral support of black West Africa, and the intense and watchful interest of black America, then look out. After the outburst, it may easily be possible for Tanganika, Kenya, Uganda and Abyssinia to become that new German Colonial world which we must have everywhere to survive. Therefore, collude particularly America. She's financially interested in Germany and in Africa. She don't dare let Germany go bankrupt." Then, too, there's a political element in America, now not bigger than a man's hand, upon which we must keep our eye first, and that is the new Negro vote. That vote may tremendously influence America in Africa. Indeed, Negroes may come to occupy positions of influence in American diplomatic representation there. For a long time there has been a black Minister to Liberia and even the commitof First one did not make the Republicans to dare replace him by a white man. Shrewd political moves may easily bring a black Minister to Abyssinia, and black consular agents elsewhere in Africa. All this may play into our hands. It will easily increase black unrest. And since America does not want and cannot manage colonies, her friend Germany may manage them for her. Also, black Americans may come to regard Germany as their friend, too."

Japan and Turkey both were very silent, but I saw their eyes gleam when the Abyssinian army rode past the new Emperor, one hundred thousand mad horsemen, riding like the hordes of Ghengis Khan. I know precisely what Japan was thinking. These well mountaineers, armed with machine guns and modern rifles, and flanked with airplanes and tanks, may yet upturn the world. At any rate, here, at the headwaters of the Nile, is a garrison whose influence on the future of Africa is simply incalculable. All depends

34-1-25

upon this Emperor, this frail small man with bright eyes and a wild way of finding out the facts of the world. How much is there really to him? We do not know. But we remember what the Emperor Theodore said in 1865:

"I know the tactics of European governments when they tried to acquire their Eastern states. First, they sent out missionaries; then consuls, to support the missionaries; then battalions to support the consuls. I am not a Rajah of Hindustan to be made mock of in this way. I prefer to have to deal with the battalions straight away."

And Lebna Dengel King of Kings has not forgotten the sword of Menelek, Iyasu and Lion of Judah Mam, ghost of Priest John, who set alone on the high hills of Africa defied the world

[illegible] silly declaration:

"Ethiopia has need of no one. She stretches out her hand to none but God."

In Kenya, for the sake of [illegible] Africa

W.E.B Du Bois
69-5th ave
New York

34-1-46

Ethiopia

by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

After the tumult and shouting, it may be well to review that which the great and distinguished writer, Arthur Brisbane, regards as the "circus" at Addis Abeba. The press correspondents had a most difficult time. Their original cue was to get a great deal of fun out of the crowning of this black King; and even after revelation had come to them, they restrained themselves with great difficulty. There were, for instance, the lightly veiled jibes at the architecture of this African capital; and there was the delicious story of machine guns guarding the new Emperor from his own army. We got most of our fun out of Colonel Julian, the Negro American aviator. There were the usual hints at splendor amid dust and mud, always described as barbaric, if ~~it takes place~~ outside Europe and New York, and unless it takes place in London, with the solemn face of George V.

In other words, there was in the news from Ethiopia a certain note of pained restraint. First, of course, there was the change of name: Abyssinia has long been in use. It is a country of white folk, mysteriously lost in Northeast Africa; but not Negro, Oh no! and not Negroid. "Ethiopia", on the other hand, which these people now curiously insist on calling their country, has the most unfortunate implications in America. When we have run the gamut of "colored", "Nigger" and "darky", we come down to the depths of "Ethiopian", and now comes an Ethiopian emperor! Then, too, this matter of color in the new incarnation of Ethiopia is a bit disconcerting. Not even the hardiest of the correspondents could describe the King of Kings as white, or even as "olive". Certain correspondents did find "white" children among those that swarmed for dimes before the Imperial throne. But sunlight effects the eyes in Africa. "My God!" cried the Anzacs, in world-war time, "We didn't

know the Egyptians was Niggers!" They say that helped Zagloul's rebellion, So correspondents had to be careful.

The thing that astonished the unsophisticated was the notice which all Europe took of this dark coronation, and more strange to say, the fact that even color-mad America and President Hoover, (who's not a bit color blind, even in Southern politics), were up and coming in the very front rank behind the brass band. England, with the cunning eye for effect which seldom fails, sent a Prince of the Blood, and so did Italy; and these two naturally outranked everybody, save the conquering Lion of Judah himself.

34-1-47

America was represented by a real General in gold braid, a naturalized German banker, with the rank of Ambassador and a United States Minister, who received a gorgeous decoration. France was there with a full fledged Marshall, baton, oak-leaves and all; and Germany, Japan and Turkey, the Catholic Church, the Netherlands and Poland,—thirteen delegations in all—stood by. Indeed, it looked almost like a swarming of vultures, looking for loose corpses in North Africa. This, too, was emphasized by certain significant absences: Nearly all the darker world of Asia and Africa, save Japan, Turkey and Egypt, was conspiciously absent. Russia, of course, was not there, nor the little states of the Balkans; neither Haiti nor Liberia came; but the imperial masters of exploited yellow, brown and black men, were there all smiles, gold braid and clinking swords, decked out with pomp and circumstance. And presents, too, all the way from a big English cake to French and Italian airplanes.

The secret dispatches sent or carried home, nor even those uncommitted to paper, but whispered into the ears of wise Prime Ministers, have not been divulged to an eager public. Nevertheless, I seem so sure in my own mind as to what these delegates said that I am giving my

guesses full publicity here, without assuming one iota of responsibility. If this is what was said and written, than I quote verbatim!

England's Resident Minister, Sir Sidney Barton, hastened to cable in code:

"Good we had Glouscester here! His medals and uniforms made a superb showing. And, of course, he outranked everything, even Italy; the Emperor was vastly flattered. At least he should have been. He is not a man quite as subject to flattery as I would like. He has got a cold eye and it is fortunate for England that Kitchener met Marchand at Fashoda in 1898 before the Abyssinians and Clochette had a chance to join him. Otherwise, England never would have dominated the Nile Valley and Cape to Cairo would have been a dream. Not that we are out of the woods yet, or rather, out of the swamps. For remember, America is dipping in.

"The elaborate American delegation surprised us all. Of course, it really represented the White Engineering Company, who hope to clinch that contract for damming Lake Tsana and thus giving Abyssinia control of the Blue Nile. This is most serious. Whoever thought that Abyssinia could get money for such an undertaking from any source but London? Now not only has America got her finger in the pie, but Germany is lurking in the background. For mark you, Ambassador Jacoby, who heads the special United States Legation, is a German by birth, a Quaker by religion, and an international banker by trade! I'll wager he represents German colonial and industrial interests, and that Germany is using America to form a wedge against us in Abyssinia. It is a shame that we have not long since tied Abyssinia down with a big debt. Imagine such a situation!

"France and England must get together and watch Germany and America in Abyssinia. Above all, we must sound out Italy. She's still sore."

M. le Mareshal Franchet d'Esperly, heading the French mission, must

have been given an earful of information to take home. The spokesman of the resident legation would say: "After all, they all had to land in French territory". Ships arrived and left Djibouti and all rode up the mountains to Addis Abeba on a French railway,—English milords, American shopkeepers and Italian Facisti. This gratifies but also reminds us of what we missed in 1898! I'm told that we are going soon to be able to extend the railway from Addis Abeba west as far as that empire of gold and mineral wealth in the great mountains a few hundred miles away. Ah, if we could have built that railway 30 years ago, and if Lagarde had not left poor Clochette, wallowing in the swamps of Baro and Sobat, instead of joining Marchand before the battle of Omdurman. Alas, that cost France a pretty empire!

34-1-49

"Nevertheless, we are still dominant in Abyssinia. The Emperor speaks our language alone of European tongues and has an excellent French chef. We are educating more young Abyssinians than any other country. We have more capital invested in Abyssinia than any European country, and we are going to invest more. For the first time in her history, Abyssinia has at last decided to contract a foreign debt to stabilize her currency, extend her railway and begin industrialization. She may seek to borrow it in America, and a few months ago I would have sworn America would be silly enough to refuse. Now I'm not so sure. Germany would be glad to loan it but she hasn't it to loan. France has got the money and Haile Selassie knows he has but to raise his finger. With a French debt, a French railway tapping all the resources of Abyssinia, we will be indeed paramount! From England, we have little to fear. Let the Emperor ride in his red Rolls-Royce, we handle his coffee, wax, ivory and skins. We may have to watch America narrowly, but our real trouble is Italy.

"Remember that Italy is angry. But thank God she's just about as mad with England and Germany as with us. She knows perfectly well

that England beaten by the black Mahdi, double-crossed her in 1896, and egged Crispi on. Italy has never forgiven Albion Perfide for those four thousand corpses at Adua. On the other hand, of course, our naval impasse with Italy is her present chance to recall the way in which we checked her in North Africa and reneiged on the Treaty of London.

"I have a proposal: suppose we offer Italy the whole Hinterland, from Lybia by Lake Chad straight down to the Belgian Congo, taking Wadai from ourselves and Dafur and the Lybian Desert from England? We should give up nothing of value and help immensely the prestige of Mussolini; while Italy would be cut off from Abyssinia and set next the English Nile. Think this over."

The Italians did not, I imagine, talk out loud nor write. All that was too ticklish. They exhibited the King's ~~cause~~ cousin in full regalia with many a strutting officer. Later, I can see the Grand Council of the Fascisti with heads close together at Rome and Mussolini with his deepest frown:

"Remember, the French stole Algiers and Tunis and the Hinterland of Lybia. French supplies helped Menelik outwit Great Britain and conquer an Italian army. It was Great Britain, France and Czarist Russia who on April 26, 1915, signed the secret Treaty of London which said: 'Should France and Great Britain extend their Colonial possessions in Africa at the expense of Germany, they will admit in principle Italy's right to demand certain compensation by way of an extension of her possessions in Eritrea, Somaliland and Lybya.' Eritrea and Somaliland are bounded by Abyssinia and the sea.

"I tell you we have got France and England in a logical corner and they know it. They have got to yield to us sometime, somewhere, for neither of them dare fight. Neither of them can afford to increase their military and naval expenditures, hard-pressed as they are for funds and unpopular as the mere mention of war is to the masses. ~~We'll make these~~

On the other hand, we are bankrupt financially and the world knows it, and if we back down before France and England, we'll be bankrupt politically. We have got to go forward. We must triumph in Africa. We cannot ease the pressure on England and France.

~~two countries bankrupt themselves in naval building to overreach us;~~ unless they give us an opening in Africa. They needn't offer us Lybian deserts. What we want is Abyssinia. We'll get it and mainly by slow and peaceful pressure, if America and Germany do not interfere.

"Already, we are dangling the offer of a free port at Massowah to offset Djibouti. Massowah! What memories it brings back to us. Menelik got his arms and money from us at Massowah to conquer his empire. From Massowah we moved inland toward Adua. We had already the Treaty of Uccialli, with its celebrated Clause 17. We were going to loan Abyssinia four million lire. We notified the Congo Conference of our Protectorate of Abyssinia, and we got the full consent of Great Britain.

34-1-51

"Then Menelik, with the backing of France, got stubborn. Well, he conquered, and that disgrace must be wiped out. Now times have changed; we have to deal with a scared France, a disintegrating British empire and a conquered Germany. That means that America holds the key, and this ~~conference~~ coronation shows that she is standing with Germany, although perhaps she doesn't know it. We must watch them. What cards have we to play against them? On the whole, America has been friendly; but Germany, naturally, will never forgive us for repudiating the Triple Alliance. Our real card is the Catholic Church—a secret card, a silent one, and powerful. We need fear no other religion. Remember old Emperor Theodore and his wrath at English missionaries? That visit of the papal secretary last year was impressive. The Ethiopian church is Catholic. Once it becomes Roman and the battle is won. With church and schools, women and children, a cordon of coast territory and England and France afraid to stir, forward Romans! Beyond Lybya, lies Ethiopia!"

America (i.e. Jacobi), in a sense, and talking German, consulted with Germany. They talked the whole thing out at length. I doubt if any of their words were put to paper, and I did not listen in. But if I had, I think

perhaps the conversation might have run something like this:

"The present organization of the European world, and by that token of the world which Europe dominates, simply cannot remain in its present condition for more than ten or at the utmost twenty years. There are too many impossible situations: the expenditures for war; territorial difficulties, like the Dantzig Corridor and Bessarabia; the question of minorities in Europe and Asia; the matter of war debts and reparations, the puzzle of raw material, and infinite questions of transport.

34-1-52

"All these mean that the world has got to break up into some new alignment. Where is the first crack coming? Probably not in Europe, for the eyes of the world are on Europe. Strains will come there, but they probably will be kept from cracking for many years. Probably not in Asia. Asia is going off to itself. The portentous power of India and China and the shrewdness of Japan, are going to keep Europe from breaking her neck against the roof of the world. India is going to be free, China is going to be united, and that means Asia is going to be independent of Europe.

"Meantime, the real rift is about to come where we least expect and that is in Africa. Semper Novi Quid ex Africa. Africa is in tremendously unstable equilibrium. Every European power meets in Africa. India is there through her emigrants, and America is there through her investments. Keep your finger on that last point. America will not consciously interfere in world politics. But she wants to make money; she will invest anywhere where profit is in sight, and these investments have carried her into war in the past and will in the future. The export of capital from America is today playing an increasing role. She has not yet reached the end of her exploitation of American resources, but she sees signs.

"Our business is to get America to invest in Abyssinia and in Tanganyika. Then, when ~~the natives~~ (native and white labor, home rule & imperial capital) begin to raise hell in South Africa and in Kenya, ~~aided~~ aided and ~~abetted~~ addled by the Indians, with the moral ~~support~~ anger of

black West Africa, and the intense and watchful interest of black America,—then look out. After the outburst, it may easily be possible for Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda and Abyssinia to become that new German Colonial world which we must have. Therefore, cultivate, particularly, America. She's financially interested in Germany and in Africa. She don't dare let Germany go bankrupt.

34-1-52

"Then, too, there's a political element in America, now not bigger than a man's hand, upon which we must keep our eye, and that is the new Negro vote. That vote may tremendously influence America in Africa. Indeed, Negroes may come to occupy positions of influence in American diplomatic representation there. For a long there there has been a black Minister to Liberia and even the coming of Firestone did not make the Republicans dare replace him by a white man. Shrewd political moves may easily bring a black Minister to Abyssinia, and black consular agents elsewhere in Africa. All this may play into our hands. It will easily increase black unrest. And since America does not want and cannot manage colonies, her friend Germany may manage them for her. Also, black Americans may come to regard Germany as their friend, too."

Japan and Turkey both were very silent, but I saw their eyes gleam when the Abyssinian army rode past the new Emperor, one hundred thousand mad horsemen, riding like the hordes of Ghengis Khan. I know precisely what Japan was thinking. These wild mountaineers, armed with machine guns and modern rifles, and flanked with airplanes and tanks, may yet upturn the world. At any rate, here, at the headwaters of the Nile, is a garrison whose influence on the future of Africa is simply incalculable. All depends upon this Emperor, this frail small man with bright eyes and a mild way of finding out the facts of the world. How much is there really to him? We do not know. But we remember what old Emperor Theodore said in 1865:

"I know the tactics of European governments when they tried to

acquire their Eastern states. First, they sent out missionaries; then consuls, to support the missionaries; then battalions to support the consuls. I am not a Rajah of Hindustan to be made mock of in this way. I prefer to have to deal with the battalions straight away."

34-1-54

And perhaps the Lord King of Kings has not forgotten the word of Menelik, that old and iron faced black man, ghost of Prester John, who sat alone on the high hills of Africa and defied the world.

"Ethiopia has need of no one. She stretches out her hand to none but God."

Wherefore, for the seed of the next world war, watch Africa.

Abyssinia

Our business is to get America to invest in Abyssinia and in Tanyanikki. Then, when the _____ begins to raise hell in South Africa and in Kenya, added and abetted by the Indians, with the moral support of black West Africa, and the intense and watchful interest of black America, then look out. After the outburst, it may easily be possible for Tanyaniki, Kenya, Uganda and Abyssinia to become that new German Colonial world which we must have everywhere to survive. Therefore, particularly America. She's financially interested in Germany and in Africa. We don't dare let Germany go bankrupt. Then, too, there's a political element in America, now not bigger than a man's hand, upon which we must keep our eye first, and that is the new Negro vote. That vote may tremendously influence America in Africa. Indeed, Negroes may come to occupy positions of influence in America, diplomatically represented there. For a long time there has been a black Minister to Liberia and even the event of Firestone did not bring the Republicans to dare replace him by a white man. Shrewd political moves may easily bring a black Minister to Abyssinia, and black consular agents elsewhere in Africa. All this may play into our hands. It will easily increase black unrest. And since America does not want and cannot manage colonies, her Friend Germany may manage them for her. Also, black Americans may come to regard Germany as their friend, too.

Japan and Turkey both were very silent, but I saw their eyes gleam when the Abyssinian Army rode beside the new Emperor, one hundred thousand mad horsemen, riding like the hordes of Ghengis Khan. I know precisely what Japan was thinking. These silent mountaineers, armed with machine guns and mountain rifles, and flanked with airplanes and _____, may upturn the world. At any rate, here, at the headwaters of the Nile, is a garrison whose influence on the future of Africa is simply incalculable. All depends

37-5-91

upon this Emperor, this frail small man with bright eyes and a wild way of finding out the facts of the world. How much is there really to him? We do not know. But we remember what the Emperor Theodore said in 1865:

37-5-92

and we remember, too, what old Menelik, that real Lion of Judah, said when he faced Italy and Great Britain:

But we got our greatest joy out of Colonel Julian, the Afro-American aviator. He gave us a chance to laugh at Negroes in America and to sneer indirectly at Abyssinia. And yet, there was something a bit significant about Julian's attempt, and the last Abyssinian commission was strangely eager to interest American Negroes in Abyssinia.

Hy Boss

10-21-52

On the other hand, we are bankrupt financially and the world knows it, and if we back down before France and England, we'll be bankrupt, politically. We have got to go forward. We must triumph in Africa. We cannot ease the pressure on England and France.

December 9, 1930.

[1930?]

H. D. West received his degree of A. M. at the University of Illinois this year. He is teaching Chemistry at the Meharry Medical School, and is a Son-in-law of Dr. W. F. Penny, Chief of the Surgical Service at the United States Veteran Hospital, Number 91, Tuskegee, Alabama.

51-01

10.2.32

MAY WEEK AT TALLADEGA

The May Week celebration sponsored by Alpha Zeta Chapter of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority from May 1-4 was a decided success. Members of the chapter had charge of chapel exercises on Thursday and Friday. On these two days the chapter presented local Delta talent. The Sunday afternoon program was contributed by Sorors Lorraine Howse and Grace Price, corresponding members of Alpha Beta Chapter; and Mrs. W. T. B. Williams, a member of the graduate chapter at Tuskegee. The intellectual value of the chapel programs was based on interfraternalism and interracialism. The intellectual guidance received on Sunday was from Soror Williams' talk on Educational Ideals. The material contribution to educational uplift was in the form of library books. The books were: The Door, a mystery novel by Mary Roberts Rhinehart The Exile, a novel by Warwick Deeping; and A Guide to Short Stories by Firkins. Alpha Zeta Chapter and visiting sorors feels that the celebration was quite a success and are confident that the next May Week celebration will be still better.

10-28

10-4-35

MAY 23 1930

Mr. Lester Walton

32-9-3

The Negro in the United States today has less opportunity of achievement and less freedom for development than any other American group, and I am unable to see that President Hoover has made any successful effort in increasing our opportunities or our freedom. On the other hand, to single out two points; his attitude toward the Lily-White movement of the South, and his attitude toward Liberia, have both hurt us immeasurably, and these are but two matters of a dozen that I might name. For this reason, I can not take seriously the platitudes and well-meaning generalizations of the President's last speech.

Article (3)

34-1-14

Nana Prempeh

Kweku Dua III., last King of Ashanti, and known to the world as Nana Prempeh, died at Kumasi, Gold Coast, West Africa, May 12. Thus ends an astonishing romance of history. Ashanti, now a part of the British dependency known as the Gold Coast, has an area of 23,000 square miles and has a black population of 400,000 people. The Ashantis, according to the English themselves "were a proud nation of brave and daring soldiers, living happily and contentedly under the most absolute of Kings." They came down from the far interior where they stemmed the Moslem invasion and found themselves face to face with white Christian slave traders. They resisted at one time and another the French, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Danes, the Swedes, and the Brandenburgers.

Against the English alone they fought six wars: in 1806, in 1811, in 1814, in 1823, in 1863 and in 1873, and they were not finally subdued until in 1900, when the British brought the might of their empire against them and in the battle Prince Henry of Battenburg lost his life.

The Ashantis have reigned in unbroken dynasty in West Africa since the 16th Century and their history goes back to the ancient kingdoms of the Mossi and Borgu and Nupe, who in turn knew Byzantiam. In the known history, since 1500, they had thirty-three Kings, of which Ajiman Prempeh was the last. The real history of Ashanti is yet to be written. We read it now only in the story which the English have written. Even this is a sordid tale. Sir Hugh Clifford, late governor of the Gold Coast, confessed in 1915 that the history of this colony, the earliest beginnings of which had their inception in the dark days of the slave-trade, cannot but hold many things that modern Englishmen must recall with mingled shame and horror. The reader will find much

to deplore in the public and private acts of many of the white men who, in their time, made history on the Coast; and some deeds were done which must for ever remain among the most bitter and humiliating memories of every Britisher who loves his country and is jealous of its fair fame.

34-1-15

Nana Prempeh who has just died was born in 1874 and succeeded his brother in 1884. He tried to govern with fairness and tried to keep peace with the British but failed. The crisis came in 1896, when a victorious British force entered Kumasi. Prempeh restrained his soldiers so as to have the least bloodshed, but the British seized and humiliated him just as they desecerated the ashes of the Mahdi in the Sudan. They forced him and the Queen Mother to prostrate themselves publicly before the victorious puppet of England, Sir Francis Scott. The King's subjects stood dumb with amazement and after he had been imprisoned and finally banished to the Seychelles Islands, a thousand miles from Africa, a great rebellion took place in 1900, known as the War of the Women, and led by the Queen Mother. But Ashanti was crushed and the British Empire stood at last in 1900 with its feet on the necks of these black people. But even the British dare not go too far. They demanded the Golden Stool, which contained the "Soul of Ashanti" and on which its Kings had been crowned for half a millennium. They never got it. Today it remains in the hands of black folk.

Finally, after nearly thirty years, on petition of the leading chiefs, Nana Prempeh was released and allowed to return to the Gold Coast November 11, 1924. He received an amazing reception. The chiefs made him a gift of $30,000 and the Government allowed him to be elected Omanhene of Kumasi, with a salary of $5,000 a year. He had 130,000 of his former people under him. His task of government between the old chiefs, who looked for the return of a king, and the educated young

men, was difficult but succeeded unusually well. Ashanti has its place in history. Yesterday it was one of the centers of that African art that inspired the art of the modern world. Today it is part of the greatest cocoa-raising country on earth. Ashanti buys $20,000,000 worth of English goods each year and sends out in return mahogany, oil, rubber, and seventy thousand tons of cocoa. There are gold mines, but little education. Only 789 children in in government schools and 3,000 in indifferent mission schools. The chiefs still have a voice in their own government but they are dominated by the English, receiving a subsidy from the government and liable to be driven from power if the English Commissioner wishes.

34-1-16

Nevertheless, there is in Ashanti today and in all West Africa a growing independence and determination not always to be at the mercy of the British Colonial Office. Of this spirit, Nana Prempeh was a significant example. He stooped to conquer. He came back from exile and with dignity bowed to the British power and yet maintained his influence and ascendancy over his own people and stood as a great living example of the ancient African kingship.

Niagara Conference

1931

RESOLUTIONS

There can be no doubt but that the present depression has brought the modern world face to face with the problem of practical economic reform, and a group situated like the American Negro, a little more than a generation removed from physical slavery, must of necessity feal the need of improved industrial conditions more than most folk. The American Negro still clings to the belief that just as his progress since Emancipation has been accomplished by hard work, even if poorly paid, agitation, and appeal to law and order, that these same fforts accompanyed by more intelligent co-operation will lead eventually to complete Emancipation. The American Negro, however, needs to guard against any idea that thoughtless contempt and reactionary opposition to reform movements is going to accomplish this end. As a laboring class his interests are on the whole identical with those of the white laborers. But he is able to make no thoughtful or advantageous alliance with white American labor because of its intense race prejudice through which it has disfranchised the Negro vote and kept the American Negro in economic serfdom. Notwithstanding this, the Negro as a laboring class refuses to surrender to the idea that the present organization of industry and distribution of wealth and income is just or proper. Under the law the Negro proposes to fight for his status as a full American citizen, to put down the barbarism of lynching, to insist on justice in the courts, on the abolition of the Jim-Crow car, on the recognition of decent marriage, and on opposition to racial segregation. Further than that, the American Negro, still believing in democracy, proposes to use his political power absolutely independent of party tickets and to seek representation in city councils, state legislatures, and the

United States Congress. Beyond this, he is going to use his vote to compell the United States Government to keep their promise, to restore the freedom of Haiti and to give freedom and to the Philippines in Hawaii. The American Negro is in sympathy with their whole movement in the colored world looking toward independence and self-determination. And especially are they interested in their oppressed brethren in South Africa; they rising relatives in West Africa, and their kinsmen throughout the continent. The American Negro still believes in education. He protests against discrimination in public elementary education throughout the South which is condemning him to continued ignorance; he demands better high school facilities, both North and South, and he urges Negroes still more to increase the number of young men and women who are given a college education. All this, however, is simply to give us civil freedom, political power, and intelligence, so as to help in the re-making of modern industrial society. We should shoulder to shoulder with those far-seeing thinkers of the modern world who declare that the income of the mass of people must be increased; that poverty must be abolished; that inordinate individual wealth is immoral and dangerous, and that the power in industry must more and more in the future be democratic and notmonartic.

Scottsboro Case

Carbon

In the defense of the boys charged with rape at Scottsboro, Alabama, the N. A. A. C. P. has but one object, and that is, a fair trial for them before the courts and exact justice to them regardless of race. For this purpose, the N. A. A. C. P. stands ready to co-operate in all measures for legal defense with any organization or person working for this one object, and it hereby pleads for such united effort, and expresses its grave fear lest without such effort these victims be hanged through dissension among those who are trying to defend them.

33-6-29

During the early part of January two statements appeared in the press of the United States which concerned the relations of Negroes and Jews in this country. One, was a story that members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were opposed to the election of Joel E. Spingarn as President of their Association; Mr. Spingarn being of Jewish descent. The second, was news of a protest made by a Negro medical association in Harlem against a proposed hospital for Negroes in Harlem to be financed by the Julius Rosenwald Foundation. Both of these stories have carried false implications which ought to be corrected.

In the first place, the story concerning Mr. Spingarn is entirely false. An editorial in The Crisis magazine, which is the organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, says:

31-3-26

Mr. Johnson, who resigned as Secretary, is a close friend of Mr. Spingarn and his resignation had absolutely nothing to do with Mr. Spingarn's election. Mr. Johnson resigned so as to be able to devote himself entirely to literary work.

The matter of the proposed Negro hospital in Harlem stands on quite a different basis. The Rosenwald Fund, after having built some five thousand schoolhouses for Negroes in the South, is beginning now to turn its attention toward Negro health and hospitalization. They propose to build and equip a hospital for Negroes in Harlem.

31-3-25

The American Negroes are deeply grateful to Julius Rosenwald. His help in the matter of schoolhouses and in the matter of Y. M. C. A. buildings have been invaluable. At the same time, Negroes have to point out that separate institutions, based on race, even when they are given in the best spirit, and for worthy objects, are sometimes dangerous. This, they believe, is the case in Harlem. Gradually, Negro patients are being received in the hospitals of New York City with less and less discrimination. This is the right of their American citizenship. In addition to this, Negro interns are entering hospitals now and then, and recently thirty Negro physicians were placed on the staff of the great municipal Harlem Hospital, including four heads of departments, and these men are working amicably and successfully along

side of sixty white physicians. They were held to the same standard of efficiency and character that white physicians all over the city were held. Now the Negroes of New York claim that this is the proper method of progress, and that if, on the contrary, a separate Negro hospital were established, it would be an excuse for discrimination in other hospitals, which would narrow the chance of Negroes to be admitted to the staffs of hospitals, which thus might easily turn to lower the standard of medical education for Negroes. The better part of the Negro physicians, therefore, of Harlem, have protested against this separate hospital, and refuse to accept it.

Manifestly, there is here nothing of racial or religious prejudice against Jews, and nothing but the deepest appreciation of what Mr. Rosenwald wishes to do for the Negro race.

31-3-27

undated

Dayton

Segregated Schools

Dayton has a population of 200,000—10% of which is colored; we are situated nearenough to Kentucky to have some distinctly southern attitudes on the part of many of our citizens; Negroes and whites ride together on street cards, but Negroes are not admitted to downtown moving picture shows or restaurants. Up to the present time we have had no all-colored schools, though Negro children have been restricted in the use of swimming pools, and segregated in gymnasium classes. One grade school has a main building with both white and Negro children under white teachers, and a temporary building for colored children under colored teachers. There seems to be an unwritten law that white children should not be placed under Negro teachers.

38-13-204

The new school is so located as to insure a large majority of Negro children in attendance. The whites on the West Side are bringing heavy pressure to bear on the superintendent of schools to have all-Negro school, both faculty and children. Others interested in this situation fear that the practice of segregation will be much more firmly established in the community if this is done, and would like to see at least two or three white teachers and if possible a few white children to keep the Paul Lawrence Dunbar School from being, to all intents and purposes, a segregated school.

May I ask what you yourself would consider wise in such a situation, and what you would think the main trends of Negro thinking would be? We are very anxious to see this school started right—whatever that may be—and will deeply appreciate your viewpoint on this matter. I might add that the time element is important—what is

done must be done quickly—so a prompt reply will be much appreciated."

"It is always unfortunate and against the fundamental idea of free popular education to separate the pupils on any artificial basis. As far as possible public school children should not be segregated according to the income of their parents, according to their home culture and surroundings, according to their national race or color. The public school should be a great democracy where all elements of the population come to realize the essential humanity of each.

"This ideal cannot always be reached. We find continually in modern cities that the arrangements of the community into exclusive sections and slums segregate the rich from the poor. There are schools mainly attended by Italian workers and schools initiated and designed for old American families. Nevertheless, usually there is no open and advertised segregation according to wealth and nationality; but there is an attempt in the United States to educate colored and white children separately.

Where public opinion is as fixed and immovable as in this city where I write, Atlanta, Georgia, separate schools are inevitable and at present best for the purposes of education. On the other hand, it would be a calamity if in New York or Boston there were similar segregation. In a border city like Dayton the problem is such that no outsider can bring much wisdom. Public opinion among thoughtful colored people, and I think among most far-seeing white people, would think it would be most unfortunate if the new Dunbar High School were made exclusively a Negro school. On the other hand, if Negro children in the mixed schools are not receiving proper attention and training, if they do not enlist the interest and friendliness of the teachers, if the teachers must inevitably and always be white, then colored children cannot receive in such schools the education that is their

38-13-205

due and some separation is almost inevitable.

Even in such case, however, it may be possible to save some remnants among the debris and as you suggest in your fourth paragraph, keep in the school some white pupils and insist upon a mixed staff of teachers. But whether Dayton is civilized enough for this procedure, I do not know."

38-13-206

Voting in the South

It is not always absolutely true to assume that nothing is absolutely settled until it is settled right. Lots of matters have been settled wrong and so far as human wisdom goes, it is hard to say just what is going to be done about it. But there are certain things, like the voting of the Negroes in the South, that have not been settled despite the earnest prayers of the Southern Bourbons and the benediction of the Northern Copperheads.

Here comes, for instance, the Editors of the Southwestern Review published at Dallas, Texas, who sends THE CRISIS an article by J. S. Stemons, a Philadelphia Negro, on "Negro Suffrage in the South". The Editors are quite intrigued over this article because it advocates Negro voters who always vote right and unselfishly under the wise dictatorship of their Southern white friends. This is, of course, poppycock. Stemons charges Negroes with unbridled abuse of the election franchise during Reconstruction and declares that today in the North they are just as dishonest. This is a petty lie and quite worthy of the obscure career of the author which has been followed by some of us for some time, and any contradictions to the contrary is asinine. Moreover, signs multiply that the South has got to come to it. For instance, the Atlanta Constitution tells us in a recent number that it would take "one-third of the registered voters or about six thousand to force a recall election." of Mayor Key who took a drink in France. Thus, Atlanta, Georgia has eighteen thousand registered voters. Now Atlanta, Georgia has 170,000 persons twenty-one years of age or over, which means that only one-tenth of her voting population is actually registered, and nine-tenths disfranchised. Or, if we assume that according to Southern chivalry all the women, white and black, are disfranchised, nevertheless, less than one-four

of the men can vote. What kind of democracy exists in Georgia,? Or take Louisiana, Dudley J. Le Blanc, candidate for Governor, is after the Legislature because the Legislature has not admitted white illiterates to the rolls. He says referring to the disfranchising Amendment:

The trouble with Mr. Barnes is that he doesn't realize that what is sause for the goose is sauce for Gander Long and the methods which are disfranchising Negroes in the South are being used and will be used to disfranchise whites.

The News and Courier of Charleston, South Carolina is beginning to realize this. It says:

Edna J. Meeker
2034 Darrow Ave.
Evanston, Ill.

THE CHICAGO WORLD'S FAIR OF 1933

AND THE AMERICAN NEGRO.

It seems to me that the following basis principles of proceedure ought to be laid down:

There should not be distinct Negro exhibits. It should be assumed that the Negro is represented in many of the general exhibits. On the other hand, since such representation will not be racial or the identity of the person emphasized, the American Negro will seem to be omitted unless something especially is done.

37-6-54

Now this can be done by making an American exhibit which will illustrate the extraordinary experiment made in this country to transform a body of slaves into full citizenship in a democracy. The exhibit could be called:

AN AMERICAN EXPERIMENT IN DEMOCRACY

It should be housed in a building with distinctive and striking African architecture, something like the African pavilions in therrecent French-Colonial exhibit, or a replica of some of the temples pictured in Frobenius' "Voice of Africa". This will give the striking and somewhat exotic primal impression.

Within, there should be a series of large grafts and moving diagrams, which in color, line and movement, should illustrate the way in which the Negro population has grown in the United States from the beginning; the increase in property holding and education, the occupations which Negroes pursue, and a series of large photographs and drawings of Negro homes, colleges, schools,

and public buildings. A special effort should be made to illustrate Negro art and literature. There should be continuous music, instrumental and vocal of the Negro folk songs, and of their development by Burleigh and Dett. There should be maps of the distribution of the Negro population and diagrams showing the contributions which Negroes have made to American civilization in exploration, invention, labor, war, etc.

37-6-55

To make these exhibits effective, the stress must be on the relation of these men their efforts and accomplishments to American civilization, and not simply the exhibits of a group. This will take a great deal of ingenuity, it will call for machinery, the increase of the Negro population, for instance, to be illustrated by the invisibly growing figure of a black man, and forming a height of one foot to a height of twelve feet. In his hands, the power of money could increase from practically nothing to a billion or more dollars. The ground upon which he stands would increase from the size of his feet to a plot larger than Ireland, etc. There should be in this no touch of commercialism, nothing for sale, no advertising or merchants, no begging for contributions, it would simply be a visible piece of definite information concerning twelve million Americans. If there is any chance to have anything like this done, I should be very glad to submit a plan in much greater and more definite detail.

JULIUS ROSENWALD, 1862------ 1932

American merchant and philanthropist, was born in Springfield, Illinois, on August 12, 1862, and was educated in the public schools. From 1885 to 1906 he was president of Rosenwald and Weil, clothing manufacturers, Chicago. In 1895 he became vice president and treasurer of the mail order house of Sears, Roebuck and Company, Chicago; from 1910-25 president, and from then on chairman of the board. The gross sales of the company, which approximated $2,000,000 in 1896, increased to $290,000,000 in 1927. He was, during the World War, a member of the advisory commission of the council of national defence by appointment by President Wilson, and in August 1918 went on a special mission to France for the secretary of war. In 1910-20 he served in Washington as a member of the President's industrial conference.

35-2-316

In 1916 Rosenwald founded the Sears, Roebuck and Company employees' savings and profit sharing pension fund, to enable those who remain in the employ of the company ten years or more to secure an income after the close of their active business careers, or, in case of death, to provide and estate for their families. The fund has paid to employees who have left the service of the company, in cash and in shares of the company's capital stock, an amount equivalent to nearly $13,000,000. All of the fund's assets are invested in the company's capital stock, and on December 31, 1927, it amounted to approximately 400,000 shares, having a market value of about $35,500,000 of which $5,500,000 was contributed by the employees. In December 1921 Rosenwald pledged $21,000,000 to safeguard the interest of Sears, Roebuck and Company during the critical period of business readjustment after the war. In 1920 and 1921 the company had paid no dividends on its common stock and it was apparent that its capital at the end of 1921 must show impairment. By Rosenwald's action the company was enabled to readjust its finances without injury to its capital.

September 29, 1932
Liberia

-4-

Liberia

THE CRISIS has said little about the present situation in Liberia because we were not at all sure of the facts. The Editor of this paper was in Liberia when the Firestone interests sent their chief investigator to look at the rubber forests which English promoters had planted and abandoned. He knew of the work which the United States Minister Solomon Hood had conscientiously and indefatigably done in order to interest foreign capital in Liberia. He hoped that the influx of this great corporation would be beneficial. Unfortunately, this has not turned out to be true and we are now convinced by undoubted evidence that the Firestone Corporation is responsible mainly for the present situation in Liberia, and the present effort to overturn and put into the hands of white men the government of this Negro country. The Firestone interests have been desirous of securing labor at the cheapest rates. They paid, at first, a shilling a day and "chop", and then theyreduced this to 9 pence a day and then to sixpence. They found that even at the higher rates of pay, they were not going to be able to get in Liberia the number of workers which they wanted, and they learned that President King and other Liberian officials had been allowing the Spanish and the French to secure a certain number of workers from Liberia. It was undoubtedly true that the systems under which these laborers were drafted, approached slavery, and that some Liberian officials, including the President, were financially interested. Nevertheless, if the same methods had been used to give labor to the Firestones, there wouldhave been no protest. As it was, the Firestone organization, backed a protest against slavery in Liberia, and the League of Nations made an investigation which showed undesirable and reprehensible conditions. They moved immediately toward rectifying this situation, and the Liberians promised co-operation.

37-6-146

37-6-147

President King was deposed and President Barclay was put in his place. Mr. Barclay was a man of education and honesty. He is willing and eager to bring about labor reforms in Liberia and to reconstitute the country upon a higher basis than ever, but no sooner was he elected to his position that every opposition which propaganda could bring was thrown in his way. He was refused recognition by the United States and by every country, except the Roman Pontiff. The United States surrendered completely to the Firestone Company. The Firestone Company established headquarters in a suite of rooms in one of the largest hotels in Geneva and kept its Secretary running backward and forward between this suite and a Committee of the League which was considering Liberia. The League laid down a plan of action, including an advisor, who was to go to Liberia and help re-organize the country. But the United States, backed by the Firestone interests, demurred. They said that this man must not be an advisor but must have dictatorial powers, and they finally increased their demands so that an American should be appointed, and it is said on good authority that the Firestone interests had demanded that they appointe this dictator. In the meantime, other interests were brought in to back the extraordinary stand of this corporation. When Sibly, the Educational Advisor died, there was appointed in his place a young man named Oxley. When Mr. Oxley arrived in Liberia, he was told that he must not call on President Barclay. He was told that the white people must keep the united front against the Liberians. He did not call for several months, but at last decided that he must, and found Barclay honest and eager to co-operate. Barclay gave him a dinner, and Oxley in turn gave the President a dinner at the house of one of the high Firestone officials. Because of this, this official, Davidson, was dismissed by the Firestone Company, and the General Manager, Hines, acting in the place of the Manager, Ross, who

was on vacation, went to Geneva to prove the propaganda against Liberia. Davidson sued Hines in the courts of Liberia for Fifty Thousand pounds for this letter. The testimony of Oxley was needed, but he was advised by Hines and Ross and Thomas Jesse Jones, of the Liberian Educational Commission, not to appear. He did not. He went to the Gold Coast and returned to the United States, and eventually resigned. In the meantime, every pressure is still being brought by the United States at Geneva to make the League of Nations appoint the Firestone interests as dictator of Liberia. When this happens, Liberian independence is gone.

37-6-148

The Soviets and the Negro

We are not at all surprised at certain developments in Russia concerning the proposed Negro film. All the facts are not known, but this much seems certain. Radicals and enthusiastic artists believed that a film frankly portraying the present tragedy of the American Negro would not only be a great artistic accomplishment but a splendid means of propaganda. A company of young people, including persons of distinction, like Langston Hughes, went to Russia to take part in the film. Then, suddenly, the making of the film was either postponed or given up. The reason is perfectly clear. The only chance that Soviet Russia has to survive in a predominate capitalistic world is to secure such technical guidance and capital in the form of majority and materials from America, Germany and England, aswill insure her industrial independence. Particularly, Russia today is dependent upon American technique and upon such engineers as Hugh Lincoln Cooper. The engineer was one of the greatest of world experts in hydraulic engineering as applied to power developments for electrical uses. Before the need for American technique and money, Communistic propaganda in behalf of the Negro, bows its head. We are sorry. There was something rather splendid in the way in which this great new land slashed at Negro prejudice throughout the world But we recognize the real politik in Russia's present attitude. Perhaps sometime when this great experiment finds its feet, it will again essay to stretchitsgscuing hands to the dark submerged millions of the world.

37-6-158

(Copy. — Nov. 29, 1933

Negro — Co-operation

I sincerely believe that the only hope of the Negro farmer lies in the organization of farm communities by Negroes and under their economic control and direction. There should be no compulsion in such co-operative effort and anyone, white or black, should be admitted if they so wish. In the North, it is quite possible that here and there white farmers would be quite willing to join such a community, and certainly colored farmers could often join white communities; but in the South the alternative before the Negro farmer is clear: he must either be a subordinate in a white farm community with no real voice in the conduct of its affairs, or he must organize his own community; and while no one should be kept out of such a community because of race and color, in effect this will be a segregated Negro community.

I have thought this matter over with great care, and I see no other way out so long as race prejudice in the South is what we all know it is; the continued subordination of Negroes to whites who will neither accept them as equals or give them justice must stop. Segregation by race, which is the practical alternative, has its great and threatening disadvantages; but for the black farmer in the South, it is the next and only step, and it is a step not only to be followed in the future; it has already been taken and followed by the more successful Negro farmers in the past. Its test for the future will be its success and the degree in which a larger co-operation between the Negro farmer and the Negro worker and professional man can be built up all over the land.

If the movement toward this co-operation had been started with careful thought and with knowledge of the psychology of the Negro race, the present criticism and recrimination largely could have been avoided. This was exactly what I had in mind, when on the one hand I objected to a white man's appointment in the Interior Department, and on the other hand, strongly recommended the appointment of a colored man, Henry Hunt, in the Agricultural Department.

This is not a matter of race but of knowledge. It must be remembered that segregation has long meant to the American Negro a surrender of his determination to be a man equal to other men. In the past through segregation, he has been forced

87-6-62

to live in slums, to work for lower wages, to have his children poorly educated, and to submit to public insult. For this reason, a whole array of bitterly resented facts and deeds arise in the black man's mind when any program of segregation is suggested, and particularly, when it is suggested by a white Southerner.

On the other hand, the Negro has today reached a stature when he can do things not only as an individual but in organized groups, and he must unite for the accomplishment of the great ends which he has in mind. This voluntary united effort involves a certain segregation and is often taken advantage of by white people in order to increase separation by race. Nevertheless, that is a risk we must take and the outcome is up to white America. It would be suicidal for the American Negro to oppose a wisely planned and carefully organized effort on the part of trained and experienced black men to lead them out of their present desperate difficulties simply because such organization involved their working by themselves. In fact, the very statement of the problem in this way, places the Negro in the peculiar position of seeming to object to associating with himself, just as white people object to associating with him.

If now, without any talk about segregation, separation or compulsion, the United States authorities had begun to encourage well-trained colored farmers and executives to ask for aid and some had gone to work and started successful co-operating farming efforts, no one would have been happier than the average American Negro. Instead of this, the authorities have begun with talk of segregation, and have brought forward as instances of successful segregation, the very last examples to which they should have referred, namely, the separate Negro towns in the United States. With two or three exceptions, these towns are about the most miserable places that any people, black or white, could live. They were organized without economic advantage, on the worst possible sites, with no trained people in control; and they represent a refuge and escape and not organized and planned effort. Thus the launching of this excellent idea has been most unfortunate.

37-6-63

That makes no permanent difference. As it is, groups of properly trained Negro farmers and business men ought to form themselves into voluntary organizations and ask of the United States aid for co-operative effort, and the government should with proper care and scrutiny grant such requests.

W. E. B Du Bois

37-6-64

The Harlem Hospital

The vindication of the conduct of the Harlem Hospital marks in many ways a distinct triumph. The character of the Investigating Committee, headed by Doctor Walter L. Niles, the well-known Cornel professor, and having among its members the President of the American Medical Association, a former President of the New York Academy of Medicine, Doctor W. A. Hinton, perhaps the most distinguished Negro physician, Doctor Solomon C. Fuller, the pioneer in American psychiatry, Doctor Ernest Just, first Spingarn Medalist, is a guarantee of the fairness of its investigation. The conclusion of this committee is that the Harlem Hospital, with its mixed staff of white and Negro physicians, may become a forerunner of future developments. Dispite its many handicaps, it is doing excellent and even distinguished work and it proves that in science and social uplift no color line is necessary for efficiency.

On the other hand, the opposition to the Harlem Hospital came first from white physicians who had been displaced and who ought to have been displaced, and from colored physicians who desired opportunity for which they are not professionally fitted. One can sympathize with this latter group because it has within its ranks men of who might have distinguished themselves in medicine if they had had better training and better facilities after they entered practice. Nevertheless their opposition should be directed not against the open doors of Harlem Hospital but against the closed doors of other hospitals, and so long as most hospitals do exclude Negro physicians, no matter what their training and ability is, the Negro hospital must be sustained and must be kept at high and higher grades of efficiency.

42-6-124

STEVEDORE

In the United States, the theatre is widely regarded as a matter of amusement and recreation, and this is one of the chief reasons for the degeneration of the stage into the type of entertainment which is chiefly suited to tired morons. Of the theatre as an interpretation of life, and a serious attempt to solve social problems, Americans refuse to give much attention. And yet it hardly needs argument to say that the theatre, if it took its job seriously, could do as much as books and more than magazines to interpret the tangle of life intelligently to the average man.

For this purpose, however, probably the theatre would have to say frankly to its patrons: this is (or is not) a serious drama with an appeal to the intellect rather than to the stomach, and in that way the public would not be deceived, and would not see "Stevedore", for instance, with the idea that they were going to have a pleasant and diverting evening. "Stevedore" is a terrible experience because it is a picture of some of the worst aspects of contemporary life. It is an attempt to portray the influence of intense race prejudice upon Americans. It is not, therefore, a pretty play, or a play that is beautiful, save in the vaster connotation of that word. It does not bring forward anything particularly new in the facts which lie at its hand. We all know that a favorite charge of white women who have been brutally attack is to accuse colored men, either through misapprehension, or deliberate design to divert guilt from white men. And we also know the other fact which is only mentioned in "Stevedore", that one of the easiest ways, particularly in the South, to escape suspicion is for the white criminal to blacken his face and let some Negro swing in consequence. But the message of "Stevedore" goes beyond this, and takes hold of the basic fact: that here in America are two groups of workers, who for ages have been criminally and designedly set against each other, so that from the 18th Century down to the middle of the 20th, white and black workers have hated each other, killed each other, and tried to starve each other to death, because of their own sheer stupidity. Few if any plays have dramatized as effectively as

(Stevedore)

"Stevedore" this dilemma and paradox of the white American worker and the colored laborer. The scenes in which this is set forth are gripping and terrible. They lead to murder and arson, to that upheaval of the world which comes repeatedly from persistent misunderstanding between human beings. It is certainly true, then, that "Stevedore" as a play is not an evening's entertainment. It is just as true that it has for the public a tremendous message and volume of information, and it marks a forward step in the willingness of small classes of Americans to face the truth on the Negro problem, and not continue to be fed by sentiment and predilections and prejudice. I feel that the author ought to be congratulated; that the actors do an exceedingly good and sincere piece of work, and I am especially gratified that the appearance of colored and white people, men and women, in the same cast, does not cause today such an upheaval in New York as it used to. I have known a perfectly good and sincere play to be offered in New York, and to be unable to proceed after a few attempts because white and colored persons were working together in the cast. Above all, it is a matter of congratulation that we have at last in New York the beginning of a Worker's Theatre. I tried it some years ago with the Krigwa Theatre in Harlem, but the idiology of a capitalistic world made it a failure. The players had simply one ideal, and that was to use this Little Theatre as a stepping stone to get to Broadway. The other members of the organization wanted drama, but not drama about Negroes or about workers. They were willing to try Shakespear and Ibsen, but nothing lower. They did not want any experiments in staging or in plot, and the result was that Charles Burroughs and myself, after rending of soul and stumbling on a Second Prize in the Little Theatre contest, concluded it was a matter of wisdom to stop on this dubious note of triumph, rather than to try further in inaugurating a folk theatre in black Harlem.

I am glad to see the white and black laborers of New York now uniting in a more auspicious effort.

Segregation

1934

Carbons

THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE.

37-8-77

Those of us who have, for a long time, represented the radical wing of Negro development must soon realize that our position is rapidly becoming conservative, not that we have changed, but rather that radical thought in the Negro race is moving beyond us. It is, however moving not so much in the line of demanding our citizen rights as individuals, but rather in the special line of demanding group development. In other words, we are facing a radical determination among American Negroes to develop the race group as such to its greatest efficiency; to avoid and even despise contact with whites, or association with them.

This purpose is, in many respects, laudable, but it has its dangers; and today in its incipiency is the time to guide it and mold it. It may be made, on the one hand, a great experiment for inner development, and world cooperation. It may, on the other hand, become a propaganda for racial hatred and revolution. It behooves all Negroes to think this matter over diligently, and take their stand. We must reach out to understand the younger generation of business and college men. To their laudable eagerness to develop the new discovered ability and genius of their group we must ever seek to add sympathy and careful contact with the great white enveloping world. Union and independence of effort is to be our slogan, but let it not degenerate to a racial narrowness and false pride.

1934 Du Bois Article

THE PHILOSOPHY OF RACE SEGREGATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Recently there have come disquieting signs that under the general term segregation, a great many specific misunderstandings are arising, and that the American Negro is in process of curiously contradicting himself and frustrating his highest desires by a sheer lapse of logic.

37-8-85

For instance, a group of young colored people, assisted by a few whites, organized a committee in Washington to see how far Negroes were getting justice under the N.R.A. codes. One of the best trained men on that committee was called to government employ for work on these same codes. Apparently this was exactly what the colored people were urging; namely: that Negroes should be among the officials who would help apply the codes. But curiously enough, the appointment of Weaver brought violent protest on the ground, apparently, that the government by its very fairness in appointing him, was interfering with a Negro group activity.

Or again, a white man was appointed Advisor in the matter of the Negro to the N.R.A. Immediately there was universal protest and especial indignation manifested when he proposed, among other things, that Negro incorporated towns should ask for government aid. This, said the Negro world, was segregation.

These are two specific instances but the matter is much more widespread. On the one hand, the Negro protests against discrimination, and on the other hand, he inculcates race pride. He criticizes the lack of racial unity, and also criticizes any movement which increases the number of racial institutions and movements in the country.

Manifestly, here is confusion of thought and the historic reasons for this are fairly clear. In the earlier days, to segregate Negroes in a group meant to deprive them from their contact with civilization, which was their chief means of advance. They, therefore, fought segregation not because it made them associate with each other, but because it prevented them learning from association with better educated and better trained people. Again, segregation

(Cont. The Philosophy of Race Segregation in the United States.)

was used in order to reduce the Negro group and put it under the domination of the white group, and the Negroes protested, not against associating with themselves, but against white domination and inforced inferiority. Finally when there came the insistant cry that Negroes should cease to be ashamed of themselves, and should unite in various racial enterprises, this was offset by the fear, on the part of American Negroes, that such movements would give increased impetus to the policy of segregation, and that when the Negro voluntarily segregated himself, he undertook the responsibilities and programs which by himself and within this enfironment he could not possibly carry out.

37-8-86

As a result of these various lines of reasoning, and historic developments, there is in the minds of most Negro thinkers today curious confusion. If, for instance, you speak of race segregation, there is objection to any racial segregation which is compulsory. Negroes say with perfect good logic that they do not want to be compelled to classify themselves on so unreal a basis as color. They want to be classified by other human beings, according to their ability, education and culture. If you answer this by saying that with the present temper and dislikes of the white world, racial separation cannot at present be avoided, then the Negro answers that inforced segregation does not mean simply separation, it means subordination. That what the Negro needs is not separate schools, but purely schools under the domination of white officials, who are elected to keep Negro schools poorer. That the Jim-Crow car is not a separate car, it's a second-class car where Negroes are compelled to pay first-class fares. Now against compulsory separation and segregation which involves subordination, what is the American Negro going to do? Two paths are usually indicated: one of which we may call co-operation, and the other individualism. In the one case, it is suggested that Negroes voluntarily organize so as to advance their interests as a group. On the other hand, it is argued that their interests are best advanced by individual accomplishment rather than by group action. Or, the argument for co-operation may go further and advocate unification. That is, a determined movement to strengthen

(Cont. The Philosophy of Race Segregation in the United States.)

power of the Negro by united effort covering wide fields and leading to the enlargement of groups and the consentration of Negro population. Such a program always brings violent opposition from Negroes. They say that the segregation of the Negro lies in dispersion rather than unification. That the race problem will be solved as the Negro becomes a small and comparatively unimportant percentage in Northern communities, rather than a majority in a black-belt county of the South. The difficulty with both the last two programs is that in the first place, the individual who is not backed by group power has a hard time getting his abilities recognized or getting promotion according to desert, and that what happens continually is that the Negro, lost in a mass of white people, is either unrecognized, despite his ability, or foregotten after he has done his work, and the Negro race gettsno credit for what he has done, and it is no easier for other Negroes following in his footsteps to accomplish their work. Such thoughts lead to a more intense demand on the part of certain Negro leaders for an integration of Negro group power with the resultant responsibility, so that the Negro will see that other Negroes get renumerative work, decent wages, decent living quarters, and so that the Negro group will assume responsibility for its own delinquency, sickness and poverty. The answer to this is always clear and emphatic. Neither Negroes nor white people believe that the American Negro group is capable of assuming any sufficient or bearing any sufficient responsibility. It is looked upon , and looks upon its , as a dependent group, as the recipient of charity and benevolence, as depending upon its advance upon whites, and, therefore, unable to assert itself or realize its aspectations, except by permission of the whites. Moreover, it is said that any such group integration would mean eventually permanent separation from the mass of the nation, even leading perhaps to immigration and the attempt to set up separate states. It is declared that this is group particularism, as contrasted with particularism. But on the other hand, and in answer to this, Negroes and others say that unless the Negro race is capable of standing alone and assuming group responsibilities, it cannot expect that it is ever going to achieve strength and recognition from the

37-8-87

(Cont. The Philosophy of Race Segregation in the United States.)

white group, and that paticularism toward the United States on the part of the Negroes is an impossible sentiment until they have achieved real liberty, and they will achieve this through patricularistic efforts. When the ideal of humanity is, therefore, raised against the ideal of race, it is answered that after all, we have not achieved humanity; that humanity is still curiously divided into races and nations and social classes, and that in the absence of that vaster union toward which we overlook, the oppressed races and groups have got to fend for themselves. This is the history and philosophy of racial segregation, and out of this it is imperative that understanding and united effort be agreed upon by responsible Negro leaders and a practical program adopted. The present policy of drift is impossible.

37-8-88

undated

The situation in which the Liberian Government finds itself at the present time, has given a great deal of concern to American Negroes. They have observed it in its three-fold phases. First, the relation of the Liberian Government to the natives; secondly, the problems of sanitation, health, forced labor and education and third, the Liberian financial problems, and their relation to the foreign powers.

We realize that the Liberian Government itself, like all small governments, in poor and backward areas, has been one of the causes of an internal conflict between the peoples of the interior and the Americo-Liberians in control of the government. An antagonism has developed and has been intensified recently between a small governing class and a larger class of the governed who have taken less interest through the years in the changes in the Liberian administration. Unless the hands of the present government are strengthened so that it may prove to be of assistance to the Liberian people in the advancement of their economic and social life, this antagonism may continue. It seems imperative, therefore, to strengthen the Liberian government for the sake of its own maintenance.

The second aspect of the situation concerns the matter of sanitation, health, forced labor and education. Health conditions in Liberia have been the cause of disasters within the republic and to the foreign peoples who have come to Liberia. The Liberian Government, being weak, has not been able to take effective steps to improve conditions of health. The report of the American

Financial Adviser shows that a special tax was levied for this purpose but that this tax has been sufficient for the needs of the improvements in the health conditions of the republic. These, of necessity, retard its economic and social development, but again, the Government can do little to improve these conditions unless it has a financial basis.

38-13-8

Moreover, the effective cessation of forced labor and pawning cannot be successful unless the Government has the aid of outside authorities in the maintenance of its finances. Other governments, stronger and older than Liberia, have not been able to stamp out conditions of forced labor within their borders, - our own country not excepted, - and Liberia should not be held up to ridicule for a condition which seems to be more general than particular. We do not excuse, however, these conditions within the Liberian republic, but we do object to the specific criticism of the Republic on this account and to its ridicule by press releases. These releases have tended to cite Liberia as an instance of the black man's inefficiency. It may be that there are certain characters among the rulers who are incompetent, and this may be admitted, but the same condition may be true of any government, including our own.

It would appear, therefore, that the real difficulty in Liberia is its financial condition. This deplorable financial situation results in a large measure from the unusually high proportion of Liberia's revenues that have been necessary to meet the payments on the 1926 loan. Whereas, at the beginning of the World War the country's affairs were in good condition, at the present time the commitments made necessary by the 1926

loan have prevented the government from performing essential public services. No government should be forced to conform to the terms of a contract with a private foreign corporation when those terms mean the destruction of the state.

In spite of the objections of many Liberians, the Firestone proposition came before the Legislature and was ratified. Since that time, the Liberians have found it impossible to carry out the terms of the loan and maintain their government as in the past.

In view of the foregoing aspects of the Liberian situation we would recommend the recognition of the Liberian Government. Even if the Liberians have been the aggressors in the opening of the breach, it may well be that the occasion for it came through the apparent alliance of the American Government with a corporation which throttled the Liberian Government.

38-13-9

Secondly, We would urge the appointment of a commission for the Republic which will be liberal in its thought and action and which will have the interest of the Liberian Government mainly in view rather than the interests of a corporation. We are apprehensive when we take into consideration the possibility of the subtle control of this Commission by the corporation which now has a major interest in Liberia. The conduct of some of the American officials who have handled the business of the Republic in the past has been severely criticized and present conditions will not justify the appointment of one who takes the attitude of a white dictatorship for a black republic. In some instances

the men who have been recommended for service in Liberia have been men of Southern birth and training who have presumed that they knew the Negro best. These individuals have gone to the African Republic with all of the prejudices and superiority complexes which have developed in the American racial situation. They have frequently regarded the independent spirit of the Liberians as they would regard a similar attitude on the part of Negroes who live in America. The best white friends of the Republic must be those who sympathize with it, who see its errors and help to correct them, who point the way to an efficient government and assist the governmental officials to find and follow the best way for themselves. In short, the best commission for Liberia would be one which would help the Government to help itself. In this connection, Liberia should not be compelled to surrender its sovereignty in exchange for a dictatorship. Its independence should be encouraged rather than surrendered upon demand.

38-13-10

We view with great satisfaction the liberal attitude of the Roosevelt administration in social and economic matters as they concern the American people. Would not Liberia give this Government an opportunity to show in an international way, its liberal attitude by appointing liberal-minded individuals upon the commission to the Republic? Some members of this delegation are of the opinion that this commission should be headed by a European, preferably a Scandinavian, and in expressing this sentiment, they agree with the opinion of the Liberian Government. Others of our delegation believe that there can be found some individuals in the American nation who are just as fair-minded and free from partisan-

ship in matters of interracial concern as any European.

In the third place, we would urge that in the personnel of the commission, a capable American Negro and a competent Liberian should be included in positions of major responsibility. We believe that the point of view of these two individuals would be of practical assistance to any American or European who would now approach this problem. Through these two elements the point of view of American Negroes who are naturally and traditionally interested in this part of Africa, and through the native Liberian, the point of view of the people of the Republic itself could be maintained. In this same connection, we would protest the appointment of any other person than an American Negro as our diplomatic agent or minister in the Republic. Liberia is the only diplomatic field open to us, and there are many where whites are acceptable. This avenue should not be closed to American Negroes.

38-13-11

Fourth, we would urge that there might be provided an increase of governmental support to education in Liberia. We disagree with the recommendation of the American Financial Adviser who urges that missionary organizations increase their funds for the support of schools. We are of the opinion that just as in the progress of the Negro in the United States, the federal and state governments have undertaken the maintenance of institutions for Negro education which were originally started by missionary organizations, the same progress which has marked the development of these institutions and the people whom they serve could be developed in Liberia. This again calls for an increase in the governmental revenue of the Republic and can

only be maintained in this way.

Another element in the situation is a more equitable distribution of the governmental income. Under present conditions Liberia would go further into debt and disaster might ultimately overtake the Republic. Its expenditures for 1932 exceeded its revenues by over $200,000 and this with the advice of an American Financial Adviser. The debt of the Government, exclusive of the loan obligations was over $600,000. Unless the governmental income can be more equitably distributed by the allotment of necessary and adequate sums to governmental maintenance and service as well as to the loan obligations, the Liberian Government cannot maintain itself. In a period when European nations are urging that they cannot pay their war debts to the United States, when they are spending millions upon the maintenance of armies and navies, surely it cannot be considered an unusual procedure for the Liberian Government which spends a paltry amount in these channels to demand that its government have an opportunity simply to continue its existence. Its governmental expenditures may need to be reduced but the loan payments should also be revised in line with Liberia's capacity to pay. Liberia's good faith has been shown in that it is one of the few foreign countries to pay its war loan to the American Government.

38-13-12

The Negroes of the United States are whole-heartedly joining in a movement which is designed to give encouragement and moral support to Liberia. They are coming to the conclusion that they will not join Liberia's critics until Liberia's side of the

controversy has been made known, for it seems that the point of view of an American corporation has corporation has the opportunity to be heard. We are confident that the present administration will find a way through this difficulty and we are taking this opportunity of informing the Government that the united effort of the Negro citizens of America is behind an effort to support Liberia's right to existence.

52-13-13

1934? Segregation

Extreme opponents of segregation act as though there was but one solution of the race problem, and that is complete integration of the black race with the white race in America, with no distinctions of color in political, civil or social life. There is no doubt but what this is the great end toward which humanity is tending, and that so long as there are artificially emphasized differences of nationality, race and color, not to mention the fundamental discriminations of economic class, there will be no real unanimity.

37-8-1-78

On the other hand, it is just as clear that not for a century and probably not for ten centuries, will any such consumation be reached. No person born will ever live to see national and racial distinctions altogether abolished, and economic distinctions will last a long time.

Since this is true, the practical problem that faces us is not a choice between segregation and no segregation, between compulsory interferences with human intercourse and complete liberty of contact; the thing that faces us is given varying degress of segregation: How shall we conduct ourselves so that in the end human differences will not be emphasized at the expense of human advance.

It is perfectly certain that not only shall we be compelled to submit to much segregation, but that sometimes it will be necessary to our survival and a step toward the ultimate breaking down of barriers to increase by voluntary action our separation from our fellowmen. It may be and often has been that oppression and insult has become so intense and so unremitting that there is no alternative left to a self-respecting man but to herd by himself in self-defense until the attitude of the world changes. It happens that today is peculiarly a day when such voluntary union for self-expression and self-defense is forced upon large numbers of people. That is the meaning of Hitlerism and the Jews, of Indian nationalism, of Japanese Jingoism. We may rail against this. We may say that it is not our fault, and it certainly is not. Nevertheless, to do nothing in the face of it; to accept opposition without united opposition is the progress of fools.

If association and contact with Negroes is distasteful to you, what is it to white people? Remember that the white people of American cities certainly never want us until we want ourselves. We excuse ourselves in this case and say we do not hate Negroes but we do hate their condition, and immediately the answer is thrown back on us. Whose job is it to change that condition? The job of the white people or the job of the black people themselves, and especially their uplifted classes?

37-8-79

If it is said that race separation is war, then who began the war?

A

LIBERIA

What is wrong with Liberia? It is significant that this is the form the question always takes in America. That there is something wrong is always assumed. Why? Liberia is not growing in size or population; it is not increasing remarkably in wealth; it wants to borrow money; it is not "developing". Now all citizens of the 20th century assume that unless a nation is growing in numbers and annexing territory, and increasing the amount of private profits, it is decadent. Moreover in the present organization of world industry one can pretty easily separate countries by these criteria. Whereupon the query arises: are small, poor countries the victims of present conditions or are they evidences of inferior ability?

37-7-74

That Liberia is an "inferior" country is easy for America to believe for two reasons: First, it is ruled and inhabited by Negroes. Second, nearly all books and magazine articles say so. The first, of course, is not proof. And in the case of the second one must note that most of the books on Liberia have been written by people with an axe to grind: Englishmen who believe that Liberia is a natural adjunct to British Sierra Leone; Germans who wanted Liberia to piece out German West Africa; Frenchmen who realize that Monrovia could be made a better port than Dakar, a port nearer to America on the one hand and to French Equatorial Africa on the other. Finally, nearly all white writers who are "patriotic" know that a successful and independent Negro government in Africa would be the beginning of the end of European imperialism in Africa. Therefore Liberia must not be successful. It must not even be thought to have any possibilities of ultimate success under its present management.

Liberia was established at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution and just after the Napoleonic wars. It represented an attempt to transfer to Africa such of the American Negro Problems as interfered with the growth of the Cotton Kingdom. The development of Liberia was coincident with the spread of the New World commerce of the 19th century and the Economic Imperialism of Europe in Africa.

Liberia is usually studied without the slightest reference to all this. She is looked upon as an isolated, self-steered, steam craft, instead of being, as she is, a canoe tossed on raging economic currents which eddied out of the slave trade of the 18th century to the wild swirl of World War in the 20th. Liberia's political history is but the other side of this economic turmoil, and as such it has an interest far beyond its actual physical extent.

37-7-75

At first Liberia was neither country, colony nor protectorate. She was a black waif cast out of the civilized world who declared her independence because there was none on whom she could depend. England recognized her independence because she herself had at the time a twin problem in Sierra Leone whom she expected to cast off with her other African interests after the death of the slave trade.

Meantime, however, the attitude of Europe toward Africa suddenly changed. Instead of a transfer of black labor to new rich land in the west, it was seen that land and labor in Africa could be used to raise valuable raw materials. But in this case of course African land and labor must be under European control and Africa could not be regarded as existing for its own benefit or capable of self-rule.

Lord Bathurst early foresaw this change and warned England not to recognize Liberian independence. Succeeding colonial officials

of England in West Africa made it their business to curtail Liberia's territory and impede her progress in all possible ways, and France immediately took note of what was going on.

There began a game of battledore and shuttlecock, with England and France as batters and Liberia as ball. "Liberian natives are interfering with our trade", yelled an English slave trader on the frontier between Liberia and Sierra Leone where Liberia had already paid cash to settle the boundary. "Tut tut!" cried abolition England; "You're on English soil and interfering with Englishmen!" "No," answered Liberia, "its our own soil which we bought from you for $100,000 and we can curb the natives and stop illicit trade if you let us. Or if you insist that the soil is still yours, how can we be held responsible for the acts of the natives?" "Very well," replied England. "We'll take jurisdiction over the territory, return you $20,000 and charge the balance against you as damages for interfering with Englishmen"; and an English warship came and enforced the decision!

"Oh ho!" said France. "Is England stealing a march? All this territory here to the south and this and this, is French; we've treaties in our archives signed by native chiefs giving us your whole coast line." "Not according to your own maps," retorted Liberia "Well, we'll take this as an earnest of good behaviour and if you're docile we may hot bother to produce the treaties"; and France took over 100 miles of coast up to the Cavallo River and drew the international boundary not in the center of one of Liberia's most navigable rivers but on its Liberian bank as defined by the summer floods! And England did the same with the Mano!

Liberia was neither ~~united~~ invited to the conferance of Berlin in 1885 nor were her just claims to the hinterland regarded. No sooner was the pact for the partition of Africa sealed than the aggressions of

France and England cut off a full half of Liberian territory, Liberia protested:

"We appeal to all the civilized nations of the world.--Consider, we pray you, the situation. Having been carried away into slavery, and, by the blessing of God, returned from exile to our fatherland, are we now to be robbed of our rightful inheritance? Is there not to be a foot of land in Africa, that the African, whether civilized or savage, can call his own? It has been asserted that the race is not capable of self-government, and the eyes of many are watching the progress of Liberia with a view to determining that question. We only ask, in all fairness, to be allowed just what any other people would require--free scope for operation. Do not wrest our territory from us and hamper us in our operations and then stigmatize the race with incapacity because we do not work miracles."

37-7-77

Liberia's appeal was not only unheeded but unheard and her fate would have been sealed long since but for international jealousies. All Europe wanted Liberia and no country was sure of America's claims and attitude. Liberia early realized this and acted accordingly. Talent in any nation great or small is limited: Liberia has produced for her size an unusual number of exceptional men. But their whole genius has been needed to defend the political integrity of their land. She catered to German trade and made Germany a watch-dog against any foreign aggression in which Germany had no part. France and England were skillfully played off against each other and America was always a shadow in the background. As a result, despite the loss of more than half her original territory Liberia still lives with forty three thousand square miles of the richest territory on the west coast - well-watered, with fine

B

forests, mountain, plateau and plain; with harbors and rivers.

But surely Liberia's troubles did not end with sheer physical defense - they began there. White Imperialism today knows that conquest is only one method of domination. Economic onslaught with all its intricacies and propaganda is often much more profitable and it was that attack that Liberia ~~must~~ had next to face and to face it only partially realizing its meaning and portent.

Liberia was and is "undeveloped". This is, of course, the severest charge that modern imperialism brings against a small independent country. To most folk it seems quite unanswerable. It connotes laziness, inefficiency, waste, inferiority. It was an excuse in the case of Liberia for wounding her sensibilities, insulting her and sneering at her. And yet "develppment" today means many things, from ordinary thrift and industry to being a cog in the great machine of world industry. Liberia is, for the most part, virgin, unexplored or half explored forest; she has no railroads, she does not feed herself, she is to ~~a considerable~~ some extent living on borrowed funds - a "Croesus feeding on crusts". There is no doubt but that the economic situation of Liberia is precarious but there is much doubt as to the reasons for this.

37-7-78

Viewing the situation of Liberia clearly it is manifestly not simply a case of the difficulty of earning a living according to modern standards in a primitive land. There is to be sure a tropical climate to over come, a problem of skilled labor, a vast problem of transportation, and a still vaster problem of markets. But if Liberia reduced her problem to the lowest terms and worked simply for her own food and shelter she would face a greedy world at her doors demanding palm oil, rubber, coffee, sugar, piassava and a dozen other world commodities and threatening the overthrow of the present government unless these materials were forthcoming

and at low prices. And world public opinion, backed by science, philanthropy and religion and "business" would justify that threat.

The fear of this ~~backed by~~ added to a natural desire for something of modern comfort and convenience beyond primitive food and shelter forced Liberia to become more than a self-contained, economic entity on a simple self-supporting scale; she had to become a cog in the circle of world commerce. She had to leave her safe waters and shove out into great currents where she was an almost helpless victim of forces that not only cared nothing for her but even desired and plotted her extinction. Here was no particular problem of color or race - it was the world wide problem of private profit backed by the irresistable power of great empires and the unanswerable propaganda of books and newspapers.

37-7-79

The obvious and direct way to enter world commerce is to sell in the world markets such domestic produce as brings a good price. It was at first not easy for Liberia to find such commodities for the African trade was in transition from human beings to palm oil. But a chance came during the American Civil war. The secession of Louisiana deprived the North of sugar. In Liberia were American Negroes who knew how to grow sugar cane, and soil and sun favored it. Liberia flew to work. The broad low banks of the St. Paul began to gleam with sugar plantations and landings were scarred into the yellow clay while sturdily manned long boats with singing black boys carried the sweet brown sugar down to the bar. Vessels were scarce, but what of that? The forests bowed and sailing ships were built and soon were plying the seas. For ten years the trade grew; Liberia began to accumulate some wealth and more confidence. Her new college perched itself on the crowning height of the Cape and became a center of real education. Monrovia the capital was laid out in broad streets and Liberia sang her new national hymn:

"All hail Liberia. Hail!

"In union strong, success is sure.

"We cannot fail!"

The world masters of fluid capital and credit were beginning to dominate the markets and prices of the world and to direct commerce. They were rapidly building a new Imperialism by depressing the prices of raw materials and through monopoly of skill, machinery, and transport elevating the prices of manufactured products, like refined sugar. It was at this time ~~when~~ that Liberia, facing the ruin of her raw sugar industry tried to secure European capital with which to open up roads to the interior, build necessary public works, stabilize the currency and consolidate a small floating debt.

37-7-80

If the financial powers of the world had desired that Liberia survive and develope as a self governing land of repatriated Negroes carrying on agriculture and industry for their own support and happiness and incidentally to supply the world with certain raw materials - if the masters of the world had wanted this, nothing would have been easier than to have accomplished this by loans, by technical advice, by industrial, medical and ethical mission work. But the world did not want this. The world wanted the land and labor of Liberia for the purpose of making a maximum of profit for Europeans. What became of the Liberians was entirely secondary in its thought. The result was that when in 1870, Liberia tried to borrow $500,000 in London, she was put into the hands of loan-sharks, encouraged, cajoled and in the end cheated brazenly and unmercifully, receiving only $100,000 in cash against an issue of $500,000 in bonds.

In vain and for a generation Liberia protested and urged the unfairness and iniquity of this debt; but England and the world held her failure to settle as a proof of her shiftlessness and incapacity

There ensued two changes: One was natural. Louisiana returned to the union and began sugar-raising again. The beet sugar industry arose and encouraged by bounties flooded the markets. The West Indian fields met the competition on account of nearness to markets and lowered wages. This ruined Liberian sugar profits while her long distance from markets and the new steam navigation made readjustment difficult if not impossible.

But a second sinister economic change occurred.

to govern and spread a propaganda against her which she has never been able to live down. She was compelled finally to acknowledge the debt and ~~pay~~ start paying it with the accumulated back interest.

Meantime the world demand for African raw materials was spreading and becoming definite and wide markets developing. After the failure of sugar Liberia turned to other crops and articles. Her coffee was of fine quality and she planted coffee plantations; but the Brazilian and Java fields dominated the market. Great capital invested there used new machinery for hulling and new methods of grading and blending and the price of Liberian coffee with its primitive methods of preparation fell from twenty five to eight cents a pound. Palm oil and kernels grew in price and importance but again Liberian methods and lack of machinery made them low-priced in the market. Camwood had temporary importance but German dyes displaced it. Fibres like piassava sprung to favor and brought high price for a season, until the monopolists of the coast carrying trade ~~in~~ at a single stroke ~~season~~ raised the freight charges 500%.

37-7-81

And so it went. Liberia worked - not indeed always with the keenest intelligence or with modern machine-like skill, but continuously and perseveringly with honest intention in the face of puzzling discouragement. She felt herself in the grip of Leviathan, slowly, surely, relentlessly being crushed; but she struggled on now blindly , now with gleams of encouragement. Missionaries continued to visit her and tell her that Christ came into the world to save sinners.

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37-7-82 C

market and perhaps save a little home capital or find honest ~~leaders~~ lenders abroad all ~~might~~ would yet be well. But there was one sinister fact: Germany was displacing England in Liberian trade and in 1908 had 55% of the tonnage. England saw a menace to her supremacy. France had had a series of understandings with England as to West Africa and was quiescent. Annexation and direct loan entanglements had not yet swamped Liberia and the method of concessions was next attempted. In 1904 ~~to~~ and 1906, Sir Harry Johnston, the English colonial servant and writer, visited Liberia and published two sumptuous volumes on her resources. Various English companies sought large concessions and finally one in which Johnston was a director received the prize. The "Liberian Development Company" was an English concern financed with a capital of $500,000 borrowed on the credit of the Liberian government. This capital was to be used under English direction for roads, mines and rubber plantations. In a few years ~~it~~ the Company failed miserably and completely and left Liberia with another vast debt.

Immediately the English government stepped in. The resident consul notified Liberia that she did not consider the "Liberian government stable or effective." She demanded an English receiver of her customs revenues, a gunboat in the harbor and a frontier force on land under "white" officers. Liberia bowed, but before ~~colored~~ Colonel Mackay-Mackay, the English organizer of the Frontier force, could carry out his clear plan to foment mutiny in Monrovia and seize the Liberian government, the government quietly forced him to resign and appealed to the American Negro.[1] For a long time ~~they~~ Liberia had given up all hope of American aid. But they began to notice that black folk in America were growing in strength, wealth and power. They followed the rise of Booker T. Washington. Councils were divided. Some urged further reliance on British justice. But

the American party prevailed and a commission was sent to Washington in time to arrive at the beginning of a Presidential campaign in which the Negro vote was important. Through the influence of Booker T. Washington they got the ear of President Roosevelt. The president and his Secretary of State, Mr. Taft, needed the colored vote and they were easily pursuaded to send a commission to Liberia. ¶ This commission of white and colored men of experience and standing studied the situation and said, as all men have said of Liberia; it is a rich country; It has patriotic and willing people of average intelligence. There is no reason but that, with a chance, this country should not develop as an independent, self-supporting republic. The Commission did not, of course, go into the matter of the method by which international trade and the owners of capital could be induced to give Liberia a chance, but they did lay down a plan by which the debts of Liberia were so funded that the interest could be met and a sinking fund established; and especially they gave tacit notice to Europe that America did not want Liberia annexed either to the British, French or German empires.

37-7-83

¶ And here, with the interruption of War, the matter stands. Liberia was terribly shaken by the war but she is recovering. What can she do to find a stable industrial status upon which to base a sound economic independence? One thing, of course is prerequisite: her territorial integrity must be guaranteed. If the Negroes throughout the United States through their political power can in the future, as they have in the past, guarantee this integrity, there still remains the problem of industry in a small country with little capital and skill and far from markets. If Liberia can work this out the world ~~would~~ will be her debtor. If she cannot work it out, in the face of the terrific power of Industrial Imperialism, the failure will not be entirely hers nor that of the Negro race. It will be largely the failure of modern economic organization.

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[1934]

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LIBERIA

What is wrong with Liberia? It is significant that this is the form the question always takes in America. That there is something wrong is always assumed. Why? Liberia is not growing in size or population; it is not increasing remarkably in wealth; it wants to borrow money; it is not "developing". Now all citizens of the 20th century assume that unless a nation is growing in numbers and annexing territory, and increasing the amount of private profits, it is decadent. Moreover in the present organization of world industry one can pretty easily separate countries by these criteria. Whereupon the query arises: are small, poor countries the victims of present conditions or are they evidences of inferior ability?

That Liberia is an "inferior" country is easy for America to believe for two reasons: First, it is ruled and inhabited by Negroes. Second, nearly all books and magazine articles say so. The first, of course, is not proof. And in the case of the second one must note that most of the books on Liberia have been written by people with an axe to grind: Englishmen who believe that Liberia is a natural adjunct to British Sierra Leone; Germans who wanted Liberia to piece out German West Africa; Frenchmen who realize that Monrovia could be made a better port than Dakar, a port nearer to America on the one hand and to French Equatorial Africa on the other. Finally, nearly all white writers who are "patriotic" know that a successful Negro government in Africa would be the beginning of the end of European imperialism in Africa. Therefore Liberia must not be successful. It must not even be thought to have any possibilities of ultimate success under its present management.

47-9-1

Liberia was established at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution and just after the Napoleonic wars. It represented an attempt to transfer to Africa such of the American Negro Problems as interfered with the growth of the Cotton Kingdom. The development of Liberia was coincident with the spread of the New World commerce of the 19th century and the Economic Imperialism of Europe in Africa.

Liberia is usually studied without the slightest reference to all this. She is looked upon as an isolated, self-steered, steam craft, instead of being, as she is, a canoe tossed on raging economic currents which eddied out of the slave trade of the 18th century to the wild swirl of World War in the 20th. Liberia's political history is but the other side of this economic turmoil, and as such it has an interest far beyond its actual physical extent.

At first Liberia was neither country, colony nor protectorate. She was a black waif cast out of the civilized world who declared her independence because there was none on whom she could depend. England recognized her independence because she herself had at the time a twin problem in Sierra Leone whom she expected to cast off with her other African interests after the death of the slave trade.

Meantime, however, the attitude of Europe toward Africa suddenly changed. Instead of a transfer of black labor to new rich land in the west, it was seen that land and labor in Africa could be used to raise valuable raw materials. But in this case of course African land and labor must be under European control and Africa could not be regarded as existing for its own benefit or capable of self-rule.

Lord Bathurst early foresaw this change and warned England not to recognize Liberian independence. Succeeding colonial officials

of England in West Africa made it their business to curtail Liberia's territory and impede her progress in all possible ways, and France immediately took note of what was going on.

There began a game of battledore and shuttlecock, with England and France as batters and Liberia as ball. "Liberian natives are interfering with our trade", yelled an English slave trader on the frontier between Liberia and Sierra Leone where Liberia had already paid cash to settle the boundary. "Tut tut!" cried abolition England; "You're on English soil and interfering with Englishmen!" "No," answered Liberia, "its our own soil which we bought from you for $100,000 and we can curb the natives and stop illicit trade if you let us. Or if you insist that the soil is still yours, how can we be held responsible for the acts of the natives?" "Very well," replied England. "We'll take jurisdiction over the territory, return you $20,000 and charge the balance against you as damages for interfering with Englishmen"; and an English warship came and enforced the decision!

"Oh ho!" said France. "Is England stealing a march? All this territory here to the south and this and this, is French; we've treaties in our archives signed by native chiefs giving us your whole coast line." "Not according to your own maps," retorted Liberia. "Well, we'll take this as an earnest of good behaviour and if you're docile we may not bother to produce the treaties"; and France took over 100 miles of coast up to the Cavallo River and drew the international boundary not in the center of one of Liberia's most navigable rivers but on its Liberian bank as defined by the summer floods! And England did the same with the Mano!

Liberia was neither united to the conferance of Berlin in 1885 nor were her just claims to the hinterland regarded. No sooner was the pact for the partition of Africa sealed than the aggressions of

417-9-3

France and England cut off a ful half of Liberian territory. Liberia protested.

"We appeal to all the civilized nations of the world.--Consider, we pray you, the situation. Having been carried away into slavery, and, by the blessing of God, returned from exile to our fatherland, are we now to be robbed of our rightful inheritance? Is there not to be a foot of land in Africa, that the African, whether civilized or savage, can call his own? It has been asserted that the race is not capable of self-government, and the eyes of many are watching the progress of Liberia with a view to determining that question. We only ask, in all fairness, to be allowed just what any other people would require--free scope for operation. Do not wrest our territory from us and hamper us in our operations and then stigmatize the race with incapacity because we do not work miracles."

Liberia's appeal was not only unheeded but unheard and her fate would have been sealed long since but for international jealousies. All Europe wanted Liberia and no country was sure of America's claims and attitude. Liberia early realized this and acted accordingly. Talent in any nation great or small is limited: Liberia has produced for her size an unusual number of exceptional men. But their whole genius has been needed to defend the political integrity of their land. She catered to German trade and made Germany a watch-dog against any foreign aggression in which Germany had no part. France and England were skillfully played off against each other and America was always a shadow in the background. As a result, despite the loss of more than half her original territory Liberia still lives with forty three thousand square miles of the richest territory on the west coast - well-watered, with fine

forests, mountain, plateau and plain; with harbors and rivers.

But surely Liberia's troubles did not end with sheer physical defense - they began there. White Imperialism today knows that conquest is only one method of domination. Economic onslaught with all its intricacies and propaganda is often much more profitable and it was that attack that Liberia must face and face it only partially realizing its meaning and portent.

Liberia was and is "undeveloped". This is, of course, the severest charge that modern imperialism brings against a small independent country. To most folk it seems quite unanswerable. It connotes laziness, inefficiency, waste, inferiority. It was an excuse in the case of Liberia for wounding her sensibilities, insulting her and sneering at her. And yet "develppment" today means many things from ordinary thrift and industry to being a cog in the great machine of world industry. Liberia is for the most part virgin, unexplored or half explored forest; she has no railroads, she does not feed herself, she is to a considerable extent living on borrowed funds - a "Croesus feeding on crusts". There is no doubt but that the economic situation of Liberia is precarious but there is much doubt as to the reasons for this.

47-9-6

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47-9-7

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37-6-161

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Lord Bathurst early foresaw this change and warned England not to recognize Liberian independence. Succeeding colonial officials of England in West Africa made it their business to curtail Liberia's territory and impede her progress in all possible ways. France

37-6-162

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And then began a game of battledore and shuttlecock with England and France as batters and Liberia as ball. "Liberian natives are interfering with our trade," yelled an English slave trade. "Tut tut!" cried abolition England. "You're on English soil and interfering with Englishmen!" "No," answered Liberia, "its our own soil which we bought from you for $100,000 and we can curb the natives and stop illicit trade if you let us. Or if you insist that the soil is yours, how can we be held responsible for the acts of the natives?" "Very well," replied England. "We'll take jurisdiction over the territory, return you $20,000 and charge the balance against you as damages for interfering with Englishmen"; and an English warship came and enforced the decision! "Oh ho!" said France, "Is England stealing a march? All this territory here to the south and this and this, is French; we've treaties in our archives signed by native chiefs giving us your whole coast line." "Not according to your own maps," retorted Liberia. "Well, we'll take this as an earnest of good behaviour and if you're docile we may not bother to produce the treateis" - and France took all the coast up to the Cavallo River and drew the inter-national boundary not in the center of one of Liberia's most navigable rivers but on its Liberian bank as defined by the summer floods! And England did the same with the Mano!

37-6-163

When Africa was partitioned at Berlin in 1885 the United States was represented at the conference by Henry M. Stanley and Liberia thought she would be represented by the United States. Liberia's claims to a large part of the Hinterland were good; financed by Scheiffelin of New York. Anderson of Liberia had made two journies inland and visited and began the organization of much of the territory now held by the French and English. Stanley, however, was

not thinking of this if he ever knew it. He represented Leopold of Belgium even more than the United States and as a result the claims of Liberia were completely ignored by the conference. Immediately the inroads of France and England upon Liberia were renewed. France operating on the Niger consolidated her colonies of Guinea, High Senegal and the Ivory coast thus cutting off the whole of the Liberian Hinterland in the Sudan. England preemptorily seized thickly populated territory near Sierra Leone on pretense that Liberia was not keeping order among the natives. France "rectified" some five hundred square miles of the best rice land to the east deforming Liberia with a great wedge, Against this Liberia alone protested.

37-6-164

"We appeal to all the civilized nations of the world. -- Consider, we pray you, the situation. Having been carried away into slavery, and, by the blessing of God, returned from exile to our fatherland, are we now to be robbed of our rightful inheritance? Is there not to be a foot of land in Africa, that the African, whether civilized or savage, can call his own? It has been asserted that the race is not capable of self-government, and the eyes of many are watching the progress of Liberia with a view to determining that question. We only ask, in all fairness, to be allowed just what any other people would require--free scope for operation. Do not wrest our territory from us and hamper us in our operations and then stigmatize the race with incapacity because we do not work miracles."

Of course territorial integrity was fundamental and Liberia put all her talent into this defence. Her plaintive appeal was, of course, not only unheeded but unheard. And yet she stemmed the

tide against her by adroit playing of international interests one against the other.

Talent in any nation great or small is limited: Liberia has produced for her size an unusual number of exceptional men. But their whole geius has been needed to defend the political integrity of their land. She catered to German trade and made Germany a watch-dog against foreign aggression in which Germany had no part. France and England were skillfully played off against each other and America was always a shadow in the background. As a result, despite the loss of more than half her original territory Liberia still lives with forty three thousand square miles of the richest territory on the west coast - well-watered, with fine forests, mountain plateau and plain, harbors and rivers.

37-6-165

But surely Liberia's troubles did not end with sheer physical defense - they began there. White Imperialism today knows that conquest is only one method of domination. Economic onslaught with all its intricacies and propaganda is often much more profitable and it was that attack that Liberia must face and face it only partially realizing its meaning and portent.

Liberia was and is "undeveloped". This is, of course, the severest charge that modern imperialism brings against a small independent country. To most folk it is unanswerable. It connotes laziness, inefficiency, waste, inferiority. It is an excuse in the case of Liberia for wounding her sensibilities, insulting her and sneering at her. And yet "development" today means many things from ordinary thrift and industry to being a cog in the great machine of world industry. Liberia is for the most part virgin, unexplored or half explored forest; she has no railroads, she does

not feed herself, she is to a considerable extent living on borrowed funds - a "Croesus feeding on crusts". There is no doubt but that the economic situation of Liberia is precarious but there is much doubt as to the reasons for this.

Viewing the situation of Liberia clearly it is manifestly a simple case of the difficulty of earning a living according to modern standards in a primitive land. There is a tropical climate to overcome, a problem of skilled labor, a vast problem of transportation, and a still vaster problem of makrets. If Liberia reduced her problem to the lowest terms and worked simply for her own food and shelter she would face a greedy world at her doors demanding palm oil, rubber, coffee, sugar, piassava and a dozen other world commodities and threatening the overthrow of the present government unless these materials were forthcoming. And world public opinion, backed by science, philanthropy and religion and "business" would justify that threat.

The fear of this backed by a natural desire for something of modern comfort and convenience beyond primitive food and shelter forced Liberia to become not a self-contained, economic entity on a simple self-sufficient scale but a part of world commerce. She had to leave her safe waters and shove out into great currents where she was a helpless victim of forces that not only cared nothing for her but even desired and plotted her extinction. Here was no particular problem of color or race - it was the world wide problem of private profit backed by the irresistable power of great empires and the unanswerable propaganda of books and newspapers.

To realize how this worked in the case of Liberia let us follow briefly her economic history.

First, in the years from 1822 to 1849, from settlement to independence, she relied on food supplies from America and barter with the natives - a precarious and difficult job. Gradually, however, she began to raise some of her own food, to buy more from the natives and to export materials. Trade conditions were changing. New Machine-made goods appeared, cheaper to buy than make and better suited for barter. The character of the trade of Liberia changed. In return for palm oil and coffee she procured European goods for better food and clothes, for native barter and she began to foresee economic independence, i.e. a good share of the profits of international trade. Her great and spectacular chance came with the American Civil War. The secession of Louisiana deprived the North of sugar. In Liberia were American Negroes who knew how to grow sugar cane, and soil and sun favored it. Liberia flew to work. The broad low banks of the St.Paul began to gleam with sugar plantations and landings were scarred into the yellow clay while sturdily manned long boats with singing black boys carried the sweet brown sugar down to the bar. Vessels were scarce, but what of that? The forests bowed and sailing ships were built and soon were plying the seas. For ten years the trade grew; Liberia began to accumulate some wealth and more confidence. Her new college perched itself on the crowning height of the Cape and became a center of real education. Monrovia the capital was laid out in broad streets and Liberia sang her new nationaly hymn:

"All hail Liberia. Hail!
"In union strong, success is sure.
"We cannot fail!"

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VOLUNTARY SEGREGATION

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VOLUNTARY SEGREGATION

This paper is defending the thesis that American Negroes have got to take refuge in a limited amount of voluntary self-segregation in order to accumulate and apply sufficient strength for self-defense and self-assertion and eventual equality with other men. It would naturally be easy by extreme interpretation to make this thesis either too obvious or absolutely inadmissable. For instance, if one means by self-segregation such groups as card parties and picnics, visit and study groups, then naturally all people who have [redacted] interests practice this. On the other hand, if self-segregation implies extreme separation in work and social activities, in dwelling places and even in thought, the sort of Chauvinism of which I have sometimes lately been accused, then again the thesis would be indefensible in view of the obvious tendencies and ideals of our day.

But between these two extremes, there is, I think, room for considerable argument and difference of opinion and I am especially attacking a state of mind all too current among American Negroes today, that the Negro problem is largely a matter of their own volition. That if they stop calling themselves "Negroes"; if they cease regarding themselves as "a problem"; if they act and think simply as Americans and modern civilized men, that then gradually of its own accord the race prejudice of the United States and of the modern world will disappear. Suffice it to say that no one could possibly be happier than I if I thought this were the truth. But I know perfectly well that it is not. I am convinced that the Negro problem is an attitude of mind and a will to action on the part of so large a number of Americans and other citizens of the world; that nothing but positive action is going to do away with it; and that whatever is done is going to require a long time and great sacrifice. Those Negroes who do not realize this resort to peculiar habits and tactics. If they are not actually ashamed of their distinctive color and other racial traits; they conduct themselves as though they were. They avoid appearing together in crowds in public; they prefer to mingle with white people singly lest too much attention be called to their color. They will not attend picnics in public parks or go on colored excursions, partly for cultural reasons of behavior, but very largely because they are afraid of being publicly identified with a group which so often invites ridicule

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and discrimination by its very appearance. This summer, I saw on the boardwalk at Atlantic City a black girl in white beach pajamas. It was startling among the predominating pale, bloodless and rouged faces. I know that most of the colored people who saw her were more or less consciously incensed. Why did she want to walk there and attract attention; and yet she was not "trying" to attract attention. She was walking and talking with her escorts; and by itself and outside of its American complications, her appearance was interesting and even beautiful.

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It is perfectly true that her appearance there and almost anywhere in America, and the coming, going and working of any people of pronounced skin color, and even beyond that, the attempt of people whose Negro descent is unknown and discovered, involves every degree of difficulty. This is the stark reality of the situation. There is no need to laugh or curse about it. It is simply so and we know it.

This summer, two English ladies, one a lecturer to the University of London, and the other American-born, but employed by the United States government in research work in England, came to America to meet a government official. They went to a hotel in New Hampshire in the White Mountains and the proprietor noticed that the hair of one of them was crinkly and her complexion sallow. He asked her if she were colored and she immediately with some surprise said that she was. She had been out of America for twenty years. He asked her to leave the hotel. In many respects, this is a minor incident, but we must remember how far this goes. The tendency in probably most American industries or offices is that the discovery that a fellow worker had any degree of Negro blood would lead to grave discussion if not actually to summary dismissal, no matter what the efficiency of the employee was. The admission of Negro students to Northern colleges, while possible, is continually and increasingly a matter of debate and in women's colleges and preparatory schools, such admission is very difficult. In housing, the line is drawn with strictness and bitterness if not with open rioting; and as one goes toward the South, the Color Line becomes more and more distinct and congealed into discriminatory and caste legislation. This of course is of a twice told tale.

Now comes the question: what is going to be done about it; and we can think of it from two points of view: first, what are the white people of America going to

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do about it; that is a question which I am not discussing. Whatever they do must be done of their own volition, helped by such influence and appeal as colored people can direct toward them. In the last twenty years organized effort has been made with my own hearty and perhaps sometimes vociferous help, to place the facts of color caste system before the thinking people of America. I think the effort has had considerable effect and I think that in the long run the civilized people of America cannot escape facing this problem and settling it in accordance with justice.

But in the meantime, the race prejudice and discrimination is here; it is abating only slowly and spasmodically and there is no reasonable hope that any person now living will see the entire disappearance of color discrimination in America. It is (and perhaps that is quite natural) a matter of hundred or five hundred years. Meantime, however, twelve million people and their children from generation to generation are living here. They have got to have education; they have got to have employment. None of these matters can wait until the Negro problem is settled. What are we going to do to insure the survival and development of the Negro race toward reasonable goals and ideals during the time that race prejudice is gradually abating? Or, suppose we face another uncomfortable eventuality? If human culture continues, race discrimination must stop. Nevertheless there may be eras when it will increase and much as we may regret this, t his seems to be such an era. Hitlerism in Germany, the Italian aggression in Africa, the niggardly granting of very limited concessions to Indian autonomy, the plight of the workers and peons in the West Indies and South and Central America, all these indicate that the world may have to face a period of increase in race discrimination before it finally decreases.

This makes it all the more necessary that any group discriminated against fend for itself and adopt a program of action which will insure its survival. At present, the situation in America, so far as Negroes are concerned, is this: the prejudice against them is not mainly spasmodic and occasional, it is to a very large extent organized, united and purposeful, standing continuously on guard and fighting bitterly any breahh in the walls of caste. This, of course, is perfectly clear in the Southern United States, but it is much more true in the North than most people casually think. Now against this attitude of aggression, there is so far as Negroes

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are concerned, only limited and spasmodic resistance and most of this of a negative character. Negroes today are fairly well prepared by joint action to protest against injustice in the courts, the breaking of contracts solely on account of color, the planning of compulsory "Jim-Crow" institutions, etc. But most of all this is negative and most of it assumes that justice is the rule and injustice the exception; that equality is the law and discrimination the breaking of the law. This in fact is not true. When one asks a colored person if they suffer discrimination in New York or Chicago, the answer is usually, "no," and it is both truth and untruth. As a matter of fact, the person is not discriminated against very often and the reason is that he carefully avoids the places and occasions where he will meet discrimination; which means that his life is a curiously segregated and limited life. He takes care not to get hungry on Fifty Avenue or Michigan Avenue; he does not apply for an apartment in Scarsdale or Hyde Park and if his child is ill-treated in a mixed school, he sends the child to a Southern Negro school or lets him drop out entirely. In a world where color discrimination is so much the rule, there must be more than negative protest against it. There must be positive united action and this united action must have two fronts: first, so far as possible to discourage discrimination and dissuade people from it, or compel them to stop it by law. This line of action, howeverm is after all limited to the desire of the mass of white people. It was natural and correct for the colored people of Pennsylvania to secure a law against discrimination in public places, but the enforcement of that law depends entirely upon white public opinion and very largely that public opinion is not going to stand back of it; and it will be only partially enforced. Protest, therefore, against discrimination is necessarily limited by the public opinion of white people and tha t is going to change slowly if at all and sometimes we must see actual retrogressi on.

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There must be, therefore, on the part of colored people, a set point of attack, and that is to see that the Negro group itself does not suffer in income and education, in self-respect and self-assertion, in happiness and ideal, because of the discrimination which it suffers and which it will be compelled to suffer for many many years. Such action involves a degree of voluntary self-segregation and

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and it is this that I am a dvocating. I mean that there must continue to be a considerable number of separate Negro public schools and colleges and this for the simple reason that it is impossible for Negro youth today to be educated as it should in the white schools and colleges. The impossibility is obvious in the South; it is widespread in the Southern tier of Northern states; it is not absent even in New England. There must be conserted effort so that colored children no matter here they are educated, or how, will in the course of their training learn naturally and sanely that color is neither a disease nor a plight; that peoples with colored skins have done creditable work in the world, ancient and modern, and that there is no reason why a black boy should not be an efficient, upstanding, self-respecting man. This kind of training can only be done by careful, direct and continuous teaching, example and organization. Above all, colored people have got to unite to see that their productive power is so used as to give each other employment and income. I have reiterated this time and time again and many have laughed at it and insisted on its impossibility. They have assumed that the economic organization of the United States is such that there is no escape from the exploitation of the white race in work and income and that it is impossible for the colored race to escape the lowest wages and the worst conditions of work, except by grace of the whites. I admit that it is difficult, but I deny that it is impossible. I believe that twelve million people with brains and determination, and particularly with a belief in themselves, can so organize their work and co-operation in industry, that they can insure themselves a decent living. This economic organization need not and cannot be entirely separate from the white economy; but it can be separate enough as to insure self-sustaining and self-guiding economic activity.

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The outlook, then, for the intelligent planner among American Negroes is toward a field where for many generations he has got to organize Negroes as Negroes to do certain things for Negroes which only Negroes can do. His disinclination to do this arises from two reasons: first, because he doesn't want to be a Negro and secondly, because he fears if Negroes act together as Negroes they invite increased enmity and discrimination from others.

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The first reason does not need discussion. It is the natural reaction from people born under a regime of insult and prejudice. It can only be escaped through the integrity and growth of one's own soul. The second is, I admit, a very grave matter. There is no doubt but that a disposition on the part of American Negroes to unite and work together will call for opposition. The classic example of this is the case of the Jews. Because of their oppression in the Middle Ages, they had to form an almost autonomous self-governing community with an internal economy. The success of this was the primary cause of anti-Semitism, and yet what else could the Jews do? Self-defense made segregation and union absolutely indispensable. But this is the price and danger which is inevitable, from which we cannot escape. We can only hope that the efficiency which union gives will be offset, not simply by increased enmity, but by the far greater increase of respect and appreciation on the part of the white world. But even suppose this should not happen? Suppose that despite segregation and because of it and whether there was united internal effort or not, the organized prejudice against Negroes and darker races in America should increase. That the experience which Negroes would have accumulated by working together as a group would certainly be their greatest help and refuge in any movement that thus would be forced upon them.

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Mr. William H. Baldwin, Jr., was introduced to the Negro Problem from the Southern side, that is, he was associated with Southern people and heard their views and then came to hire Negroes in various capacities. He had all the difficulties that a Northern man under such circumstances must have. His workmen were lazy inefficient and cringing. They were ignorant and their ignorance was not simply illiteracy. From this Mr. Baldwin came to di definite sharply defined views. These Negroes might with training be made into an efficient working class. They could do common labor and they could even be trained to some sorts of skilled labor. They could be used to offset the growing demands for white union labor and thus make the South in some degrees a capitalistic paradise. On the other hand the Negro must be kept strictly in his place. He was not a white man and this fact must be impressed upon him. He must come to recognize that he was of a lower caste and while he had well defined rights they were not the same as the rights of white men. He should for instance, have no vote and social intercourse and intermarriage should be prohibited. And the education of Negroes should be arranged so as to bring about this consumation. This I believe was Mr. Baldwin's attitude up until say the time of the first "Ogden party". When the Ogden party came to Atlanta and certain members of the party including Mr. Ogden himself proposed to visit Atlanta University, Mr. Baldwin in a burst of indignation said in plain words "It will be a disgrace to this party for any of us to visit that institution." His attitude at the time was clear and con-

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sistent with his views: Atlanta University was primarily a Negro College. It sought to develop men to the breadth of their capacity and height of their ambition, regardless of their color. This attempt seemed to Mr. Baldwin both impossible and dangerous. In the first place the Negro had no particular capacities to develop, and, in the second place to fire the ambition of half-developed men for the impossible was nothing less than crime. From this time on, however, Mr. Baldwin's development on the Negro Problem was rapid and revolutionary: first, he began to come in contact with certain leaders of the Negro race. His attitude toward them was characteristically dictatorial. It was not so much learning from as teaching them and telling them what to do. He was impatient with the common specimens of upper class Negroes who did not take this education cheerily. When for instance, a young black man applied to his office for clerical work he was indignant and told him frankly that he had no business to be hunting for a white man's job, that his business was to work among his own people. At the same time the more he came in contact with colored people the more he had to recognize that hard and fast lines of demarcation of the ambition etc. did not square with the truth; that as a matter of fact, it was wrong, not to say preposterous in certain cases, to say to a certain man "Thus far shalt thou go and no further" simply because this man's skin happened to be black. No sooner did Mr. Baldwin realize this than his honesty came to the rescue. He recognized these men frankly, treated them as fellows and pointed out to them the splendid work they had to do in raising and guiding their people; but he still assumed that he knew how this raising and guiding had to be done. Even here, however, he gradually

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came across certain disturbing facts which he viewed squarely. For instance, he once visited the industrial exhibit of the colored school children at Athens, Ga. It was unusually well done and represented voluntary work on the part of colored teachers, for the school authorities would give them no appropriation. He said with enthusiasm "This is exactly the kind of work needed. Where were these teachers trained?" and then he found out to his great surprise that all except one had been graduated at Atlanta University. Here again Mr. Baldwin's open mind immediately began to learn and he began to realize that the process of educating the people was not nearly so simple a thing as he had assumed. He began to see that he had made certain mistakes and he proceeded straightway to rectify them. An organization was being planned in New York about this time by Mr. Baldwin and others to secure work for colored artisans in New York. Mr. Baldwin arranged a meeting of colored and white men to this end and wired me to come. I went and spoke at the conference and then Mr. Baldwin insisted on my going home with him. We went to his Brooklyn home, and he and his wife and I sat up until long after midnight discussing the Negro Problem. We resumed the discussion at breakfast, and came to New York together still discussing the matter and lunched at the Grand Union Hotel. Then I left him after ten or twelve hours discussion. In that discussion Mr. Baldwin began frankly by saying that I had probably heard of certain remarks of his which he wanted to explain. He acknowledged that he had said that it was a shame for any of the "Ogden" party to visit Atlanta University, but he said "I did not know Atlanta University then and I would not say it now." He spoke about the Negro

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applicant asking for a white man's job and explained that he was perhaps a little brusque in the matter and that he was thinking of how much there was for the black man to do for his own race without attempting this other work. Then he acknowledged frankly that there was need for some higher training among Negroes, and he used the phrase which he afterward repeated "The best education which it is possible for the recipient to use." * Then turning to more practicable matters he said "We want you at Tuskegee. I know and you know that Tuskegee is not a well organized school and I want you to go there and help organize it." At this I demurred. I spoke of Mr. Washington's and my widely divergent views on the matter of the Negro progress. He sought to impress me with the fact that Mr. Washington's whews after all were not so different from mine and finally he asked "What is it that you want Mr. Washington to say? You write out a statement of what you think Mr. Washington ought to say and send it to me?" To this I assented but afterward I concluded that it would not be right for me to do it. A mere private criticism of this sort was not going to accomplish as much as a frank open criticism. I therefore published the criticism which appeared in the "Souls of Black Folk" in 1903. Mr. Baldwin also proposed that if I could not see my way to unite with Tuskegee that at least some method of cooperation between Mr. Washington and those of us whoddid not believe in his methods should be found. To this I very gladly assented and out of the attempt sprang a conference of Negroes in New York which, however, amounted to nothing and Mr. Baldwin soon after died. His death to me was a matter of very great regret, because I was sure that he was slowly and surely coming to see the truth of the Negro Problem

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* He wanted Negroes when fitted to be allowed to vote, to have civil rights and he said: "The 15th amendment shall not be repealed even if we have to take guns again."

and that when he had once grasped it his thought and work would be all the more valuable because he knew the North and South and was beginning to know the Black Man, and had worked his way through the maze ~~through~~ with long earnest effort. He had the ear of the South, and spoke as one who knew their side of the problem, and yet saw it largely. He had the ear of the North and believed in real freedom and democracy; and more and more, if he had lived, would he have known the side of the Negro because of his growing intimate and sympathetic contact with the colored man. He was, for instance, furious when he realized the discrimination against colored men on Pulman cars. He hired lawyers and had briefs prepared and was about to enter suit when other more conservative counsels induced him to wait a while.

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The thing that impressed me in Mr. Baldwin's attitude toward the Negro was not so much his knowledge of the Negro Problem as his fearless desire to know and his determination to follow in the way that truth pointed.

Fr New Deal work

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(c 1935)

A Pragmatic Program for a Dark Minority

by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

1. There is today widespread apprehension, indecision and hesitation on the part of minority groups the world over. Such groups comprise religious, racial and cultural minorities within the confines of larger nations. Analogous to these groups are on the one hand the colonies and on the other hand the independent small nations. The colonies while in many cases actually numbering more inhabitants than the mother countries are constructive minorities in that they have little or no voice in their own government or the government of the mother country. The small nations also resemble minorities in that their political independence is conditioned by their economic dependence upon one or more of the larger countries.

2. Minority groups, colonies and small nations occupy today an anomalous position in the world. Together they form a major part of the world's population. Separately they are dominated by majorities who wield political, economic and social power over them. Ordinarily they cannot hope to become majorities. The Jews in Europe; the Negroes in America; religious sects of various kinds in various lands; nations like Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Scandinavia and the Balkan States together with colonies in Africa and certain states in Asia and South America.

3. What now must be the clear objects and aims of minority groups within the larger nations? Must they in self defence become segregated, narrowly racial, nationalistic and sectarian, iconoclastic; or shall they seek quiet unobtrusive self-suppression with eventual absorption into the larger groups or even self annihilation or group suicide?

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4. To what may the colonies look forward: to eventual inclusion within mother countries or to separate national existence? This means the eventual recognition of a series of black and brown nations. Are they then to be treated as equals of the white nations and if not how shall they be kept in subjection?

5. An intermediate case is posed by certain nations of Asia and South America which already have asserted and to a degree maintained independence but whose independent economic and political existence is only partially recognised by the leading nations.

6. On the other hand what shall be the object and ideal of the great national states? If following the lead of Italy and Germany and certain tendencies of thought in England, France and the United States, they aim to become states of uniform racial type in physique and culture with the exclusion, actual or spiritual, of all alien elements, what is to become of these elements? Driven out of the main states they must seek refuge in minority states as in the case of Jewish Palestine or a restored status in states whence they have migrated as in the recurrent back to Africa proposal in the United States and in the exclusion or return of certain immigrants from nearly all modern countries. So that homeless, stateless wanderers become an increasing world problem. Can the great nations continue to withstand the cumulative numerical increase of such minorities together with the clamour and demands of colonies and the economic unrest of small and hampered nations? May not these minorities and colonies and unstable states in time find union and cooperation, with increasingly effective leadership; and in this case what future can the world face but long continued war and hatred? Not the war of rivalry between proposed masters of the world as in the twentieth century but a much more bitter and destructive war which would be the uprising of the oppressed throughout the universe.

7. In any case tolerance, understanding and every attempt at cooperation is today inevitable if civilization is to progress and is especially necessary since economic survival and progress depend upon world-wide cooperation in the production and distribution of wealth. The modern preeminence in technique, production and commerce is built on close world unity and not on national self-sufficiency and racial segregation. Certainly then war and domination cannot be envisaged as a permanent program and a world peace movement to be effective cannot be simply a program of understanding and cooperation between rival dominant nations but must become fundamentally a matter of tolerance and understanding between dominant majorities and minority groups; between ruling and subject peoples; between large and small nations.

8. This era of interracial and inter-group tolerance is not, as it has been so often pictured, merely a matter of philanthropy, on the part of the larger nations. The world's majorities, its dominant groups and great nations are facing difficulties which do not make the plight of the minorities a matter of indifference to them. No matter how much a nation may purge itself of physical or cultural alien elements, it is still by the conditions of economic development, divided into classes of rich and poor and various middle groups.

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9. Moreover, in our day comes evidence of an economic change of world-wide proportions. This arises because of the economic expansion of Europe which began with the African slave trade and culminated in the Industrial Revolution. World-wide interchange of goods and services, with a marvelous technical efficiency and series of discoveries so increased the possibilities of ~~wealth~~ production that the whole problem of wealth and its distribution has changed. Instead of poverty being the natural and inevitable heritage of the mass of men, it has become conceivable that a better distribution of wealth and services would make most men comfortable and

thus open the gates to wider intelligence and deeper art. Consequently the economic class structure of past days, which put wealth and power in the hands of a few and made the masses poverty-stricken workers, is tending in all of the leading countries to break up into new economic alignments. This economic class structure has not yet been abolished but the distribution of wealth more equitably than formerly, and the abolition of extreme poverty, is increasing.

10. This brings the problem as to how this wealth is to be shared between the great nations, the lesser nations, the minority groups and the backward peoples. ~~This~~ It complicates the relations of these groups and nations because the work of all these peoples is necessary to the continued production of wealth ~~and~~ while the exclusion of any of them from power means their lessening share. Thus a new slavery looms different from the slavery of the ancient world and even that of the African slave trade, analogous to the subjection of the working classes and yet presenting new problems in human relations.

11. In the case of the separate small nation or of the physically segregated group within the nation or the segregated national group called colonies, it is clear under what disadvantages they may labor in this economic readjustment. They may be cut off by tariffs or subject to various economic oppressions at the same time that the main nation is moving toward more equitable distribution of wealth. This increased equity may even be made to depend upon continued injustice toward minorities, small nations and colonies.

12. The changing nations must therefore ask first of all, how many of the inhabitants of the nation can be included in this newly conceived equalization of wealth and income, and how shall the rest be excluded? Moreover, the possibilities of intensive production and the amount of available income has depended in the past upon the subjection of certain classes and peoples. If this subject-

ion disappears; if the working classes become increasingly sharers in the national income and if the alien groups in large states, the inhabitants of small states and particularly of the colonies, are regarded as prospective sharers of wealth, will the possibilities of production be such as can bring reasonable economic comfort to all these people; and in this world-wide economic equalization of peoples what will be the result on civilization and human culture? Can the mass of men be civilized or is culture facing another Dark Age of fatal proportions? In the face of this staggering problem the first reaction of great nations has been a stiffening of requirements for citizenship; of recognition of those who have a right to share in national benefits and exclusion of other elements, by means varying from serfdom of South African natives; to the caste of American Negroes, the economic paralysis of the West Indies and the physical expulsion and robbery of German Jews.

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13. On the other hand, among these minorities, groups and small nations themselves there is equal paradox and frustration. Their social philosophy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries included a recognition of the economic class structure in great nations as normal and inevitable. They sought social salvation through efforts to gain admission to these social classes and to rise from lower to higher status. The Jews beginning much earlier than most minority groups and having a great deal to do with the original formation of the capitalist hierarchy, early gained admission to place and power among these classes. In the case of the smaller nations, a division of the world economic field and cooperation with the larger nations established their economic status with their own inner gradations of economic classes similar to that of the larger nations. They thus often became economic provinces of the larger nations, with restricted political and cultural autonomy. Their wealthy and dominating economic classes enjoyed full recognition and reciprocity with the great nations, so that there was no essential distinction

between a Dutch and English capitalist or a French, Italian or Hungarian investor. In fact their international alliances ruled the world. On the other hand in the colonies the rise of native capitalists and leaders was feared and their recognition less easy; and yet the economic class structure was recognized by Chinese, Japanese and African thinkers and philosophers, as normal and ideal; escape, equality, progress and freedom meant to them, inclusion among the dominant rich rulers of the world and continued subjection for their masses.

14. Thus these minorities themselves have generally accepted the economic class structure as natural and definitive. Its tendency to disappear today leaves them therefore curiously hampered in their philosophy. Shall the Jews embrace a social theory which looks toward an equalization of income, when their survival in the past has depended upon their ability to escape poverty and oppression through sharing the power of the higher income classes? Should the American Negro continue his older effort to seek escape through an elite which joins the higher economic classes of the whites leaving the great mass of black people as a poor and ignorant proletariat? Can small nations progressively equalize income and not suffer from ceasing to be represented in the inter-nation by powerful capitalists? Can a colony of backward people develop social control and education without monopoly of capital and compulsory labor?

15. The effect of such problems upon international and interracial relations must be tremendous and increasingly dangerous. The great nations face clarification of policy toward the rest of the world which involves contradiction or sacrifice. Contradiction if they try to combine more reasoned production and a more equitable distribution of wealth among their own citizens and at the same time continue to exploit colonial peoples and exclude smaller groups and nations. Sacrifice

of wealth and power if white England, France and America share their income with Negroes and Chinese. On the other hand the minority groups and smaller nations whose interest have for a century and more been impelling them toward world activities and the breaking down of national and racial barriers, now face the compulsion of integrating their efforts, increasing their group solidarity and using force and propaganda to protect themselves and increase their efficiency. All this must inevitably move toward an increase of race hate and war.

16. Moreover, the fight of little nations, colonies and minorities can be made in one of two divergent directions: at present it would be more natural to adjust themselves to the older economic system which they have long seen and imitated among the conquering nations. Their working masses could be easily made to submit to this and they could evolve a powerful economic aristocracy, capable of leading their fight against the dominant nations. But what interest would their own masses have in this program and why should the dominant nations encourage such leaders?

17. On the other hand, these minority groups, colonies and smaller nations might attempt themselves to build an economy without economic classes and without poverty. This would be new and an experiment, and its success a matter of doubt since they would have no norms to guide them, and above all no adequately developed social leadership. A missionary movement in the dominant nations to supply such leaders is conceivable. But nineteenth century missionaries were economic morons when they were not secretarian bigots. Their philanthropy and sacrifice were thus only partially effective. On the other hand if both worlds - the majorities and minorities; the great nations and the colonies, both faced economic reconstruction for all peoples, an era of human cooperation of astonishing possibilities would dawn. Is this possible?

18. Here is a place where, as never before, the calm reason of mankind, implemented by scientific knowledge and motivated by men of good will can and must plan a crusade of cultural survival for civilization. We are headed toward War - not simply war of rival white Empires but a real death struggle of Worlds against perpetual poverty and continued degradation. A broad platform to counteract this is clear: the extension of the ideal of more equitable distribution of income through reasoned production and more just interchange of goods and services, not simply among people of favored nations but among all men. How far and how quickly this can be done depends upon the world-wide distribution of human ability and the triumph of good will. Here science, - anthropology, the new psychology, and international as contrasted with national economics, and a re-born and honest sociology, can and must help; and all the frustration and superstition of religion must be turned to practical ethical conduct.

19. The first problem of such scientific and philanthropic collaboration would be the possibility of cooperation in human effort and the production of goods for the benefit of all mankind together with the protection and increase of human culture. This involves the collaboration not simply of the representatives of the leading peoples but even more especially for the cooperation and free voice of the peoples of the earth and the assuming of responsibility by all groups. A new conception of democracy must come, - a democracy of minorities which becomes a reservoir of openly expressed opinion and desire, out of which those who rule the state may know the truth. Knowing Truth how can it be realized? Only by guiding the world under the control of able, unselfish and far-sighted men. There always have been such men; there are such men today; but their efforts are not guided by science, but misguided and frustrated by false economic and social theories.

20. Such movement and collaboration is conditioned on one assumption - a conviction which is unprovable until its truth is evident and then is so axiomatic that men cannot conceive that it was ever doubted or denied: this assumption is the perfectibility of mankind; not its absolute sameness, but its boundless possibilities even in difference. It is clear that the present world culture is upheld and advanced by a mere handful of those human beings whom education and opportunity might render capable of sharing in and contributing to. The present cultural leadership of the world is simply a small earnest of human possibilities, revealed by the last century of education and wealth, and selected largely by chance and arbitrary power rather than by wide design.

21. The possibilities of culture have not begun to be plumbed in the human ability which hitherto has led and developed the world and which has been discovered by chance and arbitrary power; and ~~that~~ among the depressed masses of peoples in culture states, and among the oppressed masses of the world, there are reservoirs of human ability and efficiency which can by world-wide education and cooperation be developed for the service of mankind. The narrow conception which assumes that the salvation of the earth depends upon the English aristocracy or the French elite or the Nordic race, must be supplemented by a conviction that the same time and trouble and opportunity that went to the development of these peoples, can give equal and even greater results among other peoples. On the other hand it would be made equally clear that the possibility of such development is not its realization and that neither popular vote nor wishful thinking can in a day make a Kaffir capable of successfully guiding the British Empire. Nor does the present subjection of Kaffirs to Englishmen prove the superiority of the white race.

22. What is called for are wide plans of educating all men for human development on the broadest scale and not schemes for using most men for private profit

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or personal or national aggrandisement. This can be done, but it calls for effort, wealth and sacrifice, sustained by an abiding faith in Man. Above all the wealth created by poor workers not simply within a nation but throughout the world must be used increasingly for their own uplift and not for their continued slavery.

23. Turning now from the general to the specific, let us consider our own land. There is proceeding in the United States a readjustment in the direction of production and the division of wealth. It is clearly recognized that the present organization of industry does not give employment to the available workers despite the social need for their efforts; and is furnishing even our workers an average income which is below the requirements of decent living. There is wide divergence of opinion as to how this situation is going to be remedied but there is no essential difference of opinion as to the necessity of remedy of some sort.

24. However in every concrete program of readjustment there appears here, as elsewhere in the world, the question as to what people really constitute America and what groups must be more or less excluded either because they are not an integral part of the American nation or because their inclusion will make the whole program impracticable. In relief, housing, re-settlement, model towns, labor organization, wage standards, public education, job, age, health and accident insurance - in all these matters there is not only the problem of the mass of recognized Americans, but the additional problem of certain excluded groups, of which the most conspicuous and universally excluded are Americans of known Negro descent. It matters not how morally wrong this is, or socially dangerous, or legally forbidden; the fact remains that Negroes are usually unwelcome as physical neighbors, undesired as fellow workers, unwanted in many schools, and additional liabilities in relief and insurance. The historical excuse for poverty and crime among Negroes is not recognized, because the majority of Americans

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not only recognize the Negroes' present social inequality, but would not actively make effort entirely to remove it, even if this were possible. Argument, agitation and appeal for one hundred years supplemented by proof of increasing ability and accomplishment has not essentially breeched this wall of prejudice which is based in part on the biologic fear of blood deterioration and in part on the old desire for a permanent inferior caste.

25. The older philosophy was that intelligent, gifted and deserving members of this suppressed group, children of former slaves, would escape into the majority group by a process of scaling off through accomplishment; that consequently the triumph of a black athlete, a Negro musician or a colored scholar was the beginning of the end of race discrimination. But not only is such a process slow but it is hindered and nullified by prevailing opinions; so that while some of the worst manifestations of color discrimination in the United States have disappeared, a residuum persists which will not be markedly altered during the life time of the present generation; and indeed its recrudescence and growth is being encouraged today by world conditions.

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26. The next step according to American tradition would be to apply force in order to correct injustice against Negro Americans. That is, force in the sense of agitation and publicity with political and economic pressure and even violence. This program, however, is strictly limited by the amount of sympathy and cooperation that it will receive from white Americans. No disadvantaged minority can successfully use force against a determined majority. The majority of white Americans today are adverse to certain forms of Negro oppression. They dislike lynching and mob law. They would prefer to have disfranchisement accomplished by legal methods universally applied. But on the other hand, they do not regard Negroes as equals; they do not wish them to receive the same income as whites; they do

not want them advanced according to ability and while they sincerely believe that the ability is not present save in sporadic cases they are often unwilling to test this fairly. The result is that the only program which American Negroes can successfully follow, is that of publicity and appeal, with such legal defense as is possible while they are waiting for public opinion gradually to change. If, of course, the Negro continues to develop in intelligence and ability this change in opinion is certain to come but can he develop intelligence and ability unless he can maintain an economic status and a purposeful internal organization?

27. It is this maintenance of economic status, in the face of and in accord with the economic revolution going on throughout the country generally and indeed throughout the world, that makes the present plight of the Negro so baffling. His earlier philosophy accepted the economic class structure of the American nation; its domination of wealth and the eventual rise of Negroes by gaining admission into the upper economic classes. If now in accordance with the better thought of the world the economic class structure is bound gradually to disappear and the distribution of wealth among the masses to become more equitable, what is to be the plan and program of the American Negro group?

28. This is the crux of the present Negro problem. The differentiation of Negroes into classes and groups has progressed swiftly. They are today divided according to economic status, education and physical distribution. They vary from well-to-do college-trained business and professional men to servants and laborers, farmers and farm-tenants, and a great mass of casual workers, paupers, outcasts and semi-criminals.

29. What common aim can this widely differentiated group have? In other days they would flay apart into antagonistic, self-conscious, exploiting and exploited groups. Today because of their social history they have a common bond

in the color bar; but does this furnish a common program? On the contrary we may think of three different programs: a program to develop an upper class of rich, powerful and educated Negroes who would exploit the Negro masses and other poor peoples and form cultural and economic alliance with corresponding white classes in the nation. Or we might think of an effort to develop the main mass of Negroes as workers and servants in alliance and cooperation with the white labor movement. These two possibilities are both hindered by race prejudice. Segregation and group effort within the color bar is, therefore, to some extent inevitable and leads to a third possible program which would envisage equalization of wealth within the group, a degree of economic self-sufficiency and group cooperation with the white nation.

30. The first program has been tried with only partial success and is meeting today the criticism of those who believe in greater equalization of wealth. The second program is being tried but meets continued opposition in a large part of the labor world. The third program brings us to a crucial problem affecting the relation of major and minor groups within nations and of stronger and weaker peoples throughout the world. How far can these groups into which the world is settling have common, open and frank objects and strive together for them, or how far will this group, national and racial segregation lead to a fatal division of the world's peoples within and without the leading nations? Hitherto any attempt of a minority to lay down and follow a group program has lead to suspicion, resentment and often open violence between minorities and majorities. It has always been an excuse for reaction and pushing the parties to greater separation rather than less. On the other hand the program of racial and minority exclusion adopted by the majority of the nation, leaves the minority a helpless victim unless it organizes in turn.

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31. May this not be because the reciprocal problem has not been openly recognized? There must be peace, cooperation, tolerance and forbearance between the different groups of the world or else an attempt to exterminate each other. Such extermination is today neither necessary nor desirable. Such a program would deprive human culture of that physical and spiritual diversity which has been regarded usually as the life blood of developing civilization. Not dead uniformity of body, mind and raiment but tolerance between diverse groups, thoughts, emotions and beliefs, has always been the idea of most enlightened men. Neither physical nor spiritual exclusion is a practical human program today. On the other hand a social grouping according to wish and desire, so long as it hurts and hinders no one, is not only permissible but a legimate tool of human culture. It is desirable and necessary that the best minds of the land representing the majority groups and culture and the best minds representing the minority groups, should seek to develop a frank and open program which would include segregation as a legitimate tool but not as a final end and would recognize that the advance of Jews, Negroes, Indians and others is just as much to the advantage of America as the advance of New Englanders of English descent or the white Scotch-Irish of the South.

32. Negroes, moreover, must agree upon an economic program and if they are going to work with the main forward movement of the world, that program must include the equalization of wealth and a gradual disappearance of economic classes. Such union will involve internal stress and increased voluntary and involuntary racial segregation: the maintenance of the separate Negro church, the increase of the Negro system of education and a certain increase of Negro neighborhoods, towns and even sections; especially a Negro economy for producing and distributing wealth and services. Already the reaction among Negro physicians against

group medicine, the refusal to attempt the burden of Negro relief, and the growing bitterness of the black labor masses toward the richer and more successful Negroes and the rise of fantastic demogogues as leaders, forecastes the coming minor class struggle.

33. The danger here is that reaction and prejudice on the part of whites should seize upon segregation and group action as in itself desirable and so help to increase it beyond necessity or social safety. This can only be stopped by earnestly pointing out that an increase of group segregation in a nation and in the world is the most dangerous of modern tendencies, the most direct threat to the maintenance and spread of human culture, the widest cause of war.

34. The frank facing of this situation in the United States and working in accordance with it, should lead to similar orientation in the West Indies where, with a segregated island proletariat and absentee economic control, an extraordinary impasse has been reached; and in Africa where there are gathering all the elements of a racial, economic and national struggle within another century, increased by the bitterest memories. Finally and above all the problem of the relation of Europe to the peoples of Asia and of South America can only be finally settled when these people see in the treatment of racial minorities by Europe and the United States, an evidence of good will and an effort to advance the real and permanent interests of all humanity not at the expense of the majority of the world's people but with their frank and open cooperation.

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1935 Mss. by DuBois

A LITTLE JOURNEY IN THE WORLD

37-10-35

The whole oddyssey of our trip from Atlanta to New York and return in the winter of 1935 deserves to be set down with some particularity, both as warning and encouragement.

We started Friday afternoon, December 20, at half-past four. There were Mrs. Cannon and Mrs. Duncan of the Red Oaks School, Alonzo Lowry, a Morehouse student, and myself.

We sailed on easily and with fair speed, aiming to stop at Spartanburg, South Carolina, for the night. But there were certain omens that should have warned us. First of all, I think Lowry killed two dogs; one of which probably had been run over before.

We came into Spartanburg later than we had planned, but in good condition and spirits, save for the dogs. The next morning, Saturday, things began to happen in earnest. It was bitter cold in Spartanburg, colder than I thought South Carolina capable of. The car which had been housed in an out-house refused to start, partly on account of the sleeve valves, but more on account of frozen brakes; a kind of accident I had not encountered before.

Dr. Gregg got a mechanic and then finally we got started about eight o'clock instead of at six, as we had planned. Near Norlina, about 1 P.M., we discovered a flat as we were at a gas station; we bought a new inner tube, rode on and ate lunch. Later passers-by hailed us and we discovered another flat and had to change the wheel. This was ominous, but not nearly as much so as the incident after dark eight miles north of Wise which we agreed to mark with an "X" and not to mention aloud. We went on after stopping at a garage and reached Richmond finally between eight and nine o'clock at night, instead of at six, which we had planned. There, we had an excellent supper, got up early the next morning, and had breakfast and got started at eight. We had hardly gotten to the corner by the second light turning into the highway toward Washington, when the brakes jammed again so that the back wheels did not turn. By

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coaxing, we got as far as a garage. It was Sunday and only one mechanic, a colored man, was on duty. At first my passengers were quite sure that he didn't know his business, buthe really did. It was so cold, however, that it took some time.

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We finally got into a closed garage and after three hours' work, we started again. This of course meant that we got into New York at eleven o'clock stead of seven o'clock keeping up our bad record for promptness. In New York, of course, we all generally, had our pleasant celebrations at Christmas, but evidently Mrs. Cannon got cold feet. Husband recommended that she return directly from New York to New Orleans to her conference which would give her nearly a week extra in New York. We could not object and we did not. On Friday at noon, we started for the South.

The weather was pleasant without snow and not very cold. Everything went nicely until we got to Richmond. At Richmond, when we arose Sunday morning, lo and behold, there were four inches of snow on the ground and it was snowing with steady determination. But we argued this way: snow in Richmond could not last long, and moreover, as we go South, itis bound to disappear. Probably we would run out of the snowstorm by noon. The hotel dining room was not opened, so we went across the street to a little joint where we caused considerable curiosity, but got a good breakfast of bacon and eggs, and then off to the South.

I drove, knowing the way and being a little afraid of skidding in the snow. We got to Petersburg without trouble, but from Petersburg to South Hill, the snow increased in quantity and we found it difficult and dangerous to pass cars. Little had been done in cleaning the roads. From South Hill to Durham, we had a pretty bad time. The road was narrow, the snow had hardened to a corduroy formation and it was especially bad between Oxford and Durham.

Durham was a pain. The city sat under a coat of six inches of snow, with snow still falling and with nobody apparently doing a single thing. The streets were not cleared, the sidewalks were not cleared, the stores closed, and it was already getting dark at four o'clock in the afternoon. We drove down to the depot and had our lunch and then when we planned to start, the car wheels skidded in the snow and we

had a terrible time pushing and backing and getting hold of ashes and papers in order to get started. This was the first of perhaps ten times during the rest of the trip when we had to get out and push and pull and haul and bring in the help of neighbors--and neighbors, white and black, were very kind. In Durham, a second time, we got stuck on one of the city hills and could only get out by letting the car drift down under a culvert where it was level and without snow. With the start we got, we approached the top of the hill and met a red light, but I turned right on the red light. Mrs. Duncan declares that it was against the rule and that a policeman saw me, but he considerately turned his back.

Then the question was: what to do? Should we stop for the night in Durham or drive the car on, our goal being Spartanburg. We were especially bothered by ice forming on the windshields. It formed rapidly and froze and for a while we had to get out every hundred feet or so and brush it off. Then I remembered that glycerine was a cure for this and we bought a small bottle which cured that difficulty. If we did not reach Spartanburg that night, we could not reach Atlanta in time for classes Monday. Very foolishly and stupidly, we all decided to go on. From Durham to Greensboro, we could make only about twenty miles an hour and the bright lights of Sedalia tempted us, but still we pushed on grimly ahead.

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On we went from Greensboro to Charlotte. The road was in better condition and had been for the most part fairly well cleared. We got to Charlotte at nine o'clock and determined to go on to Spartanburg. I telephoned in a drug store. The white proprietor was very curious and when he heard me tell Mrs. Jones at Spartanburg we would be there at mid-night, he said, laughingly, "You won't get there at mid-night. It will be two or three o'clock." It proved that he was quite right. The road grew worse, especially that bad bit of raod between North and South Carolina through Kings Mountain. The snow was so thick, we couldn't tell where the bad, dirt road ended and the good, concrete began and we had a merry time making wagers about it. We passed cars in ditches and got stalled ourselves, but finally arrived in Spartanburg at three o'clock

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in the morning. We had coffee and Smithfield ham and fell wearily into bed. I set the alarm of my clock for Five A. M. At Five A.M. Monday, after two hours' sleep, we got up. It was hard to awaken Mrs. Duncan and Lowry, but I finally did, and then came the very worse part of the trip!

First of all, the car which we had cannily left in front of the house instead of trying to get it in the garage, refused to move out of the snow. Its wheels whirled, simply whirled, helplessly around. Mr. Lowry and I worked and worked and finally got it started. I was at the wheel and drove it down the road. Then came the problem as to how to get it back up the road. I did not know where the road went, so I tried turning out into a side street that looked safe in order to turn around. The result was that I again got stuck. Lowry came down and again we worked and pushed and two or three different persons helped us. Finally, by getting a shovel and digging down into the ground and putting sticks under the car, we finally got it started again. This time Lowry was driving and inconsiderately turned out for a coming car. The result was we were in the ditch again and again we had to push and pull and get help.

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Finally, we got it started a third time. I was at the wheel and I drove straight up to the main street and parked in a garage where I was sure we could start again. Then I went back and ate breakfast and got Lowry and Mrs. Duncan and we walked a half-mile back with some of the baggage and got into the car. This was about nine o'clock. There was, of course, no chance to make the two hundred miles to Atlanta at eleven-forty o'clock, but stubbornly, we went on. We had all sorts of adventures. Two or three times, we got stuck in the snow again and kindly travelers helped push us out. We were literally surrounded by wrecks and stalled cars. Trucks, especially, had difficulty. The road had been cleaned for the width of one vehicle and when you turned out for a car, especially for a truck, there was no way of knowing whether you were getting off the payment or not. You went into the deep snow with frantic prayers and if you did not miss the payment, came on again. One on-coming car struck a truck and tied up the traffic for a half-hour.

When we reached Greenville, matters went more smoothly and we went skipping merrily on to Athens. I calculated that we would get into Atlanta about six o'clock

at night and that I would get supper and go to the Omega ball. Suddenly about fifteen miles the other side of Athens, the car sighed and stopped. Lowry and I got out, examined the gas and the spark and lights. The horn acted all right, there was plenty of gas, and so I concluded the trouble must be in that mysterious part of the car called the electrical system. Two colored men came by, one teacher in the local school, and told us where there was a garage and mechanic about two miles back. Lowry went back with them. About three o'clock, the mechanic came. I do not know what his real name, was, but he was called "J.B." and the man that brought him in the car was called "Cecil". They were white men. Cecil had a summer suit and no vest and literally shivered in the intense cold. The other man was fat and dressed as a mechanic, but got pretty cold before he could finish the work.

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They were both good-natured and did their best. They said the difficulty, undoubtedly, was with the coil and the condenser and the only thing they could do was to drive fifteen miles into Athens to get new parts and bring them out and put them in. This they did while we sat and waited, eating the rather scanty remains of the lunch, and looking at the beautiful snow and icy trees and sunshine. They came back, finally, and made the repairs. I paid them $11.25, (by the way, I had to borrow it from Mrs. Duncan,) and off we started merrily. That was about four o'clock. We would be in Atlanta about seven or eight.

We had gone about four miles when the car sighed again and stopped. I was prepared to scream and do damage, but Mrs. Duncan was a brick. She didn't complain and was very encouraging. For the first time in my life, I hailed a passing traveller and asked him if he would take Lowry back to the garage. He did. Lowry said that he had a bottle of whiskey under the seat and took frequent potations on the way; but Lowry got back there. Then "J.B." couldn't find anybody to bring him up and Mrs. Duncan and I sat waiting. Finally, Mrs. Duncan sat up and said: "I tell you what I am going to do. I'm going to hail a motorist and go into Athens and get a wrecking car." We both of us knew people there, including the Harris's.

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I told her that would never do. It was dark and lonely. It would be dangerous and she wouldn't dare. "Oh, yes I will," she said brightly, and knowing it was about our last chance, I let her get out. The first car that came by, she raised her hand. The man stopped very obligingly and took her to Athens. She said he was an ordinary white working man, but acted very pleasantly. She paid him for taking her in, which he at first refused, but finally was prevailed upon. She went to Dr. Harris's and made arrangements to get a car to come out and drag us in.

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In the meantime, I was quite alone on this dark, lonely road with the cars rushing by on the snow and ice and I was not certain just when or where one was going to hit me. Moreover, Lowry had not returned. I pictured him as getting into a fuss with "J.B." and "J.B." refusing to return; and I pictured Mrs. Duncan getting into all sorts of unspeakable trouble. It was a very lovely wait. About five o'clock, Lowry returned with the mechanic and another man who drove him and a little boy. They worked and worked on the car and said that undoubtedly through a short circuit the two new coils had been burned out; and finally, the mechanic threw up his hands and said he couldn't do anything more that night. I would have to wait until morning. I didn't go through the useless gesture of asking him for a refund, but simply said: "All right, we'll wait for the car from Athens." And he forgot to tell me that he had broken the little arm in the distributor and could do nothing until they got the new part from Athens!

So Lowry and I sat and waited and waited. About nine o'clock, two cars appeared: Dr. Harris and Mrs. Duncan in one, and a garage man in a small Plymouth. We had a difficult time getting started on the icy road. We went forward and slid back. The Plymouth pulled my car with Dr. Harris pushing. Finally, however, we pulled my car back to a level space and got it started and then made a dash for the nine miles to Athens.

I have taken a good many wild rides in my life, but this ride I think was the most hair-raising that I have ever had. The road was full of slush, ice and snow. Cars and even trucks and busses were passing. To turn out might mean getting into a ditch if not in a gully, and yet we reaced into Athens at forty miles an hour. The boy in the

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Plymouth said that that was the only way to get it in there. If my car had skidded, weighing as it did twice as much as the Plymouth, we would hardly be here to tell the tale. The Plymouth swayed crazily from side to side and the La Salle glared from behind and came up and bumped at intervals. We got into the town at last--how I don't know--and were deposited in a garage where another workman, a kindly old man, started in with the repairs.

We went into the drug store and then went across to a restaurant. It was a little place, but clean, with some rough laborers as customers, but with good food. The proprietor called me "Brother" and told me where to hang up my hat, and we congregated around the little rusty stove in the back. Then we had excellent oyster stew, steak and potatoes and some desert, although I have forgotten what. Then we went back over to the garage. The man had had to pause and go out and drag in another wrecked car, and then he tinkered over ours. He furnished new coils and still the car wouldn't start and he confessed finally that he didn't know what was the matter. But a half hour after mid-night, the engine whirred and we started out again. By that time, I had lost all hope and fully expected to be stranded somewhere between Athens and Atlanta and spend the night. I let Lowry drive because I was too tired and for the first time in my life I actually slept while somebody was driving my car. We got into the city limits about three o'clock and I noticed with astonishment that there were no lights, and finally on Ponce De Leon Avenue, I found a tree across the street, and for a moment was quite lost. Only then did we realize what the ice storm had done to Atlanta. But we reached the Spelman campus at half-past three. At four o'clock, I was at the men's dormitory. I left the car outdoors to its surprise and went up to my suite to find no lights there, but an ornamental yellow candle did very well, and I slept.

37-10-41

THE HANDS OF ETHIOPIA

By W. E. Burghardt DuBois

The hands which the Land of Burnt Faces is today stretching forth to the God of Things-that-be are both physical and spiritual; and both today and yesterday they have twined gnarled fingers about the very roots of the world. Physically Ethiopia's fingers are those rough mountain masses of North East Africa which form the defensive rampart of the continent and against which historically Egypt and Persia, Turk and Egyptian, British, French and Italian have so far hammered in vain.

Abyssinia is a pear-shaped mountain ~~clump~~ mass, cut into island-like sections which are separated by deep gorges and ravines. It is nearly as large as France and Spain combined, and looms high on the northwest toward the Valley of the Nile, slopes on the southwest toward the Great Lakes, and drops on the east to the sea. It rises in three great terraces: a plane of rocky strata; a plateau about eight thousand feet above the sea, and above this snow-capped mountains which sometimes rise nearly another eight thousand feet. "It looks," says the traveller, "like a storm-tossed sea, suddenly solidified."

In these highlands, both the Blue Nile and the Atbara rise, and thus Abyssinia commands a full half of the waters of the Nile. It was a German who said that the power which held the Abyssinian highlands could dominate the imperialism of Europe in Africa. On these stark physical facts is built a spiritual history almost as old as the world and yet half forgotten even in this recent revival of strained interest in this Land of the Blacks.

Why for instance is Haile Selassie, Emperor of "Ethiopia"

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and not of Abyssinia as his predecessors often called themselves? Abyssinia is a word of Semitic origin, but Ethiopia is Negro. Look at the pictures of Abyssinians now widely current. They are as Negroid as American Negroes. If there is a black race they belong to it. Of course, there are and never were any "pure" Negroes any more than there are "pure" whites or "pure" yellows. Humanity is mixed to its bones. But in the rough and practical assignment of mankind to three divisions, the Ethiopians belong to the black race.

And always did. Abyssinia is the fourth great step of dark human culture in North East Africa backward — or shall we say forward — from the Mediterranean to the Great Lakes, paralleling perhaps a pre-historic movement northward; and every step has shaken the world. Physically the steps have been almost equal - 500 miles from the Nile delta to the First Cataract. Then 500 miles from Napata to Meroe; and at last 500 miles from the capital of the Candaces to their shield-like island formed by the Atbara and Blue Nile, to Axum and Adowa where the retreat — or advance of black Africa ended until 1935.

All this vast movement and development was stretched over more than 5,000 years, but it affected essentially similar, though not identical groups of African people: the mulattoes of Egypt, more and more drowned in the black blood from the South, which ever threatened and gave them sanctuary. This southern land, called from the beginning "Ethiopia", had its surging boundaries finally fastened at the First Cataract, until these gates became an opening and refuge where Egypt retreated before Persia; and Ethiopia, eventually, became a new and conquering Egypt which ruled the Nile valley from Napata and was the greatest power in the western world from 750 to 600 B.C.

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But Asia and the Desert pressed South again, until at Meroe, 500 further miles South and 500 years later, Ethiopia developed a new capital and new dynasties which resisted the power of Greece, Rome and Arabia. Then the land of the Blacks crumpled again, before black foes sweeping in from the forests of the west, before the New Mohammedanism pressing relentlessly down from the north, before the ever encroaching desert.

Ethiopia again retreating took her stand with her back against the last great ramparts of the east - the Hills of Abyssinia. Here the black hordes of the region of the Great Lakes had been infiltrated with Semitic blood from the shores of the Red Sea, where Asiatic upheavals drove Jews and Arabs before them and hurled remnants on the African shores. The trading station at Axum, near modern Adowa, was a gateway for merchants and brought Ethiopia and Abyssinia in contact.

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This kingdom took its name, "Abyssinia", from a Semitic tribe, "Habesh"; but the people of Habesh were neither contented nor safe in being simply Abyssinians. Trade and defense forced them toward ancient Ethiopia, and they disputed with the Arabs and Nubians over the domination of the island of Meroe. Here they claimed sovereignty as early as 356 A.D., and actually destroyed the capital a century later. Greek and Roman influence filtered into Abyssinia from the East, and trade made Axum flourish. Myths of its obscure origin began to arise: the Jewish myth of descent of its royal house from Solomon; the Negro myth of its descent from Aethiopis, whose tomb was pointed out at Axum.

48-15-25

The new Christian religion came to Abyssinia in the Fourth Century after Christ, and thus a third great center of Christianity, in contrast to Rome and Constantinople, was established. Then came the red wave of conquest from the North, and the history of

Abyssinia becomes dim and shadowy. As Gibbons has written, "Encompassed by her enemies, Ethiopia slept a thousand years, forgetful of the world by whom she was forgotten."

It was not until the 16th Century that the Portuguese again brought Abyssinia to the attention of the world, by locating there the source of the legend of Prester John, that ghostly Christian ruler, who during the Middle Ages was supposed to be reigning in Africa or India.

Abyssinia from early times was divided into a number of great districts, each administered by an hereditary chief called a Ras. Over these chiefs ruled a Negus, called "King of Kings." When this overlord was a strong man, he ruled a powerful country. When he was weak, there was anarchy and confusion.

Such a period of disintegration was in progress about the middle of the 19th Century under Johannes; but he was succeeded in 1855 by the Emperor Theodore, a gifted, ruthless man, who came to the throne at the time when European imperialism was being organized and stretching out inquiring hands toward Asia and Africa. Scientists, traders, missionaries and adventurers wandered into Abyssinia. Theodore was well-disposed toward Europeans, and curious about their countries; but inevitable misunderstanding occurred, both in matters of etiquette and religion. "I know the tactics of European governments," said the observing Theodore, "when they try to acquire an Eastern state. First, they send out missionaries; then consuls to support the missionaries; then battalions to support the consuls. I am not a Rajah of Hindustan to be made mock of in that way."

Theodore needed alliance and friendship with Europe, if they came to him on honorable terms, to help organize his kingdom and beat back the threatened domination of Turks and Egyptians.

He considered himself insulted, however, when the British and others after making fair promises, forgot all about him and ignored his overtures; in angry retaliation he seized and imprisoned the British minister and other Europeans.

Thereupon, in 1867, the British taking advantage of a rebellion, sent Napier with an army of 12,000 men to invade Abyssinia. Theodore was surrounded in his capital where the British troops with superior rifles killed two thousand Abyssinians, while losing only 20 whites. Theodore surrendered and released the prisoners, but Napier had promised the rebel chiefs to degrade and dethrone him. The English artillery opened fire on Magdala and Theodore shot himself dead. His body was allowed to be mutilated by a mob, while Napier received a peerage. Anarchy ensued in Abyssinia between 1868 and 1872, with two rival claimants to the throne, Johannes of Tigre and Menelik of Shoa.

4/8-15-37

This is historically the land that in 1935 came suddenly to the world's attention as a threat of imminent World War, as a test of international agreements, as a curious crisis in the Christian religion. How did this come about?

Italy became a united nation at the time when modern international imperialism was just beginning. Its outlines were clear in the British Empire whose wide colonial dominion was becoming an imperial domain for investing capital in cheap colored labor. Germany had as yet no colonial dream and France had lost hers. Italy had two too pressing problems of unification and the Catholic church to make wider plans, but she had a tradition - almost she was hampered by a tradition, of Imperial Rome. And if modern Rome had a claim to any part of the world which was not hers,

it was surely to Carthage or modern Tunis. France blundered into possession of Algiers as early as 1830 and at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, Bismark and Salisbury offered her Tunis as a consolation prize after Sedan.

The scramble for Africa began in the last quarter of the 19th century and imperial industry took cleaner, firmer outlines. France and England took dual control of Egypt in 1876. In 1881 France seized Tunis and England ~~took control~~ firmer hold of Egypt. Italy was aroused. Despite her poverty and internal problems she resented the loss of ancient Carthage. She staked her claim ~~felt forced to imperial aggression. In 1882~~ to Tripoli and in 1882 she seized Eritrea, a part of the natural coast line of Abyssinia; but England and France blocked her further extension south; and it was not until 1892 that she joined England and Germany in the loot of Zanzibar and got Italian Somaliland.

These first imperial ventures of Italy had little significance. The Abyssinian highlanders cared little about the coast and took no note of its seizure; but the whole situation changed when native rebellion arose in Egypt and the Sudan.

4/8-15-27

Egypt was groaning under the debt which had been deliberately encouraged by France and England. Her rulers, who had squandered the proceeds, sought to keep up the interest by ruinous and exhaustive taxation. In desperation, the natives rebelled. Ahmed Arabi, a mulatto colonel, led a successful revolt but the English turned their guns upon Alexandria and defeated Arabi. This left the Egyptian ~~former~~ rulers still in nominal control of the whole of Egypt but in actual control only of the Sudan, ~~while the English held the real power along the Lower Nile.~~

Rebellion in the Sudan naturally ~~followed~~ continued. ~~The Araby rebellion had its echo in the Sudan.~~ In 1878, the mulatto Rabah had swept through the Bahr-El-Ghazel and the regions south of Lake Chad. Then there arose a greater leader and a

vaster motif. Mohammed Ahmed, son of a priest in Dongola, had established headquarters 150 miles above Khartum. He was a tall, broad-shouldered, majestic black man, with great eyes. He had visions. Disciples gathered around him, and eventually he proclaimed himself the Mahdi, the Messiah of the Mohammedan revelation.

The country, groaning under misrule, went into the throes of a religious crusade against Egypt. A holy war was proclaimed, and a strong army organized. The Mahdi put down blasphemy, feasting, drinking, smoking and swearing. ~~Thousands followed him.~~ The Egyptians in 1883 sent an army of 10,000 under the Englishman, Hicks Pasha. They were annihilated, ~~with only 500 left alive~~. Kordofan, Dafur and the Bahr-El-Ghazel surrendered. Only a German, Emin Pasha, still upheld Egyptian power down in the Equatorial provinces next to Uganda. By the end of 1883, the Mahdi was master of a territory equal to Spain, France and Germany, and his army was closing in on Khartum, the capital of the Sudan. Ancient Ethiopia lived again.

England hesitated. She still had the liberal tradition and Gladstone even went so far as to say that the Sudanese were "rightly struggling to be free." But his "little Englanders" were fighting growing and expanding imperialism and as Chamberlain put it - "Empire is Commerce." Eventually

The scramble for Africa was bitter. England was encroaching upon the Portuguese colonies; Germany had appeared in the field; France was at work in North Africa. France, England and Italy had seized the coast of Abyssinia, and in the vast Valley of the Congo, comprising the whole center of Africa, little Belgium had proposed an international state. An European conference to settle the rules of the game for the further looting of Africa seemed necessary. It

came together in Berlin in November, 1884, and laster through February, 1885. The Congo was recognized not as an international state but as the personal property of the King of Belgium. Certain rules of procedure for the further seizure of Africa were adopted, and before the conference was ended, the German colonial party forced Bismark's hand, seized Zanzibar and East Africa, and Germany appeared as a full-fledged African colonial power.

In the midst of this, the imperialists forced Gladstone to make Chinese Gordon Governor of the Sudan, and Gordon, a tippling fanatic with fits of courage and murder, sought by every subterfuge to force Gladstone to conquer the Sudan. The bluff failed, Gordon died and Gladstone was reviled as a murderer and traitor.

Khartoum fell. For thirteen years, the Mahdi and his successor, the Khalifa, ruled. Thus the whole of the Sudan was lost to Egypt and England. The Egyptian garrisons on the northern border of Abyssinian were finally withdrawn in 1886, and French, British and Italian possessions on the coast were in danger of being overwhelmed by the Mahdi.

48-15-29

6

The English Tories, returned to power in June 1885, did not dare attack the Mahdi, and resorted to a web of diplomacy which entangles England today. She signed a treaty of alliance with Johannes II of Abyssinia and thus enlisted his aid to keep the Mahdi from the coast. Turning on top of this she suggested that Italy seize the port of Massowah which belonged to Abyssinia. To hand over to the Italians Massowah which belonged to the Abyssinians, and to which Italy had no shadow of claim, was an extraordinary breach of faith. Italy proceeded to take Massowah, as Giolitti says, as "a consolation prize", having been cheated out of Tunis, held back in Tripoli; out-manoeuvered both at the Congress of

Berlin and the Berlin Conference; as well as losing her chance to participate in Egypt.

Once having placed her foot in Massowah, Italy proceeded to make alliance with Johannes' chief ~~enemy~~ rival, Menelik of Shoa, a pretender to the Abyssinian throne. Johannes found himself between two enemies, Italy and the Khalifa, and eventually was killed in battle by the latter in 1889. Imediately, Menelik proclaimed himself King of Kings, and in May signed with the Italians the celebrated treaty of Uccialli.

To prove his gratitude to the Italians for their alliance and help with the armies, Menelik ceded Italy the territory which they had already seized. But the Italians, drunk with new ambition, swept on, calmly crossed into Abyssinia, and toward the end of 1889, seized Adowa, while Menelik was busily subduing his enemies. They even penetrated into the Harrar, the trading region inland from the coast, thus coming into direct dispute, not only with Abyssinia, but with the claims of France and Great Britain. Thereupon, France and Great Britain made a secret treaty which allowed them to oppose Italy's advance if they pleased; a treaty which again put Great Britain in the unenviable position of "double-crossing" Italy, just as she had previously deceived Abyssinia.

48-15-36

~~This looked like a rare opportunity for German imperialism.~~ Between German East Africa and the Egyptian Sudan, lay the great territory of Uganda, where Catholics, Protestants and Mohammedans had been merrily cutting each others throats in their efforts to convert the heathen. The Germans pushed warily up into this country, while shut up in the Equatorial provinces of the Sudan was the German, Emin Pasha. Germany determined to rescue him, while England spent $145,000 on the Stanley expedition. Both nations

were seeking to fall heir to Egypt in Central Africa. England arrived first in 1888, and found Emin at first unwilling to be "rescued." He wanted to hold these provinces and turn them over to Germany. The Khalifa, however, was pressing him hard, and when Stanley appeared, Emin finally reluctantly followed him, and they met Karl Peters and the German expedition which had been busily engaged in making treaties with the local chiefs for German expansion. Emin, with his black wife and mulatto daughter, finally arrived at Zanzibar, where he accepted the post under the German administration in East Africa.

Meantime, the stage was set for Italy's final coup. In the seventeenth clause of the Treaty of Uccialli, there arose a characteristic misunderstanding. The Abyssinian text, which was the only one actually signed, said: "His Majesty, the King of Kings of Ethiopia, shall be at liberty to avail himself of the Italian government for any negotiations which he may enter into with other powers or governments." The Italian translation, which was made in Italy, said: "His Majesty, the King of Kings of Ethiopia, consents to avail himself of the Italian government for any negotiations which he may enter into with other powers or governments."

The treaty was signed May 2, 1889. October 12, 1889, Crispi notified the powers by circular letter under the general act of the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 that Abyssinia was an Italian protectorate. On May 5, 1894, he signed agreements with England in which England recognized Abyssinia as an Italian protectorate. A map of Africa by treaty was published in 1894, with the sanction of the English Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in which this rape of Abyssinia was recognized!

But both England and Italy had reckoned without their host.

48-5-39

There is no doubt but that the Treaty of Uccialli was a clumsy forgery of the same sort that had previously transferred sovereignty of a larger part of Africa from black men to white. Menelik, however, did not choose to submit. He not only denounced the treaty but he took up arms. He declared by proclamation: "Ethiopia has need of no one. She stretches out her hands to none but God." The French willingly supplied these hands with arms and munitions. The forces of Italy and Ethiopia met at Adowa, and Italy's army of ~~100~~ 20,000 was annihilated March 1, 1896.

Suddenly, the headwaters of the Nile, the Nile Valley, the Egypt, the domination of the Red Sea, the path from the Cape-to-Cairo, - all these were in the hands of black men, - the black dervishes of the Sudan, and Menelik II, King of the Kings of Ethiopia and Emperor of Abyssinia. An English officer wrote: "If I were the Mahdi, I would make Egypt pay for every quart of water that runs down the Nile."

With Abyssinia in Italian hands, the British would have been willing to wait in order to clinch their eventual domination of the Nile Valley. She had in 1894 annexed Uganda (thus ending the dreams of Peters and Emin Pasha) and ~~thus~~ definitely curbing German expansion ~~in East Africa~~ toward the Nile valley. In 1895, the Jameson raid had taken place in South Africa as the first step toward a war destined to crush the Dutch and make South Africa a British province. The Cape-to-Cairo idea, fostered by Chamberlain and Cecil Rhodes, had seized the imagination of the empire. An agreement with Leopold of Belgium even secured a perpetual lease of a large bloc of territory at the headwaters of the Nile, and filled in the gap between the Great Lakes; but this so alarmed the French that this lease was eventually cancelled.

49-15-30

The French, thereupon, took a forward step, and determined to push from French Africa eastward to the Nile, and send a French expedition through Abyssinia westward to the Nile, and establish claims which would unite French Africa and cut off the hinterland of Tripoli even if Italy annexed it, which she had long planned to do. Menelik gave aid and comfort, and in 1894, made a concession to the French to build a railway from Djibuti through the Harrar to Addis Abeba and the White Nile. French officers trained the Abyssinian army. Great Britain warned France that she claimed the whole of the Nile Valley and would consider any attempt to dispute this claim as an unfriendly act. Paris, hesitated, and the Abyssinian expedition was ~~called off.~~ held back two years.

But the Battle of Adowa changed the whole situation. Italy could no longer pull English chestnuts out of the fire, and French plans were ~~manifest~~ renewed. Salisbury, again at the English helm, moved quickly. March 5, the news of Adowa reached England, and March 12, England suddenly learned that Chinese Gordon was a Christian martyr, who had been murdered by heathen. She ordered the conquest of the Sudan. Kitchener, with the new Maxim-Nordenfeldt guns, moved up the Nile. He captured Khartum in September, and ordered the tomb of the dead Mahdi publicly desecrated, as an "example."

England was not a minute too soon. That very month, Marchand, the Frenchman, was at Fashoda awaiting the French and Abyssinian expeditions from Abyssinia. Indeed, one Abyssinian expedition under a royal prince had already reached the river but had been decimated by fever. The other expedition under a French commander did not materialize. For a moment, the world stood still with World War in the air.

~~The French had dispatched Captain Marchand to the French~~

48-15-40

Congo, April 25, with instructions to march to the White Nile. They again arranged an Abyssinian expedition to join him. The idea was that the two expeditions should meet on the Nile and establish a French claim to the Upper Valley of the Nile. When Kitchener arrived, he would find the French and Abyssinians stretched across the Capte-to-Cairo path. The Abyssinian expedition failed through the negligence of the French governor of Djibuti. When Marchand reached Fashoda in 1898, there was no fortress and no expedition of French and Abyssinians from the east to support him. Kitchener proceeded south to meet Marchand and his small body of Senegalese soldiers. The sympathies of the world were with Marchand. [illegible] But the French fleet was not equal to the British and the French army at Fashoda was greatly inferior to the British army. March 21, 1899, an Anglo-French declaration was issued, which definitely gave the Nile Valley to Great Britain.

Imperial Italy remained intensely dissatisfied. Her treatment by France in the matter of Tunis and Tripoli, and by England, in the case of Abyssinia, threw her into the arms of Germany and Austria, and she became part of the Triple Alliance. By taking Tripoli from Turkey in 1911-1912, Italy ~~had~~ helped precipitate world-wide conflagration, and ~~had~~ gained for herself a strip of barren sand by "a perfect nightmare of horror...a veritable carnage." Nevertheless, on the eve of the World War, Prime Minister Salandra declared that Italy's policy would be dictated by "Sacred Egoism". Thus, in 1914, Italy, holding herself aloof, offered herself to the highest bidder.

It is said that ~~at one time~~ in 1915 France dangled the Port of Djibuti with its Abyssinian railway terminal before Italy, ~~and even the Colony of Tunis, in 1915.~~ At any rate, in the secret treaty of London, it was expressly agreed by Great Britain, France, and Russia,

18-1541

not only that Italy was to receive large portions of Austrian territory, in event of victory, but that (Article XIII. of the Treaty of London of April 26, 1915):

"In the event of an extension of the French and British colonial possessions in Africa at the expense of Germany, France and Great Britain recognize to Italy in principle the right of demanding for herself certain compensations, in the form of an extension of her possessions in Eritrea, Somaliland, Libya, and the colonial districts bordering on French and British colonies."

Italy immediately entered the war on the side of the Allies, and started a lively discussion of future colonial development. For her entrance into the war, Italy paid a terrible toll. Six hundred thousand lay dead and a million were wounded. The country seethed with disillusion and discontent, and the Paris Conference, by ignoring the Treaty of London, gave Italy what she regarded as a "mutilated victory", despite the territory which she gained from Austria. As a result, the Socialists, who had opposed Italy's entrance in the war, captured the government in 1919, and the beginnings of proletarian revolution in the form of sydicalism appeared. Italy chose Fascism.

48-15-42

Confidence and faith in Italy, and peaceful submission to the burdens of war and oppression, were accomplished by a subtly conceived psychological onslaught, which revived in the minds of young Italy the glory of Rome and the expansion of colonial empire. For glory, it appealed to youth in its curiously illogical national hymn: "Youth, springtime of beauty! Fascism is the safeguard of our liberty." What could thrill Italy more than revenge for Adowa?

"I heard Mussolini say on one occasion, speaking from the balcony of the Chigi Palace on the Corso in Rome--this was before he moved over to the palazzo Venezia - 'Camice Nere (Blackshirts) when

you look at the map, you see that the island of Sicily is the southernmost limit of our empire. But I swear to you that the day will come when the island of Sicily will be the geographical center of our empire.'"

The history of Rome was invoked, and Mussolini began sabre-rattling on a tremendous scale, and particularly emphasized the fact that Italy proposed to have colonies where she could settle her expanding population, and that also that her population must expand. Moreover, Mussolini said frankly that Tripoli and Eritrea were not enough. "These two colonies alone cannot solve our population problem, mark this well." He emphasized the plight of the Italians in Tunis. There were ninety thousand of them against seventy-one thousand Frenchmen, and the French were threatening to turn Italian children into French citizens. Mussolini protested bitterly, and demanded a great navy to protect a future empire.

In the meantime, Abyssinia was bestirring herself. Menelik, the great emperor, died the year before the World War. He was succeeded by a daughter; and then by a grandson, whose hatred of Europeans and fanatical attitude on religion made him no fit instrument for a diplomatic role. Finally, Ras Tafari, a leading prince, was nominated as successor; he was crowned King in 1928 and Emperor, November 2,1930, amid the pomp of one of the oldest branches of the Christian Church. Significantly, he determined to call his country, "Ethiopia, the land of the Burnt Faces," and not Abyssinia, from the Semitic tribe of Habesh.

To the far-sighted, the coronation of Haile Selassie II.. presented at once foreboding and encouraging omens. He represented the beginning of a new era. Forces were at work to end the whole

48-15-43

system of European aggression upon colored countries. In the formation of the League of Nations they saw the idea of a world tribunal where the lesser nations could at least be heard. ~~The idea of the mandates was to put certain colonies under the guardianship of the League of Nations, and prevent at least the extremes of exploitation.~~ In Abyssinia there seemed to lie an excellent chance for the new development. An unhampered tradition went back thousands of years that enabled these black men and brown to be proud of their color, their ancestry, their history. Surely, here was a chance to begin a new world.

But if Abyssinia thus represented a beginning of new things, it also represented a continuation of the old, and this fact, too, was clear at the coronation. Representatives of thirteen countries braved the difficulties of travel and were present at Addis Ababa. There was the Duke of Gloucester, son of the King of England; there was the Duke of Udine, son of the King of Italy; there was Marshal Franchet d'Esperey, representing France; and a royal prince of Japan. The British representative stood, always, at the emperor's right hand, and the Italian at his left. It looked almost like a fore-gathering of cormorants watching a feast, ~~where each was seeing that one did not get all and each maneuvering for the largest possible share.~~

Haile Selassie II, was born in 1871, is by tradition the 384th King to sit upon the throne; and leaving out mere tradition, we know of at least 200 Abyssinian kings in historic times. He is a slight brown man with curly hair, dignified and serious, educated in France, and eager for the advance of his country. As Prince, he had visited England, France and other parts of the continent, and wished to come to the United States; but the United States did not invite him. He began sending a few Abyssinians to be educated abroad; he began to re-organize the system of justice, and tried to re-build the state in many ways.

48-15-47

There were difficulties. Some were internal; Abyssinia is two thousand years old with an unbroken tradition, strong feudal princes, old families, and inbred customs opposed to change. The emperor had to attack evils like domestic slavery slowly and with care. Yet in this case, European philanthropy, with rapacious commercialism back of it, hammered at the reformer and forced him to set a pace which time may prove far too fast for his slow changing nation. It is quite possible that the new emperor, by his inovations and European policy, has strained dangerously the allegiance of some of his powerful followers, linked as they are to ancient allegiance and hoary customs.

The international relations of Ethiopia, coupled with old efforts at economic intervention, made the situation of the country difficult. In 1906, the agreement between Great Britain, France and Italy to respect and preserve the integrity of Abyssinia was really designed to prevent industrial concessions made to one from injuring the claims of any of the others. The notes between Great Britain and Italy in 1925, secretly divided Ethiopia into spheres of influence with Great Britain deominant in the regions of Lake Tsana and the headwaters of the Nile, and Italy along the borders of Eritrea and Somaliland. Ethiopia brought this treaty to the notice of the League of Nations. Mussolini explained, and MacDonald half apologised; and yet later when certain American engineers in 1927 signed a $20,000,000 contract to dam the waters of Lake Tsana, England insisted upon her prior rights, and by quiet diplomacy broke the contract. In 1928, despite opposition, Ethiopia joined the League of Nations.

48-5-35

The murder of the ~~prime minister of~~ Austria by the German Nazis halted an understanding between ~~France~~ Germany and Italy which might have forced France and England to disgorge the German colonies in Africa and grant Italy's African demands in full. But Italy feared

Pan-Germany more than France; France feared Hitler's militarism; and England feared German industrial competition. The cards were quickly re-shuffled. Laval and Mussolini renewed the old efforts to come to an understanding. Exactly what their written understanding was has not been published, but it is pretty clear from subsequent events. Some ~~concessions~~ arrangements were made as to Italians in Tunis; and some territorial concessions in the hinterland of Tripoli, probably not large in actual extent, but important in opening one of the main trade routes from Lake Chad ~~to Tripoli.~~

The main concession undoubtedly ~~was in Abyssinia, and that concession consisted, first, in promising~~ must have a tacit if not written assurance to withdraw all opposition and to keep hands off if Mussolini should make war upon Abyssinia, and seize ~~any part of~~ her territory. Secondly, to grant Italian capital additional power in Abyssinia. It is rumored that three thousand shares of the Djibuti Railroad have been turned over to Italy, and that a rectification of frontier between Eritrea and French Somaliland has been so arranged as to give Italy direct access to the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb.

All this means a tighter economic cordon around Ethiopia to make her access to foreign markets more difficult, and to keep out capital from countries other than Italy, Great Britain, and France. Behind this movement, and tending to strengthen the common interests of ~~these imperial~~ European powers, are two menaces from Asia; the new independence of the ~~kingdom of the~~ Arabs opposite Abyssinia across the Red Sea. At best this is going to cut ~~with~~ Italian trade ~~with Eritrea~~, and at worst, it is going to encourage every Arab in North Africa to remember the trail of blood through which Italy walked to secure the barren victory of Tripoli. Again, the recent appearance of Japan in Abyssinian industrial development, has alarmed the West. It is rumored that Japan has already captured ~~one-third~~ a large part of the

4/8-15-36

commerce of Abyssinia, and the French charge that the Japanese wish to equip Ethiopia industrially, and furnish technical help for [redacted] new machines.

Italy then mobilizes against Ethiopia; in spite of the League of Nations; in spite of her treaty of arbitration; in spite of reported efforts at conciliation and adjustment, her troops are piling soldiers and equipment into Eritrea. She intends to seize Ethiopian territory, ~~on one pretext or another; to secure oil, and to draw a tighter broad base of economic and military aggression about her.~~ She may not attempt complete subjugation - the inner citadel is very strong; but annexation of the plateau and economic strangulation can accomplish what direct force cannot do immediately.

Here, then, is war again. That war which has never ceased since the World War, but now comes nearer the European circle where its sparks are increasingly dangerous. Moreover, let no one think that the demand of Italy in Africa is the end of demands. The reason that Germany refuses to reveal her ultimate objects is because there is still one unmentioned subject, and that is, German colonies, and particularly German colonies in Africa, since the attitude and power of Japan makes colonial aggression in Asia unhealthful just now.

Hitler in his Saar speech, intimated that the work of redeeming German colonies had not been finished, ~~and he doubtless used the word "colony" advisedly.~~ That Germany is going to demand the return of German Africa, before she consents to ~~raise~~ lift the war menace in Europe, is absolutely certain. The scramble, therefore, in Africa, for cheap labor and cheap war material is not ended.

48-15-31

It helped start World War in 1914, and it may easily do it again in our day. All this is not pleasant reading for those who pin their faith on European civilization, the Christian religion and the superiority of the white race. Yet these are the bare facts. They might be differently interpreted, and variously supplemented, but it must remain a story of selfish and short-sighted cruelty, deception and theft, with black men mainly victims and white men usually aggressors.

What of the future? We can envisage three possible results of the present program of Mussolini:

1. The civilized world, remembering the World War and the promise of the League of Nations, not forgetting a series of treaties and understandings, will refuse to allow Italy to attack Ethiopia or curtail her independence.
2. Italy will attack and gradully subdue Ethiopia and make her into an Italian colony and protectorate.
3. Ethiopia will repulse Italy or make conquest so difficult that she will retain her independence.

48-15-32

The probabilities are that Italy, by sheer weight of armament and the inactivity of Europe, will subdue Ethiopia. If this happens it will be a costly victory, both for Italy and the white world. There will be not only the cost in debt, death and hate, but the whole colored world, - India, China and Japan, Africa in Africa and America, and all the South Seas and Indian South America, - all that vast mass of men who have felt the oppression and insults, the slavery and exploitation of white folk, will say: "I told you so!" There is no faith in them even toward each other. They do not believe in Christianity and they will never voluntarily recognize the

essential equality of human beings or surrender the idea of dominating the majority of men for their own selfish ends. Japan was right. The only path to freedom and equality is force, and force to the uttermost." Nor will this indefensible aggression prove to the dark peoples their weakness; rather it will point the path to strength: understanding between Japan and China, India will close Asia to white aggressor and need no longer hesitate between passive resistance and open rebellion. Even black men will realize that Europe holds Africa in leash today mainly with African troops, a religion of humility, vague hopes and skillfully encouraged jealousies.

One of these days, the very troops by which Europe holds Africa may cease to play the part so long assigned them. It only needs the guiding thought and the great leader. And then with all that Europe can do in airplane, tank and war gun, let the world remember that a group of determined black men, armed even partially with modern technique, could take their stand on the snow-swept heights of Ethiopia, within sight of the Equator, and in the midst of the black world, and shake the centers of European imperialism.

48-47-33

Suppose, however, that turning from this dreary and age-old prospect of blood and waste, we contemplate the possibility that Ethiopia, helped by courage and terrain, secret European sympathy or ~~even revolution~~ open collapse in Italy, succeeds in repulsing Italy or even holding her for months in check. This does not now seem probable, but it is possible. The result would be a grim chorus from the dark worlds: the spell of Europe is broken. It is the beginning of the end. Europe can no longer depend on brute force to make serfs of Yellow, Black and Brown.

Such reasoning may be fallacious and fail to accord Europe and the white race due credit for bringing the mass of men into the circle of human culture. Yet its logic is inevitable: Italy has forced the world into a position that, wins race hate will increase; ~~and~~ while if Ethiopia is not defeated, the prestige of the white world will receive a check comparable to the defeat of Russia by Japan.

Finally, if as now seems incredible, but is not beyond possibility, the better public opinion of the white world, and its obvious interests, absolutely refuses to allow this brazen public banditry to proceed; if England, France and America hold Italians firmly in check without too deadly impairment of Ethiopian independence; if the Pope of Rome refuses further to quibble and Protestant missions insist on practising their preaching, while Pacifists fight for Peace - in this improbable event, a new hope and faith will course through the veins of men; a new patience with selfishness and wrong; a new hatred the stupidity of war and a new urge to Humanity.

48-15-34

THE HANDS OF ETHIOPIA

By W. E. Burghardt DuBois

The hands which the Land of Burnt Faces is today stretching forth to the God of Things-that-be are both physical and spiritual; and both today and yesterday they have twined gnarled fingers about the very roots of the world. Physically Ethiopia's fingers are those rough mountain masses of North East Africa which are the defensive rampart of the continent and against which historically Egypt and Persia, Turk and Egyptian, British French and Italian have so far hammered in vain.

Abyssinia is a pear-shaped mountain clump, cut into island-like sections which are separated by deep gorges and ravines. It is nearly as large as France and Spain combined, and looms high on the northwest toward the Valley of the Nile, slopes on the southwest toward the Great Lakes, and drops on the east to the sea. It rises in three great terraces: a plane of rocky strata; a plateau about eight thousand feet above the sea, and above this snow-capped mountains which sometimes rise nearly another eight thousand feet. "It looks," says the traveller, "like a storm-tossed sea, suddenly solidified."

In these highlands, both the Blue Nile and the Atbara rise, and thus Abyssinia commands a full half of the waters of the Nile. It was a German who said that the power which held the Abyssinian highlands could dominate the imperialism of Europe in Africa. On these stark physical facts is built a spiritual history almost as old as the world and yet half forgotten even in this recent revival of strained interest in this Land of the Blacks.

Why for instance is Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia

and not of Abyssinia as his predecessors often called themselves. Abyssinia is a word of Semitic origin, but Ethiopia is Negro. Look at the pictures of Abyssinians now widely current. They are as Negroid as American Negroes. If there is a black race they belong to is. Of course, there are and never were any "pure" Negroes any more than there are "pure" whites or "pure" yellows. Humanity is mixed to its bones. But in the rough and practical assignment of mankind to three divisions, the Ethiopians belong to the black race.

And always did. Abyssinia is the fourth great step dark human culture in North East Africa backward - or shall we say forward - from the Mediterranean to the Great Lakes, paralleling perhaps a pre-historic movement northward, and every step has shaken the world. Physically the steps have been almost equal - 500 miles from the Nile delta to the First Cataret. Then 500 miles from Napata to Meroe and at last 500 miles from the capital of the Candaces to their shield-like island formed by the Atbara and Blue Nile, to Axum and Adowa where the retreat - or advance of black Africa - ended until 1935.

All this vast movement and development was stretched over more than 5,000 years, but it affected essentially similar, though not identical groups of African people: the mulattoes of Egypt, more and more drowned in the black blood from the South, which ever threatened and gave them sanctuary. This southern land, called from the beginning "Ethiopia", had its surging boundaries finally fastened at the First Cataret, until these gates became an opening and refuge where Egypt retreated before Persia; and Ethiopia, eventually became a new and conquering Egypt which ruled the Nile valley from Napata and was the greatest power in the western world from 750 to 600 B.C.

But Asia and the Desert pressed South again, until at Meroe, 500 further miles South and 500 years later Ethiopia developed a new capital and new dynasties which resisted the power of Greece, Rome and Arabia. Then the land of the Blacks crumpled again, before black foes sweeping in from the forests of the west, before the New Mohammedanism pressing relentlessly down from the north, before the ever encroaching desert.

Ethiopia again retreating took her stand with her back against the last great ramparts of the east - the Hills of Abyssinia. Here the black hordes of the region of the Great Lakes had been infiltrated with Semitic blood from the shores of the Red Sea, where Asiatic upheavels drove Jews and Arabs before them and hurled remnants on the African shores. The trading station at Axum, near modern Adowa was a gateway for merchants and brought Ethiopia and Abyssinia in contact.

This kingdom took its name, "Abyssinia", from a Semitic tribe, "Habesh"; but the people of Habesh were neither contented nor safe in being simply Abyssinians. Trade and defense forced them toward ancient Ethiopia, and they disputed with the Arabs and Nubians over the domination of the island of Meroe. Here they claimed sovereignty as early as 356 A.D., and actually destroyed the capital a century later. Greek and Roman influence filtered into Abyssinia from the East, and trade made Axum flourish. Myths of its obscure origin began to arise: the Jewish myth of descent of its royal house from Solomon; the Negro myth of its descent from Aethiopis, whose tomb was pointed out at Axum.

The new Christian religion came to Abyssinia in the Fourth Century after Christ, and thus a third great center of Christianity, in contrast to Rome and Constantinople, was established. Then came the red wave of conquest from the North, and the history of

Abyssinia becomes dim and shadowy. As Gibbons has written, "Encompassed by her enemies, Ethiopia slept a thousand years, forgetful of the world by whom she was forgotten."

It was not until the 16th Century that the Portuguese again brought Abyssinia to the attention of the world, by locating there the source of the legend of Prester John, that ghostly Christian ruler, who during the Middle Ages was supposed to be reigning in Africa or India.

Abyssinia from early times was divided into a number of great districts, each administered by an hereditary chief called a Ras. Over these chiefs ruled a Negus, called "King of Kings." When this overlord was a strong man, he ruled a powerful country. When he was weak, there was anarchy and confusion.

Such a period of disintegration was in progress about the middle of the 19th Century under Johannes; but he was succeeded in 1855 by the Emperor Theodore, a gifted, ruthless man, who came to the throne at the time when European imperialism was being organized and stretching out inquiring hands toward Asia and Africa. Scientists, traders, missionaries and adventurers wandered into Abyssinia. Theodore was well-disposed toward Europeans, and curious about their countries, but inevitable misunderstanding occurred, both in matters of etiquette and religion. "I know the tactics of European governments," said the observing Theodore, "when they try to acquire an Eastern state. First, they send out missionaries; then consuls to support the missionaries; then battalions to support the consuls. I am not a Rajah of Hindustan to be made mock of in that way."

Theodore needed alliance and friendship with Europe, if they came to him on honorable terms, to help organize his kingdom and beat back the threatened domination of Turks and Egyptians.

He considered himself insulted, however, when the British and others after making fair promises, forgot all about him and ignored his overtures; in angry retaliation he seized and imprisoned the British minister and other Europeans.

Thereupon, in 1867, the British taking advantage of a rebellion sent Napier with an army of 12,000 men to invade Abyssinia. Theodore was surrounded in his capital where the British troops with superior rifles killed two thousand Abyssinians, while losing only 20 whites. Theodore surrendered and released the prisoners, but Napier had promised the rebel chiefs to degrade and dethrone him. The English artillery opened fire on Magdala and Theodore shot himself dead. His body was allowed to be mutilated by a mob, while Napier received a peerage. Anarchy ensued in Abyssinia between 1868 and 1872, with two rival claimants to the throne, Johannes of Tigre and Menelik of Shoa.

This is historically the land that in 1935 came suddenly to the world's attention as a threat of imminent World War, as a test of international agreements, as a curious crisis in the Christian religion. How did this come about?

Italy became a united nation at the time when modern international imperialism was just beginning. Its outlines were clear in the British Empire whose wide colonial dominion was becoming an imperial domain for investing capital in cheap colored labor. Germany had as yet no colonial dream and France had lost hers. Italy had two too pressing problems of unification and the Catholic church to make wider plans, but she had a tradition - almost she was hampered by a tradition, of Imperial Rome. And if modern Rome had a claim to any part of the world which was not hers,

it was surely to Carthage or modern Tunis. France blundered into possession of Algiers as early as 1830 and at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, Bismark and Salisbury offered her Tunis as a consolation prize after Sedan.

The scramble for Africa began and imperial industry took cleaner, firmer outlines. France and England took dual control of Egypt in 1876. In 1881 France seized Tunis and England lost possession of Egypt. Italy was aroused. Despite her poverty and internal problems she felt forced to imperial aggression. In 1882 she seized Eritrea, a part of the natural coast line of Abyssinia but England and France blocked her further extension south; and it was not until 1892 that she joined England and Germany in the loot of Zanzibar and got Italian Somaliland.

These imperial ventures of Italy had little significance. The Abyssinian highlanders cared little about the coast and took no note of its seizure; but the whole situation changed when native rebellion arose in Egypt and the Sudan.

Egypt was groaning under the debt which had been deliberately encouraged by France and England. Her rulers, who had squandered the proceeds, sought to keep up the interest by ruinous and exhaustive taxation. In desperation, the natives rebelled. Ahmed Arabi, a mulatto colonel, led a successful revolt but the English turned their guns upon Alexandria and defeated Araby. This left the former rulers in nominal control of the whole of Egypt but in actual control of the Sunda, while the English held the real power along the Lower Nile.

The Araby rebellion had its echo in the Sudan. In 1878, the mulatto Rabah had swept through the Bahr-El-Ghazel and the regions south of Lake Chad. Then there arose a greater leader and a

vaster motif. Mohammed Ahmed, son of a priest in Dongola, had established headquarters 150 miles above Khartum. He was a tall, broad-shouldered, majestic black man, with great eyes. He had visions. Disciples gathered around him, and eventually he proclaimed himself the Mahdi, the Messiah of the Mohammedan revelation.

The country, groaning under misrule, went into the throes of a religious crusade against Egypt. A holy war was proclaimed, and a strong army organized. The Mahdi put down blasphemy, feasting, drinking, smoking and swearing. Thousands followed him. The Egyptians in 1883 sent an army of 10,000 under the Englishman, Hicks Pasha. They were annihilated, with only 300 left alive. Kordofan, Dafur and the Bahr-El-Ghazel surrendered. Only a German, Emin Pasha, still upheld Egyptian power down in the Equatorial provinces next to Uganda. By the end of 1883, the Mahdi was master of a territory equal to Spain, France and Germany, and his army was closing in on Khartum, the capital of the Sudan. Ancient Ethiopia lived again.

England hesitated. She still had the liberal tradition and Gladstone even went so far as to say that the Sudanese were "rightly struggling to be free." But his "little Englanders" were fighting growing and expanding imperialism and as Chamberlain put it - "Empire is Commerce."

The scramble for Africa was bitter. England was encroaching upon the Portuguese colonies; Germany had appeared in the field; France was at work in North Africa. France, England and Italy had seized the coast of Abyssinia, and in the vast Valley of the Congo, comprising the whole center of Africa, little Belgium had proposed an international state. An European conference to settle the rules of the game for the further looting of Africa seemed necessary. It

came together in Berlin in November, 1884, and laster through February, 1885. The Congo was recognized not as an international state but as the personal property of the King of Belgium. Certain rules of procedure for the further seizure of Africa were adopted, and before the conference was ended, the German colonial party forced Bismark's hand, seized Zanzibar and East Africa, and Germany appeared as a full-fledged African colonial power.

In the midst of this, the imperialists forced Gladstone to make Chinese Gordon Governor of the Sudan, and Gordon, a tippling fanatic with fits of courage and murder, sought by every subterfuge to force Gladstone to conquer the Sudan. The bluff failed, Gordon died and Gladstone was reviled as a murderer and traitor.

Khartoum fell. For thirteen years, the Mahdi and his successor, the Khalifa, ruled. Thus, the whole of the Sudan was lost to Egypt and England. The Egyptian garrisons on the northern border of Abyssinian were finally withdrawn in 1886, and French, British and Italian possessions on the coast were in danger of being overwhelmed by the Mahdi.

The English Tories, returned to power in June 1885, did not dare attack the Mahdi, and resorted to a web of diplomacy which entangles England today. She signed a treaty of alliance with Johannes II of Abyssinia and thus enlisted his aid to keep the Mahdi from the coast. Turning on top of this she suggested that Italy seize the port of Massowah which belonged to Abyssinia. To hand over to the Italians Massowah which belonged to the Abyssinians, and to which Italy had no shadow of claim, was an extraordinary breach of faith. Italy proceeded to take Massowah, as Giolitti says, as "a consolation prize", having been cheated out of Tunis, held back in Tripoli; out-manoeuvered both at the Congress of

Berlin and the Berlin Conference; as well as losing her chance to participate in Egypt.

Once having placed her foot in Massowah, Italy proceeded to make alliance with Johannes' chief enemy, Menelik of Shoa, a pretender to the Abyssinian throne. Johannes found himself between two enemies, Italy and the Khalifa, and eventually was killed in battle by the latter in 1889. Imediately, Menelik proclaimed himself King of Kings, and in May signed with the Italians the celebrated treaty of Uccialli.

To prove his gratitude to the Italians for their alliance and help with the armies, Menelik ceded Italy the territory which they had already seized. But the Italians, drunk with new ambition, swept on, calmly crossed into Abyssinia, and toward the end of 1889, seized Adowa, while Menelik was busily subduing his enemies. They even penetrated into the Harrar, the trading region inland from the coast, thus coming into direct dispute, not only with Abyssinia, but with the claims of France and Great Britain. Thereupon, France and Great Britain made a secret treaty which allowed them to oppose Italy's advance if they pleased; a treaty which again put Great Britain in the unenviable position of "double-crossing" Italy, just as they had previously deceived Abyssinia.

This looked like a rare opportunity for German imperialism. Between German East Africa and the Egyptian Sudan, lay the great territory of Uganda, where Catholics, Protestants and Mohammedans had been merrily cutting each others throats in their efforts to convert the heathen. The Germans pushed warily up into this country, while shut up in the Equatorial provinces of the Sudan was the German, Emin Pasha. Germany determined to rescue him, while England spent $145,000 on the Stanley expedition. Both nations

were seeking to fall heir to Egypt in Central Africa. England arrived first in 1888, and found Emin at first unwilling to be "rescued." He wanted to hold these provinces and turn them over to Germany. The Khalifa, however, was pressing him hard, and when Stanley appeared, Emin finally reluctantly followed him, and they met Karl Peters and the German expedition which had been busily engaged in making treaties with the local chiefs for German expansion. Emin, with his black wife and mulatto daughter, finally arrived at Zanzibar, where he accepted the post under the German administration in East Africa.

Meantime, the stage was set for Italy's final coup. In the seventeenth clause of the Treaty of Uccialli, there arose a characteristic misunderstanding. The Abyssinian text, which was the only one actually signed, said: "His Majesty, the King of Kings of Ethiopia, shall be at liberty to avail himself of the Italian government for any negotiations which he may enter into with other powers or governments." The Italian translation, which was made in Italy, said: "His Majesty, the King of Kings of Ethiopia, consents to avail himself of the Italian government for any negotiations which he may enter into with other powers or governments."

The treaty was signed May 2, 1889. October 12, 1889, Crispi notified the powers by circular letter under the general act of the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 that Abyssinia was an Italian protectorate. On May 5, 1894, he signed agreements with England in which England recognized Abyssinia as an Italian protectorate. A map of Africa by treaty was published in 1894, with the sanction of the English Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in which this rape of Abyssinia was recognized!

But both England and Italy had reckoned without their host.

There is no doubt but that the Treaty of Uccialli was a clumsy forgery of the same sort that had previously transferred sovereignty of a larger part of Africa from black men to white. Menelik, however, did not choose to submit. He not only denounced the treaty but he took up arms. He declared by proclamation: "Ethiopia has need of no one. She stretches out her hands to none but God." The French willingly supplied these hands with arms and munitions. The forces of Italy and Ethiopia met at Adowa, and Italy's army of 100,000 was annihilated March 1, 1896.

Suddenly, the headwaters of the Nile, the Nile Valley, the Egypt, the domination of the Red Sea, the path from the Cape-to-Cairo, - all these were in the hands of black men, - the black dervishes of the Sudan, and Menelik II, King of the Kings of Ethiopia and Emperor of Abyssinia. An English officer wrote: "If I were the Mahdi, I would make Egypt pay for every quart of water that runs down the Nile."

With Abyssinia in Italian hands, the British would have been willing to wait in order to clinch their eventual domination of the Nile Valley. She had in 1894 annexed Uganda, thus definitely curbing German expansion in East Africa. In 1895, the Jameson raid had taken place in South Africa as the first step toward a war destined to crush the Dutch and make South Africa a British province. The Cape-to-Cairo idea, fostered by Chamberlain and Cecil Rhodes, had seized the imagination of the empire. An agreement with Leopold of Belgium even secured a perpetual lease of a large bloc of territory at the headwaters of the Nile, and filled in the gap between the Great Lakes. This so alarmed the French that this lease was eventually cancelled.

The French, thereupon, took a forward step, and determined to push from French Africa eastward to the Nile and send a French expedition through Abyssinia westward to the Nile, and establish claims which cut off the hinterland of Tripoli even if Italy annexed it, which she had long planned to do. Menelik gave aid and comfort, and in 1894, made a concession to the French to build a railway from Djibuti through the Harrar to Addis Abbaba and the White Nile. French officers trained the Abyssinian army. Great Britain warned France that she claimed the whole of the Nile Valley and would consider any attempt to dispute this claim as an unfriendly act. Paris, hesitated, and the Abyssinian expedition was called off.

But the Battle of Adowa changed the whole situation. Italy could no longer pull English chestnuts out of the first, and French plans were mainfest. Salisbury, again at the English helm, moved quickly. March 5, the news of Adowa reached England, and March 12, England suddenly learned that Chinese Gordon was a Christian martyr, who had been murdered by heathen. She ordered the conquest of the sudan. Kitchener, with Maxi-Nordenfeldt guns, moved up the Nile. He captured Khartum in September, and ordered the tomb of the dead Mahdi publicly desecrated.

England was not a minute too soon. That very month, Marchand, the Frenchman, was at Fashoda awaiting the French and Abyssinian expeditions from Abyssinia. Indeed, one Abyssinian expedition under a royal prince had already reached the river but had been decimated by fever. The other expedition under a French commander did not materialize. For a moment, the world stood still with World War in the air.

The French had dispatched Captain Marchand to the French

Congo, April 25, with instructions to march to the White Nile. They again arranged an Abyssinian expedition to join him. The idea was that the two expeditions should meet on the Nile and establish a French claim to the Upper Valley of the Nile. When Kitchener arrived, he would find the French and Abyssinians stretched across the Capte-to-Cairo path. The Abyssinian expedition failed through the negligence of the French governor of Djibuti. When Marchand reached Fashoda in 1898, there was no fortress and no expedition of French and Abyssinians from the east to support him. Kitchener proceeded south to meet Marchand and a small body of Senegalese soldiers. The sympathies of the world were with Marchand. War was imminent. But the French fleet was not equal to the British and the French army at Fashoda was greatly inferior to the British army. March 21, 1899, an Anglo-French declaration was issued, which gave the Nile Valley to Great Britain.

Imperial Italy remained intensely dissatisfied. Her treatment by France in the matter of Tunis and Tripoli, and by England, in the case of Abyssinia, threw her into the arms of Germany and Austria, and she became part of the Triple Alliance. By taking Tripoli from Turkey in 1911-1912, Italy had helped precipitate world-wide conflagration, and had gained for herself a strip of barren sand by "a perfect nightmare of horror...a veritable carnage." Nevertheless, on the eve of the World War, Prime Minister Salavdra declared that Italy's policy would be dictated by "Sacred Egoism". Thus, in 1914, Italy, holding herself aloof, offered herself to the highest bidder.

It is said that at one time France dangled the Port of Djibuti with its Abyssinian railway terminal before Italy, and even the Colony of Tunis in 1915. At any rate, in the secret treaty of London, it was expressly agreed by Great Britain, France, and Russia,

not only that Italy was to receive large portions of Austrian territory, in event of victory, but that: (Article XIII. of the Treaty of London of April 26, 1915.)

"In the event of an extension of the French and British colonial possessions in Africa at the expense of Germany, France and Great Britain recognize to Italy in principle the right of demanding for herself certain compensations, in the form of an extension of her possessions in Eritrea, Somaliland, Libya, and the colonial districts bordering on French and British colonies."

Italy immediately entered the war on the side of the Allies, and started a lively discussion of future colonial development. For her entrance into the war, Italy paid a terrible toll. Six hundred thousand lay dead and a million were wounded. The country seethed with disillusion and discontent, and the Paris Conference, by ignoring the Treaty of London, gave Italy what she regarded as a "mutilated victory", despite the territory which she gained from Austria. As a result, the Socialists, who had opposed Italy's entrance in the war, captured the government in 1919, and the beginnings of proletarian revolution in the form of sydicalism appeared. Italy chose Fascism.

Confidence and faith in Italy, and peaceful submission to the burdens of war and oppression, were accomplished by a subtly conceived psychological onslaught, which revived in the minds of young Italy the glory of Rome and the expansion of colonial empire. For glory, it appealed to youth in its curiously illogical national hymn: "Youth, springtime of beauty! Fascism is the safeguard of our liberty." What could thrill Italy more than revenge for Adowa?

"I heard Mussolini say on one occasion, speaking from the balcony of the Chigi Palace on the Corso in Rome--this was before he moved over to the Palazzo Venezia - 'Camice Nere (Blackshirts) when

you look at the map, you see that the island of Sicily is the southernmost limit of our empire. But I swear to you that the day will come when the island of Sicily will be the geographical center of our empire.*"

The history of Rome was invoked, and Mussolini began sabre-rattling on a tremendous scale, and particularly emphasized the fact that Italy proposed to have colonies where she could settle her expanding population, and that also that her population must expand. Moreover, Mussolini said frankly that Tripoli and Eritrea were not enough. "These two colonies alone cannot solve our population problem, mark this well." He emphasized the plight of the Italians in Tunis. There were ninety thousand of them against seventy-one thousand Frenchmen, and the French were threatening to turn Italian children into French citizens. Mussolini protested bitterly, and demanded a great navy to protect a future empire.

In the meantime, Abyssinia was bestirring herself. Menelik, the great emperor, died the year before the World War. He was succeeded by a daughter; and then by a grandson, whose hatred of Europeans and fanatical attitude on religion made him no fit instrument for a diplomatic role. Finally, Ras Tafari, a leading prince, was nominated as successor; he was crowned King in 1928 and Emperor, November 2,1930, amid the pomp of one of the oldest branches of the Christian Church. Significantly, he determined to call his country, "Ethiopia, the land of the Burnt Faces," and not Abyssinia, from the Semitic tribe of Habesh.

To the far-sighted, the coronation of Haile Selassie II.. presented at once foreboding and encouraging omens. He represented the beginning of a new era. Forces were at work to end the whole

system of European aggression upon colored countries. In the formation of the League of Nations was the idea of a world tribunal where the lesser nations could at least be heard. The idea of the mandates was to put certain colonies under the guardianship of the League of Nations, and prevent at least the extremes of exploitation. In Abyssinia there seemed to lie the best chance for a new development. An unhampered tradition went back thousands of years that enabled these black men and brown to be proud of their color, their ancestry, their history. Surely, here was a chance to begin a new world.

For if Abyssinia thus represented a beginning of new things, it also represented a continuation of the old, and this fact, too, was clear at the coronation. Representatives of thirteen countries braved the difficulties of travel and were present at Addis Addaba. There was the Duke of Cloucester, son of the King of England; there was the Duke of Udine, son of the King of Italy; there was Marshal Franchet d'Esperey, representing France; and a royal prince of Japan. The British representative stood, always, at the emperor's right hand, and the Italian at his left. It looked almost like a fore-gathering of cormorants watching a feast, where each was seeing that one did not get all and each maneuvering for the largest possible share.

Haile Selassie II, was born in 1871, is by tradition the 384th King to sit upon the throne, and leaving out mere tradition, we know of at least 200 Abyssinian kings in historic times. He is a slight brown man with curly hair, dignified and serious, educated in France, and eager for the advance of his country. As Prince, he had visited England, France and the continent, and wished to come to the United States, but the United States did not invite him. He began sending a few Abyssinians to be educated abroad; he began to re-organize the system of justice, and tried to re-build the state in many ways.

There were difficulties. Some were internal; Abyssinia is two thousand years old with an unbroken tradition, strong feudal princes, old families, and inbred customs opposed to change. The emperor had to attack evils like domestic slavery slowly and with care. Yet in this case, European philanthropy, with rapacious commercialism back of it, hammered at the reformer and forced him to set a pace which time may prove far too fast for his slow changing nation. It is quite possible that the new emperor, by his inovations and European policy, has strained dangerously the allegiance of some of his powerful followers, linked as they are to ancient allegiance and hoary customs.

The international relations of Ethiopia, coupled with old efforts at economic intervention, made the situation of the country difficult. In 1906, the agreement between Great Britain, France and Italy to respect and preserve the integrity of Abyssinia was really designed to prevent industrial concessions made to one from injuring the claims of any of the others. The notes between Great Britain and Italy in 1925, secretly divided Ethiopia into spheres of influence with Great Britain decminant in the regions of Lake Tsana and the headwaters of the Nile, and Italy along the borders of Eritrea and Somaliland. Ethiopia brought this treaty to the notice of the League of Nations. Mussolini explained, and MacDonald half apologised; and yet later when certain American engineers in 1927 signed a $20,000,000 contract to dam the waters of Lake Tsana, England insisted upon her prior rights, and by quiet diplomacy broke the contract.

The murder of the prime minister of Austria by the German Nazis halted an understanding between France and Italy which might have forced France and England to disgorge the German colonies in Africa and grant Italy's African demands in full. But Italy feared

Pan Germany more than France; France feared Hitler's militarism; and England feared German industrial competition.

Laval and Mussolini renewed the old efforts to come to an understanding. Exactly what their written understanding was has not been published, but it is pretty clear from subsequent events. Some concessions were made as to Italians in Tunis, and some territorial concessions in the hinterland of Tripoli, probably not large in actual extent, but important in opening one of the main trade routes from Lake Chad to Tripoli.

The main concession undoubtedly was in Abyssinia, and that concession consisted, first, in promising to keep hands off if Mussolini should make war upon Abyssinia, and seize any part of her territory. Secondly, to grant Italian capital additional power in Abyssinia. It is rumored that three thousand shares of the Djibuti Railroad have been turned over to Italy, and that a rectification of frontier between Eritrea and French Somaliland has been so arranged as to give Italy direct access to the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb.

All this means a tighter economic cordon around Ethiopia to make her access to foreign markets more difficult, and to keep out capital from countries other than Italy, Great Britain, and France. Behind this movement, and tending to strengthen the common interests of these imperial powers, are two menaces from Asia; the new independence of the kingdom of the Arabs opposite Abyssinia across the Red Sea. At best this is going to cut off Italian trade with Eritrea, and at worst, it is going to encourage every Arab in North Africa to remember the trail of blood through which Italy walked to secure the barren victory of Tripoli. Again, the recent appearance of Japan in Abyssinian industrial development, has alarmed the West. It is rumored that Japan has already captured one-third of the

commerce of Abyssinia, and the French charge that the Japanese wish to equip Ethiopia industrially, and furnish technical help for her new machines.

Italy then mobilizes against Ethiopia; in spite of the League of Nations; in spite of her treaty of arbitration; in spite of reported efforts at conciliation and adjustment, her troops are piling soldiers and equipment into Eritrea. She intends to seize Ethiopian territory on one pretext or another, to secure oil, and to draw a tighter broad base of economic and military aggression about her. She may not attempt complete subjugation - the inner citadel is very strong; but annexation of the plateau and economic strangulation can accomplish what direct force cannot do immediately.

Here, then, is war again. That war which has never ceased since the World War, but now comes nearer the European circle where its sparks are increasingly dangerous. Moreover, let no one think that the demand of Italy in Africa is the end of demands. The reason that Germany refuses to reveal her ultimate objects is because there is still one unmentioned subject, and that is, German colonies, and particularly German colonies in Africa, since the attitude and power of Japan makes colonial aggression in Asia unhealthful just now.

Hitler in his Saar speech, intimated that the work of redeeming German colonies had not been finished, and he doubtless used the word "colony" advisedly. That Germany is going to demand the return of German Africa, before she consents to raise the war menace in Europe, is absolutely certain. The scramble, therefore, in Africa, for cheap labor and cheap war material is not ended.

It helped start World War in 1914, and it may easily do it again in our day. All this is not pleasant reading for those who pin their faither on European civilization - the Christian religion and the superiority of the white race. Yet these are the bare facts. They might be differently interpreted, and variously supplemented, but in it must remain a story of selfish and short-sighted cruelty, deception and theft, with black men mainly victims and white men usually aggressors.

What of the future? We can envisage three possible results of the present program of Mussolini:

1. The civilized world, remembering the World War and the promise of the League of Nations, not forgetting a series of treaties and understandings, will refuse to allow Italy to attack Ethiopia or curtail her independence.
2. Italy will attack and gradully subdue Ethiopia and make her into an Italian colony and protectorate.
3. Ethiopia will repulse Italy or make conquest so difficult that she will retain her independence.

The probabilities are that Italy, by sheer weight of armament and the inactivity of Europe, will subdue Ethiopia. If this happens it will be a costly victory, both for Italy and the white world. There will be not only the cost in debt, death and hate, but the whole colored world, - India, China and Japan, Africa in Africa and America, and all the South Seas and Indian South America, - all that vast mass of men who have felt the oppression and insults, the slavery and exploitation of white folk will say: "I told you so!" There is no faith in them even toward each other. They do not believe in Christianity and they will never voluntarily recognize the

essential equality of human beings or surrender the idea of dominating the majority of men for their own selfish ends. Japan was right. The only path to freedom and equality is force and force to the uttermost. Nor will this indefensible aggression, prove to the dark peoples their weakness; rather it will point the path to strength: understanding between Japan and China, India need no longer hesitate between passiveness and rebellion. Even Africa will realize that Europe holds Africa in leash today mainly with African troops, a religion of humility, vauge hopes and skillfully encouraged jealousies.

One of these days, the very troops by which Europe holds Africa, may cease to play the part so long assigned them. It only needs the guiding thought and the great leader. And then with all that Europe can do in airplane, tank and war gun, let the world remember that a group of determined black men, armed even partially with modern technique, could take their stand on the snow-swept heights of Ethiopia, within sight of the Equator, and in the midst of the black world, and shake the centers of European imperialism.

Suppose, however, that turning from this dreer and age-old prospect of blood and waste, we contemplate the possibility that Ethiopia, helped by courage, and terrain, secret European sympathy or even revolution in Italy, succeeds in repulsing Italy or even holding her months in check. This does not now seem probable, but it is possible. The result would be a grim chorus from the dark worlds: the spell of Europe is broken. It is the beginning of the end. Europe can no longer depend on brute force to make serfs of Yellow, Black and Brown.

Such reasoning may be fallacious and fail to accord Europe and the white race due credit for bringing the mass of men into the circle of human culture. Yet its logic is inevitable: Italy has forced the world into a position that, win race hate will increase. And if Ethiopia is not defeated, the white world will receive a check comparable to the defeat of Russia by Japan.

Finally, if as now seems incredible, but is not beyond possibility, the better public opinion of the white world, and its obvious interests, absolutely refuses to allow this brazen public banditry to proceed; if England, France and America hold Italians firmly in check without too deadly impairment of Ethiopian independence; if the Pope of Rome refuses further to quibble and Protestant missions insist on practising their preaching, while Pacifists fight for Peace - in this improbable event, a new hope and faith will course through the veins of men; a new patience with selfishness and wrong; a new hatred the stupidity of war and a new urge to Humanity.

THE HANDS OF ETHIOPIA

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

The hands which the Land of Burnt Faces is today stretching forth to the God of Things-that-be are both physical and spiritual; and both today and yesterday they have twined gnarled fingers about the very roots of the world. Physically Ethiopia's fingers are those rough mountain masses of North East Africa which form the defensive rampart of the continent and against which historically Egypt and Persia, Turk an Egyptian, British, French and Italian have so far hammered in vain.

Abyssinia is a pear-shaped mountain mass, cut into island-like sections which are separated by deep gorges and ravines. It is nearly as large as France and Spain combined, and looms high on the northwest toward the Valley of the Nile, slopes on the southwest toward the Great Lakes, and drops on the east to the sea. It rises in three great terraces: a plane of rocky strata; a plateau about eight thousand feet above the sea, and above this snow-capped mountains which sometimes rise nearly another eight thousand feet. "It looks," says the traveller, "like a storm-tossed sea, suddenly solidified."

In these highlands, both the Blue Nile and the Atbara rise, and thus Abyssinia commands a full half of the waters of the Nile. It was a German who said that the power which held the Abyssinian highlands could dominate the imperialism of Europe in Africa. On these stark physical facts is built a spiritual history almost as old as the world and yet half forgotten even in this recent revival of strained interest in this Land of the Blacks.

Why for instance is Haile Selassie, Emperor of "Ethiopia" and not of Abyssinia as his predecessors often called themselves? Abyssinia is a word of Semitic origin, but Ethiopia is Negro. Look at the pictures of Abyssinians now widely current. They are as Negroid as American Negroes. If there is a black race they belong to it. Of course, there are and never were any "pure" Negroes any more than there are "pure" whites or "pure" yellows. Humanity is mixed to

its bones. But in th rough and practical assignment of mankind to three divisions, the Ethiopians belong to the black race.

And always did. Abyssinia is the fourth great step of dark human culture in North East Africa backward--or shall we say forward--from the Mediterranean to the Great Lakes, paralleling perhaps a pre-historic movement northward; and every step has shaken the world. Physically the steps have been almost equal--500 miles from the Nile delta to the First Cataract. Then 500 miles from Napata to Meroe; and at last 500 miles from the capital of the Candaces and their shield-like island formed by the Atbara and Blue Nile, to Axum and Adowa where the retreat--or advance--of black Africa ended until 1935.

All this vast movement and development was stretched over more than 5,000 years, but it affected essentially similar, though not identical groups of African peoples: the mulattoes of Egypt, more and more drowned in the black blood from the South, which ever threatened and gave them sanctuary. This southern land, called from the beginning "Ethiopia", had its surging boundaries finally fastened at the First Cataract, until these gates became an opening and refuge where Egypt retreated before Persia; and Ethiopia, eventually, became a new and conquering Egypt which ruled the Nile valley from Napata and was the greatest power in the western world from 750 to 600 B.C.

But Asia and the Desert pressed South again, until at Meroe, 500 further miles South and 500 years later, Ethiopia developed a new capital and new dynasties which resisted the power of Greece, Rome and Arabia. Then the land of the Blacks crumpled again, before black foes sweeping in from the forests of the west, before the New Mohammedianism pressing relentlessly down from the north, before the ever encroaching desert.

Ethiopia again retreating took her stand with her back against the last great ramparts of the east--the Hills of Abyssinia. Here the black hordes of the region of the Great Lakes had been infiltrated with Semitic blood from the shores of the Red Sea, where Asiatic upheavals drove Jews and Arabs before them and hurled remnants on the African shores. The trading station at Axum, near modern Adowa, was a gateway for merchants and brought Ethiopia and Abyssinia in contact.

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This kingdom took its name, "Abyssinia" from a Semitic tribe, "Habesh"; but the people of Habesh were neither contented nor safe in being simply Abyssinians. Trade and defense forced them toward ancient Ethiopia, and they disputed with the Arabs and Nubians over the domination of the island of Meroe. Here they claimed sovereignty as early as 356 A.D., and actually destroyed the capital a century later. Greek and Roman influence filtered into Abyssinia from the East, and trade made Axum flourish. Myths of its obscure origin began to arise; the Jewish myth of descent of its royal house from Solomon; the Negro myth of its descent from Aethiopis, whose tomb was pointed out at Axum.

The new Christian religion came to Abyssinia in the Fourth Century after Christ, and thus a third great center of Christianity, in contrast to Rome and Constantinople, was established. Then came the red wave of conquest from the North, and the history of Abyssinia becomes dim and shadowy. As Gibbons has written, "Encompassed by her enemies, Ethiopia slept a thousand years, forgetful of the world by whom she was forgotten."

It was not until the 16th Century that the Portuguese again brought Abyssinia to the attention of the world, by locating there the source of the legend of Prester John, that ghostly Christian ruler, who during the Middl Ages was supposed to be reigning in Africa or India.

This is historically the land that in 1935 came suddenly to the world's attention as a threat of imminent world war, as a test of international agreement, as a curious crisis in the Christian religion, and above all, as threatening a new orientation in the world problems of race and color.

To understand this, let us note the changes in the color problem before and since the world war. The medieval world had no real race problems. Its human problems were problems of nationality and culture and of religion, and it was only as the new economy of a growing population demanded a laboring class that this class tended here and there to be composed of members of races who were not a part of the main stock. Thus out of the old feudalism and serfdom there grew a new agriculture which more and more in America had a laboring class belonging to a distinct race, an inner labor problem of the relations of this enslaved race to the mass of the nation arose. The attempt, however, to expand this application of a sort of factory

system to the new land and the new groups met difficulty. First, the opposition of right-thinking men and women to the methods of slave trading; and secondly, the Democratic movement to lift the laboring classes. With the changes that stopped the slave trade and largely emancipated the slaves, the problems of race did not disappear, but simply transformed themselves. Those nations like Spain, Portugal, France and Great Britain had dominated colonies where they stole and sold slaves. Also, for the most part, had dominions where they traded in the results of native labor. And it was this part of their empire that began to develop and to transform the other parts, so that Portuguese, French and British Colonial Empires became places where native labor was exploited and raw material exported. No problem of race and color need have arisen under such circumstances had there not been so wide a difference in the cultural level of the colonial peoples and the home group. It was a temptation too strong for humankind to withstand to believe that labor differences, based on differences of color and descent, made exploitation of colonies necessary and profitable. When, of course, as a matter of fact, the opposite was the truth; namely, that the profit from exploitation was the main reason of the belief in labor difference.

When Germany, Belgium and Italy saw the immense economic advantage and chances for profit which colonies furnished, they were determined to construct and enlarge their own colonial domain. Indeed, if they must follow the path of modern industrial imperialism, they must have colonies or die. The continents of Asia, Africa and South America were the opposite areas of expansion, but in differing ways. Asia was the seat of old civilizations and the dominion of China, Japan and India involved of influence and dominance and control through the investment of capital rather than actual annexation and direct rule. Nevertheless, before the world war it seemed probable that the larger part of Asia would eventually come under more or less direct European dominance. Japan undertook her own development and for a while held the anomolus condition of being a colored nation not under white rule.

In South America, the rich, indignous white population and the white European immigration, together with the distant and threatening attitude of the United States,

made it unlikely, if not impossible, for Europe to exercise control except through investment and military and naval power. The Indian population in South and Central America became, therefore, peons and laborers against whom racial differences existed but not so strongly as in Africa and Asia. In Africa, on the other hand, and in the West Indies, the policy was absolutely to dominate the native labor, pay it low wages, to give it little or no political control and small amounts of education or industrial training and to make the object distinctly and openly a matter of getting the largest profit out of the laboring class.

In India, the great mass of poverty-stricken workers were subjected to the combined dominance of British investors and native brains. The main difficulty was a possibility of subjecting so large a mass of laborers to so small a number of exploiters.

There were several local variations of this economic race problem. In the United States, chiefly in the South, a group of eight or ten million former slaves formed a laboring class with nominal rights of free laborers, but actual subjection to caste. In the West Indies, both British and French, there was a similar condition, except that the exploiting capitalists recruited their ranks with numbers of the rich natives. Three black countries were nominally free: Haiti, by revolution, Liberia, by sentiment, and Ethiopia as a strange survival of one of the most ancient human states.

Across all this economic arrangement buttressed and rationalised by theories of race and color, ran the effort of the Christian religion to spread its propaganda among the natives. It forms one of the most astonishing and baffling phenomena of modern times and makes it almost impossible to argue about race problems because of the contradictory facts. It is, for instance, undoubtedly true, that Christian missions were a great factor in the civilisation of African and American Negroes and American Negroes and American Indians and that they exercised some influence in Asia. On the other hand, there is also not the slightest doubt that industry and economic exploitation continually used Christianity as a smoke-screen in order to reduce the natives to submission and to keep them from revolt. Sometimes the Christian workers were entirely unconscious of their role in this respect. At other times,

they revolutionized the whole system and argued that the best thing that could happen to the poor natives was to become docile Christian workers under the profit-makers of Europe. One can see cases of this sort in the work of the White Fathers in Uganda and both Protestant and Catholic missions in the Belgian Congo. This was the situation at the time of the world war. The world war made a revolution of thought with regard to relations of the races of man. Japan, instead of being regarded as the exception, was looked upon as the forerunner of a new arrangement of world power. It was no longer considered the destiny of the white race to rule the world, but to share the world with colored races who more and more would become autonomous. The question was as to how theoretically and how quickly they could assume self-rule. But it was generally admitted that when China got through the birth-pains of a new order, that she was going to be a self-ruling nation freed of white dominance. The movement for self-rule and dominion status in India became formidable and a small measure of self-government has recently been granted with the distinct idea and promise that in the long run India will become a self-ruling dominion within the British Empire. In the French and Portuguese colonies, the doors have been thrown open for the education of a native elite who would join the whites in ruling the colonies, but for the most part these colored rulers have themselves conceived their place as exploiters of the masses rather than leaders of those masses into larger liberty and power. Haiti, after being held in virtual conquest by the United States for twenty years, gained a nominal political freedom at the expense of shouldering an enormous debt which will keep her in chains to the United States for many generations. Liberia was practically mortgaged to the Firestone Rubber Company after being threatened with absorption by both France and Great Britain. Ethiopia, on the other hand, had kept comparatively free of debt, had kept her political autonomy, had begun to re-organize her ancient polity and was in many ways an example and a promise of what a native people untouched by modern exploitation and race prejudice would do. Across these new ideals strikes the program of Italy. It is a program conceived in the worse of the pre-war idiology. It accuses Ethiopia of savagery because she is not an industralized modern country and still has the

institution of domestic slavery, forgetting that the slavery which survives in Ethiopia has nothing in common with the exploitation of slaves through the slave trade and the establishment of exploited industrial classes. Italy proposes openly to do what the other colonial powers have done and that is to take the land from the people, which is always the first stage toward poverty and political helplessness of the laboring class. It was accomplished in France, England and India during the Middle Ages. In Africa, it was one of the first measures by England, France, Portugual and Belgium to establish their economic power. In India and in China, it lies at the bottom of economic exploitation, but in most of these cases the process has been hidden by legal phrase and chicanery and by various excuses. It was seldom so openly and brazenly declared as in the present case when Italy simply says that she needs the land of the Ethiopians for her own peasants. What effect now will the Italian conquest of Ethiopia have upon the race problems of the world? First of all, there seems to be little doubt but that Africa and the demand for increased colonial exploitation there was the cause of the world war and the present danger of another and similar conflagation. Germany, before the world war, had a foothold in Asia and Asia Minor which seemed to promise settlement of her economic ambition, but she was not satisfied in Africa, she was not satisfied at her loss of Uganda and of chance to share in the exploitation of the Nile Valley. She undoubtedly proposed sooner or later to dispossess Belgium in the Valley of the Congo and she did not propose to allow France to monopolize Lake Chad and the Valley of the Niger. Her determination to accomplish more and more of these objects led her to welcome war.

Today, in somewhat the same way, Germany is determined to have back her colonial empire and Italy is determined to make France and England yield to her the indefinite but nevertheless clearly understood promises of the Treaty of London of 1915. Toward this end Italy and Germany got nearer alliance, but the movement was suddenly stopped by the attempt of the Nazis to take possession of Austria. This alarmed both France and Italy and threw them into each other arms, with the result that France withdrew her opposition to Italian expansion in Ethiopia. But if Italy takes her pounds of flesh by force, does anyone suppose that Germany will

not soon make similar attempts. Then, too, there are fears raised up with these ambitions. The Arabs hate Italy for the ruthless slaughter through which she seized Triopli. Japan has gained a considerable part of Abyssinian trade and Indian merchants have invaded East Africa and raised so great a problem of political rights and civil liberty that their exclusion has been repeatedly asked by the white exploiters.

Italy then mobilizes against Ethiopia, in spite of the League of Nations, in spite of her treaty of arbitration, in spite of reported efforts at conciliation and adjustment, her troops are piling soldiers and equipment into Eritrea. She intends to seize Ethiopian territory. She may not attempt complete subjugation--the inner citadel is very strong; but annexation of the plateau and economic strangulation can accomplish what direct force cannot do immediately.

Here, then, is war again. That war which has never ceased since the World War, but now comes nearer the European circle where its sparks are increasingly dangerous. Moreover, let no one think that the demand of Italy in Africa is the end of demands. The reason that Germany refuses to reveal her ultimate objects is because there is still one unmentioned subject, and that is German colonies, and particularly German colonies in Africa, since the attitude and power of Japan makes colonial aggression in Asia unhealthful just now.

Hitler in his Saar speech intimated that the work of redeeming German colonies had not been finished; that Germany is going to demand the return of German Africa before she consents to lift the war menace in Europe, is absolutely certain. The scramble, therefore, in Africa for cheap labor and cheap war material is not ended. It helped start World War in 1914, and it may easily do it again in our day.

All this is not pleasant reading for those who pin their faith on European civilisation, the Christian religion and the superiority of the white race. Yet these are the bare facts. They might be differently interpreted and variously supplemented, but it must remain a story of selfish and short-sighted cruelty, deception and theft, with black men mainly victims and white men usually aggressors.

What of the future? We can envisage three possible results of the present

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program of Mussolini:

1. The civilized world, remembering the World War and the promise of the League of Nations, not forgetting a series of treaties and understandings, will refuse to allow Italy to attack Ethiopia or curtail her independence.

2. Italy will attack and gradually subdue Ethiopia and make her into an Italian colony and protectorate.

3. Ethiopia will repulse Italy or make conquest so difficult that she will retain her independence.

The probabilities are that Italy, by sheer weight of armament and the inactivity of Europe, will subdue Ethiopia. If this happens it will be a costly victory, both for Italy and the white world. There will be not only the cost in debt, death and hate, but the whole colored world,--India, China and Japan, Africa in Africa and in America, and all the South Sea and Indian South America,--all that vast mass of men who have felt the oppression and insults, the slavery and exploitation of white folk, will say: "I told you so! There is no faith in them even toward each other. They do not believe in Christianity and they will never voluntarily recognize the essential equality of human beings or surrender the idea of dominating the majority of men for their own selfish ends. Japan was right. The only path to freedom and equality is force, and force to the uttermost."

Nor will this indefensible aggression prove to the dark peoples their weakness; rather it will point the path to strength: understanding between Japan and China will close Asia to white aggression and India need no longer hesitate between passive resistance and open rebellion. Even black men will realize that Europe holds Africa in leash today mainly with African troops, a religion of humility, vague hopes and skillfully encouraged jealousies.. One of these days, the very troops by which Europe holds Africa may cease to play the part so long assigned them.

Suppose, however, that turning from this drear and age-old prospect of blood and waste, we contemplate the possibility that Ethiopia, helped by courage and terrain, secret European sympathy or open collapse in Italy, succeeds in repulsing Italy or even holding her for months in check. This does not now seem probable, but it is possible. The result would be a grim chorus from the dark worlds:

the spell of Europe is broken. It is the beginning of the end. Europe can no longer depend on brute force to make serfs of Yellow, Black and Brown.

Such reasoning may be fallacious and fail to accord Europe and the white race due credit for bringing the mass of men into the circle of human culture. Yet its logic is inevitable: Italy has forced the world into a position that if she wins, race hate will increase; while if Ethiopia is not defeated, the prestige of the white world will receive a check comparable to the defeat of Russia by Japan.

Finally, if as now seems incredible, but it not beyond possibility, the better public opinion of the white world, and its obvious interests, absolutely refuse to allow this brazen public banditry to proceed; if England, France and America hold Italians firmly in check without too deadly impairment of Ethiopian independence; if the Pope of Rome refuses further to quibble and Protestant missions insist on practicing their preaching, while Pacifists fight for Peace--in this improbable event, a new hope and faith will course through the veins of men; a new patience with selfishness and wrong; a new hatred of the stupidity of war and a new urge to Humanity.

There comes, finally, the question as to what the colored world thinks of this Italian venture. It is sufficient to say that black men and brown men have been aroused as seldom before. Mass meetings and attempted movements have taken place in Harlem. The Negroes of the West Indies have been excited in all the islands. In West Africa, despite the attempt of both France and England to keep down agitation, there is widespread and increasing interest. If there were any chance effectively to recruit men, money and machines of war among the one hundred millions of Africans outside of Ethiopia, the result would be enormous. The Union of South Africa is curiously alarmed and in contradictory ways. She is against Italian aggression, not because she is for the black Ethiopians, but because she fears the influence of war on black Africa. The natives of British Kenya, Uganda and the Sudan, standing as they do right next to the theater of war, must in any prolonged conflict, either be kept from participation by strong force, or the whole of East Africa will be aflame. The black world knows this is the last great and definite attempt of white Europe to secure the subjection of black men.

In the long run the effort is in vain and black men triumph

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Every time Ethiopia has stretched out her hands, she has gripped the pillars of the world. Five thousand years before Christ and through the succeeding millinnaha, the upsurging of her moving masses against the culture of the Nile and Delta began a world conflict, resulting eventually in a drawn battle which made Ethiopia rather than Egypt the last protagonist of the West against the East before the emergence of Rome.

Against Ethiopia, Rome rallied Nubia and the Western Desert, driving Ethiopia down toward Meroe and Abyssinia. Here, buttressed by lofty ramparts, came a battle between Cross and Crescent fifteen centuries long. Finally, in our day, Ethiopia becomes the last stand of black Africa before white imperial industry which has all but enslaved the whole continent.

How does the darker world regard this 20th Century attempt of a white European nation to conquer the last independent African nation? Let us view the scene in detail.

Japan is regarded by all colored peoples as their logical leader; as the one non-white nation which has escaped forever the dominance, exploitation and studied insult of the white world. No matter what Japan does or how she does it, excuse leaps to the lips of colored thinkers. Has she seized Korea, Formosa and Manchuria? Is she penetrating Mongoria and widening her power in China itself? She simply has done what England has done in Honkong and France in Annan and what Russia, Germany and even the United States intended to do in China, if not in Japan herself. She has used by and large the same methods that white Europe has used, military power and commercial exploitation, and yet in all her action there has been this vast difference; her program can be no program of internal caste and race hate for the conquered, since racially they are one with the Japanese and are recognized as blood relatives. Their eventual assimilation and social equality presents no real problem. The dominance of the whites under these circumstances would have intensified racial differences and increased race hate. Conquest and exploitation are brute facts of the present era, yet if they must come, is it better that they come from your own kin who recognise common humanity and unity rather than from strangers who use science and religion to build a permanent racial caste?

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To this Italy is giving a terrible answer. As the center of the Catholic Church and the home of the Renaissance of modern culture, she says flatly and openly: we are going to subdue an inferior people not for their good but for ours. We are going to take the lands of Ethiopia just as we took Somaliland and as England took the land of Kenya and religion of the Congo. We are going to reduce black men to landless serfs without political power and we are going to do this because we can and because no white nation dare stop us and no colored nation can stop us. The moral is: if any colored nation expects to maintain itself against white Europe it need appeal neither to religion or culture, but only to force and force to the uttermost. This is the vast motives back of Japan today and this excuse has the sympathy of the majority of mankind because that majority is colored.

Turning now to China, we have the pathetic instance of a nation trying to reform itself and pressed forward in new paths of advance. The internal difficulties in so ancient a land where custom is so strong and religion so real are endless. If left to herself, China could develop in the course of a half century. She would become one of the great and leading nations of the world, but no such opportunity would be given her if white Europe had its way. She would have been divided up, her political autonomy would have disappeared, her masses brutalessly exploited. The world war gave Japan its chance to replace the dominance of Europe, and China has today an opportunity to develop under the tutelage of Japan or to find refuge and help in the tutelage of Europe. What has Europe to offer? By Italy's action, she can offer nothing. There is no hope in a religion that murders its own co-religionists in Ethiopia, or in a culture that permits the overthrow of Ethiopia. Italy's action, therefore, practically deprives China of her last hope in Europe. She must follow Japan or chaos.

Further on, we have an equally difficult situation in India. A vast country of hundreds of millions of people who are the historical fruit of conquest, domination and caste, who have been conquered and held by England partly by means of direct military power and partly by the internal divisions of the Indians themselves due to rival rulers, differing religions and caste restrictions. On this has been built an industrial and commercial exploitation as complete and ruthless as the world has seen

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and its efficiency has not been marred by the education and culture which some Indians have absorbed and it was inevitable that this mass of people as they grew slowly in intelligence and writhing in poverty and internal difference, should look toward eventual independence and autonomy. Even with the opposing interests on the part of ruling Briton, the task would have been among the most difficult that a great nation could face. But when all the selfish interests of English investors did not wish an independent autonomous Indian, the task was well-nigh impossible. For its accomplishment, there came the program of Ghandi; passive resistance to the dominance of a great modern power, rather than determined revolt. It seemed fantastic. It was fantastic, but it was magnificent and for a time it almost rose to the point of showing the world a new way to accomplish progress. But its application proved impossible; first, because of the despotism and high-handed determination of English investors and rulers, and secondly, because it put upon a poor and harassed people a moral burden too great for successful bearing. Nevertheless, the better conscience of England forced some gesture and the result was that in the few days when Italy unfolded her program of conquest of Ethiopia, England offers India a step toward autonomy. It is a short step. It gives the Indians a voice in discussion and limited power to make the laws which govern them. But it hedges this about with every protection for English investments, with dominance of the military power, and with every possibility of using the divisions which are a part of Indian life to frustrate the growth of national unity and national opinion. The skillful use of religious differences between Mohammedans and Hindus, between the Upper Caste and the Untouchables, between the princes and the popular leaders, can make real progress in India negligible for many generations.

On top of this comes Italy's demonstration; the open and blatant accusation of inferiority based on color; the re-assertion of the divine right of white people to rule colored people, and the callus ignoring of the basic principles of that very religion which was supposed to have something to teach to Indians. The result of Italy's venture must be to destroy in India whatever faith there is in the justice of white Europe.

Let us turn now to the Africas, of which we may roughly distinguish eight: South Africa, British East Africa, British West Africa, French Africa and the Belgian

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Congo, Portuguese Africa, the British West Indies and the Negroes of the United States.

In South Africa, a small white minority of Dutch and English descent, armed with the power of capital, have not only already done much to reduce the native populations to landless workers, but proposed to further this by drastic means. They are going to make it increasingly difficult for Negroes to own land in any but strictly segregated areas which include some of the poorest and least accessable land. They are going to take the right to vote, even from those educated natives and mulattoes who have had the right in one province and continue to deny Negroes representation in the legislature. They are either not increasing it or are increasing very slowly the avenues for native education and they are determined to transform as far as possible the —— into workers, paid at the lowest wage, and forming a working caste below the white workers. Not only is the Union of South Africa going steadily forward with this program for its own black citizens, but it is enforcing it in the mandates which it holds under the League of Nations and bringing increasing pressure upon the empire, turning over to the Union of South Africa such dominions as the Rhodesias and the Basutoland. Thus consolidating and concentrating one policy of caste serfdom for all black men at the Southern end of the continent. With this program, quietly but definitely going forward, the open attack of Italy on Ethiopia bringings uneasiness to the South Africans. Italy proposes to do exactly what South Africa has done, but South Africa has not done it, has not worked with such frank open statement of aims, and she fears a resentment and disillusionment of her own blacks who are still being fed with the idea that Christianity and white civilisation is eventually going to do them justice. It is the more radical natives, to the few with education and to those who are beginning to think, the Italian program simply confirms their worst fears.

The dominance of Great Britain in East Africa is in three areas: Tanganyika, the former British East Africa, Kenya, the former German East Africa, and Uganda in Kenya, a system of seizing native land, denying the natives systematic education and all political rights has been persistently followed with little change, even under the labor government.

In Tanganyika and Uganda, there have been different degrees of celebrated English indirect rule, which is a method of supporting in power such native rulers as

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Shrves native customs, but practically stifles reform and progress and keeps education to a minimum. It brings peace but in most cases peace without development. This is the case in Tanganyika, but in Uganda where native development was considerable before the British came, there is always the chance that native development will burst its leading strings and go forward. Such peaceful and natural development, however, depends upon the faith which the people of Uganda have in the ultimate justice and philanthropic objects of the British. Such faith will not be increased by the action of the Italians and the hesitation of white Europe. This venture of African conquest must bring to the intelligent people of Uganda a memory of the outrageous way in which Protestants, Catholics and Mohammedans murdered natives in Uganda for the glory of God and eventually subdued and ravaged the country.

In British West Africa, there is the widest development of the principle of indirect rule reaching almost autonomy in some cases. Moreover, these colonies were established and had some political power before the policy of land sequestration had begun. Black West Africa, therefore, owns its own land and this gives it an economic power of unusual force. Nevertheless, the power of legislation is largely in the hands of the governors and the British Chambers of Commerce; a curious political development which has not been widely noticed, and there is in West Africa a continuous, open or partly concealed battle between the educated blacks and the exploited British. The British have lately tried to circumvent the black intelligencia by increasing the power of the chief and even to the extent of conferring a knighthood on two of them. Upon this situation, the action of Italy and the League of Nations will make a very unfavorable impression. The leaders of black West Africa, some who have been educated in the best English universities, will be convinced that no policy of submission and dependence upon the good-will of Europe will insure the eventual autonomy and economic justice in black Africa.

French Africa presents quite a different problem. The French have made every effort to make it possible for educated and ambitious natives to be absorbed into the French nation. Contrary to the British custom, the French schools are in blind alleys which keep natives from going too far in education, but are articulate with whole French high schools and academic system. This does not mean, however, that education

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The Hands of Ethiopia
By W.E.Burghardt DuBois

The hands which the Land of Burnt Faces is today stretching forth to the gods of Olympus. That be are Abyssinia's hands both today and yesterday. Hands that have gnarled fingers about to very roots of the world. Especially Ethiopia's fingers are those mighty mountain ranges of N.E. Africa which are the defensive ramparts of the Continent and against which historically Egypt, Persia, Turkey, Carthage, Rome, Portugal & Colonial France as far drummed in vain.

The great ramparts of Abyssinia, soaring over seas of hills and mountains, form the greatest stronghold of all Africa, and the one part which has natural barriers for defense. It was a German who said that the power which held the Abyssinian highlands could dominate the imperialism of Europe in Africa.

Abyssinia is a pear-shaped mountain clump, cut into island-like sections which are separated by deep gorges and ravines. It is nearly as large as France and Spain combined, and looms high on the northwest toward the Valley of the Nile, on the southwest toward the Great Lakes, and on the east toward the sea. It rises in three great terraces: a plane of rocky strata; a plateau about eight thousand feet above the sea, and above this snow-capped mountains which sometimes rise nearly another eight thousand feet. "It looks," says the traveller, "like a storm-tossed sea, suddenly solidified."

The highest ramparts of this "citadel of Africa", lying as they do between the fever-infested South and the sun-baked Sudan, form a fortress which would be difficult even for a modern army to storm. It is to her mountains that Abyssinia owes the fact that her population is the only dark race in Africa not yet under European domination.

In these highlands, both the Blue Nile and the Atbara rise, and thus Abyssinia commands a full half of the waters of the Nile, and dominates the most direct route to the Nile Valley, the natural seaboard commands the

History On these stark bones and facts is built a splendid
almost as old as the world and yet half forgotten even
in this record revival of strained interest in this land of the
Blacks.

Why the name is Haile Selassie Emperor of Ethiopia
& not of Abyssinia as his predecessors often called themselves. Abyssinia
is a word of Semitic origin but Ethiopia is Negro. Look at the
features of Abyssinians now widely current. They are as Negroid
as American Negroes. If there is a Black race they belong
in it. Of course there are & never were any "pure" Negroes any
more than there are "pure" Whites or "pure" yellows. Humanity
is mixed to the bones. But in the rough & practical assignment
of mankind to the three divisions, the Abyssinians belong to the Black
race

And always did. Abyssinia is the fourth great step of dark
human culture in N. E. African background — or shall we say
forward — from the Mediterranean to the Equator area. And
every step has shaken the world. Physically the steps have
been almost equal — 500 miles from the Nile delta to
the first Cataract, then 500 miles from Napata & Meroe,
and at last 500 miles from the capital of Candaces to
their chief and island formed by the Atbara & Blue Nile, to Axum
& Adowa when the retreat — or advance — ended until 1935.

All this vast movement & development was stretched
over more than 5,000 years, but it essentially met & mingled with &
assimilated the Semitic! The mulattoes of Egypt, White eastern Blacks, was

38-15-62

the most important
opening Africa to the world

38-15-79

which led threatened to gave them doorway

more & more drowned in the black blood from the South

This land called from the beginning "Ethiopia" had the

burying bones finally fastened on the Nile Valley

and their gates became an opening refuge when Egypt

retreated before Persia; & Ethiopia, became conduit to Nubia

& became a new & conquering Egypt which ruled the Nile

valley from Napata & the powerful western world from 750

& 600 BC.

But even & the Desert pressed South again. Invaders

as Meroes, 500 miles further South, Ethiopia developed a

new culture & new dynasties which received the power

of Greece, Rome & Arabia. Even the Land of the Blues

Crescent again, sweeping in from the

forests & the west, before the New Mohammedanism

treasury relentlessly down from the north, before the ever-

encroaching desert.

again relentlessly Ethiopia land lies stark with her back

against the last great ramparts of the east — the Hills of

Abyssinia. Here the black border of the region, the great

Lakes had been infiltrated with Semitic blood from the

shores of the Red Sea, where decades upheavals drove Jews &

Arabs before them & hurled remnants on the African shores. The

trading stations at Axum, near modern Adowa was a

gateway for merchants and brought Ethiopia & Abyssinia in

contact. Gradually the Greek gave smuggled. Ethiopia became

the more Greek chronicle & the heathen of a smuggled book —

& adjoining Arabia.

This kingdom took its name, "Abyssinia", from A Semitic tribe, "Habesh"; but the people of Habesh were neither contented nor safe in being simply Abyssinian. Trade and defense forced them toward ancient Ethiopia, and they disputed with the Arabs and Nubians over the domination of the island of Meroe. Here they claimed sovereignty as early as 356 A.D., and actually destroyed its capital a century later. Greek and Roman influence filtered into Abyssinia from the East, and trade made Axum flourish. Myths of its obscure origin began to arise: the Jewish myth of descent of its royal house from Solomon; the Negro myth of its descent from Aethiopis, whose tomb was pointed out at Axum.

The new Christian religion came to Abyssinia in the Fourth Century after Christ, and thus a third great center of Christianity, in contrast to Rome and Constantinople, was established. Then came the red wave of conquest from the North, and the history of Abyssinia becomes dim and shadowy. As Gibbons has written, "Encompassed by her enemies, Ethiopia slept a thousand years, forgetful of the world by whom she was forgotten."

38-15-80

We catch glimpses of Abyssinian history here and there, as when in 525, at the request of the Emperor Justinian, the Abyssinians in sixty ships landed in Arabia, and captured Yemen, which they held for seventy-five years. In the Tenth Century, a certain Judith or Esther usurped the throne and the Falashas or black Jews, together with the native Zagwes, ruled.

It was not until the 16th Century that ~~the explorations of~~ the Portuguese again brought Abyssinia to the attention of the world, ~~The Portuguese appeared in Abyssinia in 1532 in time to aid them with 400 horsemen against the attacks of the Mohammedans, who had advanced as far south as Massowah.~~ and The Portuguese located in Abyssinia the source of the legend of Prester John, that ghostly Christian ruler who during the Middle Ages was supposed to be reigning in Africa or India, ~~and was~~

The African Roots of War

~~the source of many legends.~~

Abyssinia from early times was divided into a number of great districts, each administered by an hereditary chief called a Ras. Over these chiefs ruled a Negus, called a "King of Kings". When this overlord was a strong man, he ruled a powerful country. When he was weak, there was anarchy and confusion.

Such a period of disintegration was in progress about the middle of the 19th Century under Johannes; but he was succeeded in 1855 by the Emperor Theodore, a gifted, ruthless man, who came to the throne at the time when European imperialism was being organized and stretching out inquiring hands toward Asia and Africa. Scientists, traders, missionaries and adventurers wandered into Abyssinia. Theodore was well-disposed toward Europeans, and curious about their countries, but inevitable misunderstanding occurred, both in matters of etiquette and religion. "I know the tactics of European governments," said the observing Theodore, "when they try to acquire an Eastern state. First, they send out missionaries; then consuls to support the missionaries; then battalions to support the consuls. I am not a Rajah of Hindustan to be made mock of in that way."

38-15-51

~~But Theodore needed alliance and friendship with Europe, if they came to him~~ on honorable terms, to help organize his kingdom and beat back the threatened domination of Turks and Egyptians. He considered himself insulted, however, when the British and others after making fair promises, forgot all about him and ignored his overtures; in angry retaliation he seized and imprisoned the British minister and other Europeans.

Thereupon, in 1867, the British, taking advantage of a rebellion sent Napier with an army of 12,000 men to invade Abyssinia. ~~The expedition found Theodore busy with a rebellion, and the invading army had the support of these rebels.~~ Theodore was surrounded in his capital where the British troops with superior rifles killed two thousand Abyssinians, while losing only 20 whites. Theodore surrendered and released the prisoners, but Napier had promised the rebel chiefs to degrade and dethrone him. The English artillery opened fire on Magdala and Theodore shot himself dead. His body was allowed to be mutilated by a mob, while Napier received a peerage.

Anarchy ensued in Abyssinia between 1868 and 1872, with two rival claimants to the throne, Johannes of Tigre and Menelik of Shoa. ~~In the midst of this dispute,~~

This is fundamentally the Ethiopian crisis of 1935 comes suddenly to the world's attention as a threat of imminent armed war, as a test of international agreements, as a curious crisis in the Christian religion. How did this come about?

Italy became a united nation as the same other modern national unification was just beginning. Other nations were clear in the lead. United Kingdom whose wide colonial empire was becoming an imperial domain for investing capital in cheap colonial labor. Germany had as yet no colonial dreams. France had lost hers. Italy had two pressing problems of unification of the Catholic church to make modern Roma, and she had a tradition — almost she was hampered by a tradition of Imperial Rome. And if modern Rome had a claim of any kind of the world which it was not then, it was surely to Carthage — modern Tunis. France blundered into possession of Algeria as early as 1830 and at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, Bismarck & Salisbury, Beaconsfield offered her Tunis as a consolation prize after Sedan.

The scramble for Africa began & the nations engaged industrially took cleaner, fairer claims. France & England took dual control of Egypt in 1876. In 1881 France seized Tunis & England took possession of Egypt. Italy was aroused. Despite her pressing internal problems she felt forced to imperial aggression. In 1882 she seized Eritrea, a part of the natural coast line of Abyssinia but England & France blocked her further expansion south by seizing and it was not until 1892 that she forced, or got Zanzibar & got Italian Somaliland. Somaliland.

38-15-82

7/

~~Foreshadowing~~ These imperial ventures of Peking stirred little Ethiopia. The Abyssinian highlanders cared little about the Coast & took no note of its scramble; but the whole situation changed when native rebellion arose in Egypt & the Sudan, Sudan.

.. Egypt was groaning under the debt which had been deliberately encouraged by France and England. Her rulers, who had squandered the proceeds, sought to keep up the interest by ruinous and exhaustive taxation. In desperation, the natives rebelled. Ahmed Arabi, a mulatto colonel, led a successful revolt but the English turned their guns upon Alexandria, and defeated Araby. This left the former rulers in nominal control of the whole of Egypt but in actual control of the Sudan, while the English held the real power along the Lower Nile.

38-15-83

~~Before~~ the Araby rebellion and the debts in the Sudan; in 1878, the mulatto Rabah had swept through the Bahr-El-Ghazel and the regions south of Lake Chad, when there arose a greater leader and a vaster motif. Mohammed Ahmed, son of a priest in Dongola, had established headquarters 150 miles above Khartum. He was a tall, broad-shouldered, majestic black man, with great eyes. He had visions. Disciples gathered around

him, and eventually he proclaimed himself the Mahdi, the Messiah of the Mohammedan revelation.

The country, groaning under misrule, went into the throes of a religious crusade against Egypt. A holy war was proclaimed, and a strong army organized. The Mahdi put down blasphemy, feasting, drinking, smoking and swearing. Thousands followed him. The Egyptians in 1883 sent an army of 10,000 under the Englishman, Hicks Pasha. They were annihiliated, with only 300 left alive. Kordofan, Dafur and the Bahr-El-Ghazel surrendered. Only a German, Emin Pasha, still upheld Egyptian power down in the Equatorial provinces next to Uganda. By the end of 1883, the Mahdi was master of a territory equal to Spain, France and Germany, and his army was closing in on Khartum, the capital of the Sudan. Ancient Ethiopia lived again

8) England hesitated. She still had the Liberal Gladstone & Gladstone even went so far as to say that the Sudanese were "rightly struggling & to free". But his "little Englanders" were highly growing & expanding imperialism & as Chamberlain put it — "Empire is Commerce."

~~Late in 1884,~~ The scramble for Africa became bitter. England was encroaching upon the Portuguese colonies; Germany had appeared in the field; France was at work in North Africa. France, England and Italy had seized the coast of Abyssinia, and in the vast Valley of the Congo, comprising the whole center of Africa, Little Belgium had proposed an international state. An European conference to settle the rules of the game for the further looting of Africa seemed necessary. It came together in Berlin in November, 1884, and lasted through February, 1885. ~~The United States was represented.~~ The Congo was recognized not as an international state but as the personal property of the King of Belgium. Certain rules of procedure for the further seizure of Africa were adopted, and before the conference was ended, the German Colonial Party forced Bismark's hand; seized Zanzibar and East Africa, and appeared as a full-fledged African colonial power.

38-15-24

9) In the midst of this the Imperialists forced Gladstone & make General Gordon governor of the Sudan & Gordan, a toppling fanatic fanatic under fits of courage & murder ~~ravaged~~ by every outbreak & force Gladstone & ~~send an army~~ conquer the Sudan. The Mahdi failed, Gordan died & Gladstone was reviled as a murderer & traitor.

Khartoum fell.)

For thirteen years, the Mahdi and his successor, the Khalifa, ruled in the Sudan. Thus, the whole of the Sudan was lost to Egypt and England. The Egyptian garrisonson the northern border of Abyssinian were finally withdrawn in 1886, and French, British and Italian possessions on the coast were in danger of being overwhelmed by the Mahdi.

9) The English Tories, returned to power in June 1885, were not
attack
dare attack the Mahdi, but resorted to a web of diplomacy
which entangles England today. She signed a treaty of alliance
with Johannes II of Abyssinia & thus enlisted his aid to keep
the Mahdi from the coast. Turning on top of this she suggested
that Italy seize the port of Massowah which belonged to
Abyssinia.

To hand over to the Italians Massowah which belonged to the Abyssinians and to which Italy had no shadow of claim was an extraordinary breach of faith. Italy proceeded to take Massowah, as Giolitti says, as "a consolation prize," having been cheated out of Tunis, held back in Tripoli; out-manoeuvered both at the Congress of Berlin and the Berlin Conference; as well as losing her chance to participate in Egypt.

38-15-25

Once having placed her foot in Massowah, Italy proceeded to make alliance with Johannes' chief enemy, Menelik of Shoa, a pretender to the Abyssinian throne. Johannes found himself between two enemies, Italy and the Khalifa, and eventually was killed in battle by the latter in 1889. Immediately, Menelik proclaimed himself

King of Kings, and in May signed with the Italians the celebrated treaty of Uecialli.

To prove his gratitude to the Italians for their alliance and help with the armies, Menelik ceded Italy the territory which they had already seized. But the Italians, drunk with new ambition, swept on, calmly crossed into Abyssinia, and toward the end of 1889, seized Adua, while Menelik was busily subduing his enemies. They even penetrated into the Harrar, the trading region inland from the coast, thus coming into direct dispute, not only with Abyssinia, but with the claims of France and Great Britain. Thereupon, France and Great Britain made a secret treaty which allowed them to oppose Italy's advance if they pleased; a treaty which again put Great Britain in the unenviable position of "double-crossing" Italy, just as they had previously deceived Abyssinia.

This looked like a rare opportunity for German imperialism. Between German East Africa and the Egyptian Sudan, lay the great territory of Uganda, where Catholics, Protestants and Mohammedans had been merrily cutting each others throats in their efforts to convert the heathen. The Germans pushed warily up into this country, while shut up in the Equatorial provincesof the Sudan was the German Emin Pasha. Germany determined to rescue him, while England spent $145,000 on the Stanley expedition. Both nations were seeking to fall heir to Egypt in Central Africa. England and Stanley arrived first, and found Emin unwilling to be "rescued." He wanted to hold these provinces and turn them over to Germany. The Khalifa, however, was pressing him hard, and when Stanley appeared in 1888, Emin reluctantly followed him, and they met Karl Peters and the German expedition which had been busily engaged in making treaties with the local chiefs for German expansion. Emin, with his black wife and mulatto daughter,

finally arrived at Zanzibar, where he accepted the post under the German administration in East Africa. In 1891 the British Ro[illegible]

10/ Meantime the stage was ~~was~~ set for Italy's final coup. In the seventeenth clause of the Treaty of Uccialli, there arose a characteristic misunderstanding. The Abyssinian text, which was the only one actually signed, said: "His Majesty, the King of Kings of Ethiopia, shall be at liberty to avail himself of the Italian government for any negotiations which he may enter into with other powers or governments." The Italian translation, whichwas made in Italy, said: "His Majesty, the King of Kings of Ethiopia, consents to avail himself of the Italian government for any negotiations which he may enter into with other powers or governments."

The treaty was signed May 2, 1889. ~~October 1, 1889, there was an additional treaty by which Menelik was to receive a loan of four million lire from an Italian bank under the guaranty of the Italian government, and on security of the Harrar Custom-House.~~ October 12, 1889, Crispi notified the powers by circular letter under the general act of the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 that Abyssinia was an Italian protectorate. On May 5, 1894, he signed agreements with England in which England recognized Abyssinia as an Italian protectorate. A map of Africa by treaty was published in 1894, with the sanction of the English Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in which this rape of Abyssinia was recognized!

But both England and Italy had reckoned without their host. There is no doubt but that the Treaty of Uccialli was a clumsy forgery of the same sort that had previously transferred sovereignty of a larger part of Africa from black men to white. Menelik, however, did not choose to submit. He not only denounced the treaty but he took up arms. He declared by proclamation: "Ethiopia has need of no one. She stretches out her hands to none but God."

The French supplied Menelik willingly with arms and munitions. The forces of Italy and Ethiopia met at Adowa, and Italy's army of forty thousand was anniliated March 1, 1896.

Suddenly, the headwaters of the Nile, the Nile Valley, and Egypt, the domination of the Red Sea, the path from the Cape-to-Cairo, all these were in the hands of black men,--the black dervishes of the Sudan, and Menelik II., King of the Kings of Ethiopia and Emperor of Abyssinia. An English officer wrote: "If I were the Mahdi, I would make Egypt pay for every quart of water that runs down the Nile."

38-15-86

11) With Abyssinia in Italian hands, the British were willing to make an order & climax their eventual domination of the Nile valley

She had in 1894 annexed Uganda, thus definitely curbing German expansion in East Africa. In 1895, the Jameson raid had taken place in South Africa as the first step toward a war destined to crush the Dutch and make South Africa a British province. The Cape-to-Cairo idea, fosteredby Chamberlain and Cecil Rhodes, had seized the immagination of the empire. An Agreement ~~was made~~ with Leopold of Belgium ~~which~~ even secured a perpetual lease of a large bloc of territory at the headwaters of the Nile, and filled in the gap between the Great Lakes. This so alarmed the French that this lease was eventually Cancelled

The French, thereupon, took a forward step, and determined to push from French Africa eastward to the Nile and send a French expedition through Abyssinia westward to the Nile. Menelik gave aid and comfort, and in 1894, made a concession to the French to build a rail ay from Djibuti through the Harrar to Addis Abbaba and the White Nile. French officers trained the Abyssinian army. Great Britain warned France that she claimed the whole of the Nile Valley and would consider any attempt to dispute this claim as an unfriendly act. Paris, hesitated, and the Abyssinian expedition was called off.

But the Battle of Adowa changed the whole situation. Italy could no longer pull English chestnuts out of the fire, and French plans were manifest. Salisbury, again at the English helm, moved quickly. March 5, the news of Adowa reached England, and March 12, England suddenly learned that Chinese Gordon was a Christian martyr, who had been murdered by heathens. She ordered the conquest of the Sudan. Kitchener, with Maxim-Nordenfeldt guns, moved up the Nile. He captured Khartum in September, and ordered the tomb of the dead Mahdi publicly desecrated.

[Could establish claims which cut off the hinterland of Tripoli, leaving it where the Italians could annex it]

28-15-82

England was not a minute too soon. That very month, Marchand, the Frenchman, was at Fashoda awaiting the French and Abyssinian expeditions from Abyssinia. Indeed, one Abyssinian expedition under a royal prince had already reached the river but had been decimated by fever. The other expedition under a French commander did not materialize. For a moment, the world stood still with world war in the air.

The French had dispatched Captain Marchand to the French Congo April 25, with instructions to march to the White Nile. They again arranged an Abyssinian expedition to join him. The idea was that the two expeditions should meet on the Nile and establish a French claim to the Upper Valley of the Nile. When Kitchener arrived, he would find the French and Abyssinians stretched across the Cape-to-Cairo path. The Abyssinian expedition failed through the negligence of the French governor of Djibuti. When Marchand reached Fashoda in 1898, there was nofortress and no expedition of French and Abyssinians from the east to support him. Kitchener proceeded south to meet Marchand and a small body of Senegalese soldiers. The sympathies of the world were with Marchand. War was imminent. But the French fleet was not equal to the British and the French army at Fashoda was greatly inferior to the British army. March 21, 1899, an Anglo-French declaration was issued, which gave the Nile Valley to Great Britain.

38-15-71

Imperial Italy remained intensely dissatisfied.

Her treatment by France in the matter of Tunis and Tripoli, and by England, in the case of Abyssinia, threw her into the arms of Germany and Austria, and she became part of the Triple Alliance. By taking Tripoli from Turkey in 1911-

1912, Italy had helped precipitate ~~there~~ world-wide conflagration, and had gained for herself a strip of barren sand by "a perfect nightmare of horror...a veritable carnage." Nevertheless, on the eve of the World War, Prime Minister Salavdra declared that Italy's policy would be dictated by "Sacred Egoism". Thus, in 1914, Italy, holding herself aloof, offered herself to the highest bidder.

38-15-72

It is said that at one time France dangled the Port of Djibuti with its Abyssinian railway terminal before Italy, and even the Colony of Tunis in 1915. At any rate, in the secret treaty of London, it was expressly agreed by Great Britain, France, and Russia, not only that Italy was to receive large portions of Austrian territory in event of victory, but that: (Article XIII. of the Treaty of London of April 26, 1915.)

"In the event of an extension of the French and British colonial possessions in Africa at the expense of Germany, France and Great Britain recognize to Italy in principle the right of demanding for herself certain compensations, in the form of an extnsion of her possessions in Eritrea, Somaliland, Libya, and the colonial districts bordering on French and British colonies."

Italy immediately entered the war on the side of the Allies, and started a lively discussion of future colonial development [illegible]

For her entrance into the war, Italy paid a terrible toll. Six hundred thousand lay dead and a million were wounded. The country seethed with disillusion and discontent, and the Paris Conference, by ignoring the Treaty of London, gave Italy what she regarded as a "mutilated victory", despite the territory which she gained from Austria. As a result, the Socialists, who had opposed Italy's entrance in the war, captured the government in 1919, and the beginnings of proletarian revolution in the form of sydicalism appeared. ~~Factories were seized and labor reached for control.~~

Italy must choose and choose quickly between a redistribution of wealth and economic power dictated by the working classes, or a re-organization of industry in the interests of capital but so far restrained that the mass of workers could be kept at labor in peaceful subjection. ~~The resultant Fascism, started by the march on Rome~~ Italy chose Fascism.

in 1922, and gradually developed, faced a tremendous task. It must keep peace, restore confidence, curb the power of capital, furnish more capital, and insure profits. These contradictory objects could be carried out ~~only if the first could be continuously assured, and the last realized in fact.~~ Confidence and faith in Italy, and peaceful submission to the burdens of war and oppression, were accomplished by a subtly conceived psychological onslaught, which revived in the minds of young Italy the glory of Rome and the expansion of colonial empire. For glory, it appealed to youth in its curiously illogical national hymn: "Youth, springtime of beauty! Fascism is the safeguard of our liberty." What could thrill Italy more than revenge for Adowa?

38-15-73

"I heard Mussolini say on one occasion, speaking from the balcony of the Chigi Palace on the Corso in Rome--this was before he moved over to the Palazzo Venezia--'Camice Nere (Blackshirts) when you look at the map, you see that the island of Sicily is the southernmost limit of our empire. But I swear to you that the day will come when the island of Sicily will be the geographical center of our empire.'"

The history of Rome was invoked, and Mussolini began sabre-rattling on a tremendous scale, and particularly emphasized the fact that Italy proposed to have colonies where she could settle her expanding population, and that also that her population must expand. ~~The millions of Italians who had immigrated to North and South America must in the future find homes under the Italian flag.~~ Moreover, Mussolini said frankly that Tripoli and Eritrea were not enough. "These two colonies alone cannot solve our population problem, mark this well." He emphasized the plight of the Italians in Tunis. There were ninety thousand of them against seventy-one thousand Frenchmen, and the French were threatening to turn Italian children into French citizens. Mussolini protested bitterly, and demanded a great navy to protect a future empire.

In the meantime, Abyssinia was bestirring herself. Menelik, the great emperor, died the year before the World War. He was succeeded by a daughter, and then by a grandson, whose hatred of Europeans and fanatical attitude on religion made him no fit instrument for a diplomatic role. Finally, Ras Tafari, a leading prince, was nominated as successor; he was crowned King in 1928 and Emperor, November 2, 1930, amid the pomp of one of the oldest branches of the Christian Church. Significantly, he determined to call his country "Ethiopia, the land of the Burnt Faces," and not Abyssinia, from the Semitic tribe of Habesh. To the far-sighted, the coronation of Haile Selassie II., presented at once foreboding and encouraging omens. He represented the beginning of a new era. Forces were at work to end the whole system of European aggression upon colored countries. In the formation of the League of Nations was the idea of a world tribunal where the lesser nations could at least be heard. The idea of the mandates was to put certain colonies under the guarandianship of the League of Nations, and prevent at least the extremes of exploitation. In Abyssinia there seemed to lie the best chance for a new development. An unhampered tradition went back thousands of years that enabled these black men and brown to be proud of their color, their ancestry, their history. Surely, here was a chance to begin a new world.

For if Abyssinia thus represented a beginning of new things, it also represented a continuation of the old, and this fact, too, was clear at the coronation. Representatives of thirteen countries braved the difficulties of travel and were present at Addis Addaba. There was the Duke of Glouster, son of the King of England; there was the Duke of Udine, son of the King of Italy; there was Marshal Franchet d'Esperey, representing France; and a royal prince of Japan. The British representative stood, always, at the emperor's right hand, and the Italian at his left. It looked almost like a foregathering of cormorants watching a feast, where each was seeing that one did not get all and each maneuvering for the largest possible share.

~~Meantime, the new Emperor, born in 1891, and much travelled in Europe, was evidently an enlightened man who proposed to make Abyssinia a modern country. He~~

Haile Selassie II. is by tradition the 384th King to sit upon the throne, and leaving out more tradition, we know of at least 200 Abyssinian kings in historic times.

38-15-74

The African Roots of War

He is a slight
~~a little~~ brown man with curly hair, dignified and serious, educated in France, and eager for the advance of his country. As Prince, he had visited England, France and the continent, and wished to come to the United States, but the United States did not invite him. He began sending a few Abyssinians to be educated abroad; he began to reorganize the system of justice, and tried to re-build the state in many ways. There were difficulties. Some were internal; Abyssinia is two thousand years old with an unbroken tradition, strong feudal princes, old families, and inbred customs opposed to change. The emperor had to attack evils like domestic slavery slowly and with care. Yet in this case, European philanthropy, with rapacious commercialism back of it, hammered at the reformer and forcedhim to set a pace which time may prove far too fast for his slow changing nation. It is quite possible that the new emperor, by his inovations and European policy, has strained dangerously the allegiance of some of his powerful followers, linked as they are to ancient allegiance and hoary customs.

38-15-25

~~Nevertheless,~~ the international relations of Ethiopia, coupled with old efforts at economic intervention, make the situation of the country difficult. In 1906, the agreement between Great Britain, France and Italy to respect and preserve the integrity of Abyssinia was really designed to prevent industrial concessions made to one from injuring the claims of any of the others. The notes between Great Britain and Italy in 1925, secretly divided Ethiopia into spheres of influence with Great Britain dominant in the regions of Lake Tsana and the headwaters of the Nile, and Italy along the borders of Eritrea and Somaliland. Ethiopia brought this treaty to the notices of the League of Nations. Mussolini explained, and MacDonald half apologised, and yet later when certain American engineers in 1927 signed a $20,000,000 contract to dam the waters of Lake Tsana, England insisted upon her prior rights, and by quiet diplomacy broke the contract.

The murder of the prime minister of Austria by the German Nazis halted an understanding between France and Italy which might have forced France and England to disgorge the German colonies in Africa and grant Italy's African demands in full. But Italy feared Pan Germany more than France; France feared Hitler's militarism; and England feared German industrial competition.

Laval and Mussolini renewed the old efforts to come to an understanding. Exactly what their written understanding was has not been published, but it is pretty clear from subsequent events. ~~Nothing was probably said about the navy. Italy has little money to build ships, even if she wants to.~~ Some concessions were made as to Italians in Tunis, and some territorial concessions in the hinterland of Tripoli, probably not large in actual extent, but important in opening one of the main trade routes from Lake Chad to Tripoli, ~~and involving some 50,000 square miles of territory.~~

The main concession undoubtedly was in Abyssinia, and that concession consisted, first, in promising to keep hands off if Mussolini should make war upon Abyssinia, and seize any part of her territory. Secondly, to grant Italian capital additional power in Abyssinia. It is rumored that three thousand shares of the Djibuti Railroad have been turned over to Italy, and that a rectification of frontier between Eritrea and French Somaliland has been so arranged as to give Italy direct access to the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb.

All this means a tighter economic cordon around Ethiopia to make her access to foreign markets more difficult, and to keep out capital from countries other than Italy, Great Britain, and France. Behind this movement, and tending to strengthen the common interests of these imperial powers, are two menaces from Asia: the new independence of the kingdom of the Arabs opposite Abyssinia across the Red Sea. At best this is going to cut off Italian trade with Eritrea, and at worst, it is going to encourage every Arab in North Africa to remember the trail of blood through which Italy walked to secure the barren victory of Tripoli. Again, the recent appearance of Japan in Abyssinian industrial development, has alarmed the West. It is rumored that Japan has already captured one-third of the commerce of Abyssinia, and the French charge that the Japanese wish to equip Ethiopia industrially, and furnish technical help for her new machines.

Italy then mobilizes against Ethiopia; in spite of the League of Nations; in spite of her treaty of arbitration; in spite of reported efforts at conciliation and adjustment, her troops are piling soldiers and equipment into Eritrea. She intends to seize Ethiopian territory on one pretext or another, to secure oil, and to draw a tighter broad base of economic and military aggression about her. She may not attempt complete subjugation--the inner citadel is very strong, and the Ethiopians too fierce and manly. But economic strangulation can accomplish what direct force cannot do immediately.

Here, then, is war again. That war which has never ceased since the World War, but now comes nearer the European circle where its sparks are increasingly dangerous. Moreover, let no one think that the demand of Italy in Africa is the end of demands. The reason that Germany refuses to reveal her ultimate objects is because there is still one unmentioned subject, and that is, German colonies, and particularly German colonies in Africa, since the attitude and power of Japan makes colonial aggression in Asia unhealthful just now. Hitler in his Saar speech, intimated that the work of redeeming German colonies had not been finished, and he doubtless used the word "colony" advisedly. That Germany is going to demand the return of German Africa, before she consents to raise the War menace in Europe, is absolutely certain. The scramble, therefore, in Africa, for cheap labor and cheap war material is not ended. It helped start World War in 1914, and it may easily do it again in our day.

All this is not pleasant reading for those who pin their faith on European civilization the Christian religion and the superiority of the white race. Yetk these are the bare facts. They might be differently interpreted, and variously supplemented, but in it must remain a story of selfish and short-sighted crulty, deception and theft, with black men mainly victims and white men usually aggressors.

What of the future? We can envisage three possible results of the present program of Mussolini:

I. The civilized world, remembering the World War and the promise of the League of Nations, not forgetti ng a series of treaties and understandings, will refuse to allow Italy to attack Ethiopia or curtail her independence.

2. It aly will attack and gradually subdue Ethiopia and make her into an Italian colony and protectorate.

3. Et hiopia will repulse Italy or make conquest so difficult that she will retain her independence.

38-15-72

The probabilities are that Italy, by sheer weight of armament and the inactivity of Europe, will subdue Ethiopia. If this happens it will be a costly victory, both for Italy and the white world. There will be not only the cost in debt, death and hate, but the whole colored world, -- India, China and Japan, Africa in Africa and America, and all the South Seas and Indian South America,-- all that vast mass of men who have felt the oppression and insults, the slavery and exploition of white folk will say: I told you so! There is no faith in them even toward each other. They do not beleive in Christianity and they will never voluntarily recognize the essentialityx equality of human beings or surrender the idea of dominating the majority of men for their own selfish ends. Japan was right. They only path to freedom and equality is force and force to the uttermost. Nor will this indefensible aggression , prove to the dark peoples their weekness; rather it will point the path to strength: understanding between Japan and China, would of Asia impossible, but the conquest ofof Europe possible. India need no longer hesitate between passive a nd rebellion. Even Africa will realize that Europe holds Africa in leash today mainly with African troops, a religion of humility, vauge hopes and skillfully encouraged jealousies

One of these days, the very troops by which Europe holds Africa, ~~are going to~~ cease to play the part so long assigned them. It only needs the guiding thought and the great leader. And then with all thatEurope can do in airplane, tank and war guns, let the world r member that a group of determined black men, armed even partially with modern technique, could take their stand on the snow-swept heights of Ethiopia, within sight of the Equator, and in the midst of the black world, and shake the centers of European imperialism.

Suppose, however, that turning from this dreer and age- old prospect of blood and waste, we contemplate the possibility that Ethiopia, helped by courage, and terrain , secret European sympathy or even revolution in Italy, succeeds in repulsing Italy or even holding her months in check. This does not now seem probable, but it is possible. The result would be a grim chorus from the dark worlds: the spell of Europe is broken. It is the beginning of the end. Europe can no longer depend on brute force to make serfs of Yellow, Black and Brown.

Such reasoning may be fallacious and fail to accord Europe and the white race due credit for bringing the mass of men into the circle of human culture. Yet its logic is inevitabe: Italy has forced the world into a position that, win race hate will increase. And if Ethiopia is not defeated , the white world will receive a check comparable to the defeat of Russia by Japan.

Finally, if as now seems incredible, but is not beyond possibility, the better public opinion of the white world, and its obvious interests, absolutely refuses to allow this brazen public banditry to proceed; if England, France and America hold Italians firmly in

check without too deadly impairment of Ethiopian independence; if the Pope of Rome refuses further to quibble and Protestant missions insist on practising their preaching, wile Pacifists fight for Peace-- in this improbable event, a new hope and faith will course through the veins of men; a new patience with selfishness and wrong; a new hatred the stupidity of war and a new urge to Humanity.

38-15-28

more and more drowned in the black blood from the South, which ever threatened and gave them sanctuary. This southern land, called from the beginning "Ethiopia", had its surging boundaries finally fastened at the First Cataret, until these gates became an opening and refuge when Egypt retreated before Persia; and Ethiopia, eventually became a new and conquering Egypt which ruled the Nile valley from Napata and was the greatest power in the western world from 750 to 600 B.C.

But Asia and the Desert pressed South again, until at Meroe, 500 further miles South and 500 years later Ethiopia developed a new capital and new dynasties which resisted the power of Greece, Rome and Arabia. Then the land of the Blacks crumpled again, before black foes sweeping in from the forests of the west, before the New Mohammedanism pressing relentlessly down from the north, before the ever encroaching desert.

Ethiopia again retreating took her stand with her back against the last great ramparts of the east - the Hills of Abyssinia. Here the black hordes of the region of the Great Lakes had been infiltrated with Semitic blood from the shores of the Red Sea, where Asiatic upheavels drove Jews and Arabs before them and hurled remnants on the African shores. The trading station at Axum, near modern Adowa was a gateway for merchants and brought Ethiopia and Abyssinia in contact.

This kingdom took its name, "Abyssinia", from a Semitic tribe, "Habesh"; but the people of Habesh were neither contented nor safe in being simply Abyssinians. Trade and defense forced them toward ancient Ethiopia, and they disputed with the Arabs and Nubians over the domination of the island of Meroe. Here they claimed sovereignty as early as 356 A.D., and actually destroyed the capital a century later. Greek and Roman influence filtered into Abyssinia from the East, and trade made Axum flourish. Myths of its obscure origin began to arise: the Jewish myth of descent of its royal house from Solomon; the Negro myth of its descent from Aethiopis, whose tomb was pointed out at Axum.

The new Christian religion came to Abyssinia in the Fourth Century after Christ, and thus a third great center of Christianity, in contrast to Rome and Constantinople, was established. Then came the red wave of conquest from the North, and the history of Abyssinia becomes dim and shadowy. As Gibbons has written, "Encompassed by her enemies, Ethiopia slept a thousand years, forgetful of the world by whom she was forgotten.

23-15-63

It was not until the 16th century that the Portuguese again brought Abyssinia to the attention of the world, by locating there the source of the legend of Prester John, that ghostly Christian ruler, who during the Middle Ages was supposed to be reigning in Africa or India..

Abyssinia from early times was divided into a number of great districts, each administered by an hereditary chief called a Ras. Over these chiefs ruled a Negus, called "King of Kings". When this overlord was a strong man, he ruled a powerful country. When he was weak, there was anarchy and confusion.

29-15-64

Such a period of disintegration was in progress about the middle of the 19th Century under Johannes; but he was succeeded in 1855 by the Emperor Theodore, a gifted, ruthless man, who came to the throne at the time when European imperialism was being organized and stretching out inquiring hands toward Asia and Africa. Scientists, trades, missionaries and adventurers wandered into Abyssinia. Theodore was well-disposed toward Europeans, and curious about their countries, but inevitable misunderstanding occurred, both in matters of etiquette and religion. "I know the tactics of European governments," said the observing Theodore, "when they try to acquire an Eastern state. First, they send out missionaries; then consuls to support the missionaries; then battalions to support the consuls. I am not a Rajah of Hindustan to be made mock of in that way."

Theodore needed alliance and friendship with Europe, if they came to him on honorable terms, to help organize his kingdom and beat back the threatened domination of Turks and Egyptians. He considered himself insulted, however, when the British and others after making fair promises, forgot all about him and ignored his overtures; in angry retaliation he seized and imprisoned the British minister and other Europeans.

Thereupon, in 1867, the British taking advantage of a rebellion sent Napier with an army of 12,000 men to invade Abyssinia. Theodore was surrounded in his capital where the British troops with superior rifles killed two thousand Abyssinians, while losing only 20 whites. Theodore surrendered and released the prisoners, but Napier had promised the rebel chiefs to degrade and dethrone him. The English artillery opened fire on Magdala and Theodore shot himself dead. His body was allowed to be mutilated by a mob, while

Napier received a peerage. Anarchy ensued in Abyssinia between 1868 and 1872, with two rival claimants to the throne, Johannes of Tigre and Menelik of Shoa.

This is historically the land that in 1935 came suddenly to the world's attention as a threat of imminent World War, as a test of international agreements, as a curious crisis in the Christian religion. How did this come about?

Italy became a united nation at the time when modern international imperialism was just beginning. Its outlines were clear in the British Empire whose wide colonial ~~empire~~ dominion was becoming an imperial domain for investing capital in cheap colored labor. Germany had as yet no colonial dream and France had lost hers. Italy had ~~two~~ too pressing problems of unification and the Catholic church to make wider plans, but she had a tradition - almost she was hampered by a tradition of Imperial Rome. And if modern Rome had a claim to any part of the world which was not hers, it was surely to Carthage or modern Tunis. France blundered into possession of Algiers as early as 1830 and at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, Bismark and Salisbury offered her Tunis as a consolation prize after Sedan.

The scramble for Africa began and imperial industry took cleaner, firmer outlines. France and England took dual control of Egypt in 1876. In 1881 France seized Tunis and England lost possession of Egypt. Italy was aroused. Despite her poverty and internal problems she felt forced to imperial aggression. In 1882 she seized Eritrea, a part of the natural coast line of Abyssinia but England and France blocked her further extension south, and it was not until 1892 that she joined England + Germany in the loot of Zanzibar and got Italian Somaliland.

These imperial ventures of Italy had little significance. The Abyssinnian ~~bystanders~~ highlanders cared little about the coast and took no note of its seizure; but the whole situation changed when native rebellion arose in Egypt and the Sudan.

Egypt was groaning under the debt which had been deliberately encouraged by France and England. Her rulers, who had squandered the proceeds, sought to keep up the interest by ruinous and exhaustive taxation. In desperation, the natives rebelled. Ahmed Arabi, a mulatto colonel, led a successful revolt but the English turned their guns upon Alexandria and defeated Araby. This left the former rulers in nominal control of the

whole of Egypt but in actual control of the Sudan, while the English held the real power along the Lower Nile.

The Araby rebellion had its echo in the Sudan. In 1878, the mulatto Rabah had swept through the Bahr-El-Ghazel and the regions south of Lake Chad. Then there arose a greater leader and a vaster motif. Mohammed Ahmed, son of a priest in Dongola, had established headquarters 150 miles above Khartum. He was a tall, broad-shouldered, majestic black man, with great eyes. He had visions. Disciples gathered around him, and eventually he proclaimed himself the Mahdi, the Messiah of the Mohammedan revelation.

38-15-66

The country, groaning under misrule, went into the throes of a religious crusade against Egypt. A holy war was proclaimed, and a strong army organized. The Mahdi put down blasphemy, feasting, drinking, smoking and swearing. Thousands followed him. The Egyptians in 1883 sent an army of 10,000 under the Englishman, Hicks Pasha. They were annihilated, with only 300 left alive. Kordofan, Dafur and the Bahr-El-Ghazel surrendered. Only a German, Emin Pasha, still upheld Egyptian power down in the Equatorial provinces next to Uganda. By the end of 1883, the Mahdi was master of a territory equal to Spain, France and Germany, and his army was closing in on Khartum, the capital of the Sudan . Ancient Ethiopia lived again.

England hesitated. She still had the liberal tradition and Gladstone even went so far as to say that the Sudanese were "rightly struggling to be free". But his "little Englanders" were fighting growing and expanding imperialism and as Chamberlain put it - "Empire is Commerce".

The scramble for Africa was bitter. England was encroaching upon the Portuguese colonies; Germany had appeared in the field; France was at work in North Africa. France, England and Italy had seized the coast of Abyssinia, and in the vast Valley of the Congo, comprising the whole center of Africa, little Belgium had proposed an international state. An European conference to settle the rules of the game for the further looting of Africa seemed necessary. It came together in Berlin in November, 1884, and lasted through February, 1885. The Congo was recognized not as an international state but as the personal property of the King of Belgium. Certain rules of procedure for the further seizure of Africa were adopted, and before the conference was ended, the German Colonial

Party forced Bismark's hand, seized Zanzibar and East Africa, and Germany appeared as a full-fledged African colonial power.

In the midst of this, the imperialists forced Gladstone to make Chinese Gordon Governor of the Sudan, and Gordon, a tippling fanatic with fits of courage and murder, sought by every subterfuge to force Gladstone to conquer the Sudan. The bluff failed, Gordon died and Gladstone was reviled as a murderer and traitor.

Khartoum fell. For thirteen years, the Mahdi and his successor, the Khalifa, ruled ~~in the Sudan~~. Thus, the whole of the Sudan was lost to Egypt and England. The Egyptian garrisons on the northern border of Abyssinian were finally withdrawn in 1886, and French, British and Italian possessions on the coast were in danger of being overwhelmed by the Mahdi.

38-15-67

The English Tories, returned to power in June 1885, did not dare attack the Mahdi, and resorted to a web of diplomacy which entangles England today. She signed a treaty of alliance with Johannes II of Abyssinia and thus enlisted his aid to keep the Mahdi from the coast. Turning on top of this she suggested that Italy seize the port of Massowah which belonged to Abyssinia. To hand over to the Italians Massowah which belonged to the Abyssinians, and to which Italy had no shadow of claim, was an extraordinary breach of faith. Italy proceeded to take Massowah, as Giolitti says, as "a consolation prize", having been cheated out of Tunis, held back in Tripoli; out-manoeuvered both at the Congress of Berlin and the Berlin Conference; as well as losing her chance to participate in Egypt.

Once having placed her foot in Massowah, Italy proceeded to make alliance with Johannes' chief enemy, Menelik of Shoa, a pretender to the Abyssinian throne. Johannes found himself between two enemies, Italy and the Khalifa, and eventually was killed in battle by the latter in 1889. Immediately, Menelik proclaimed himself King of Kings, and in May signed with the Italians the celebrated treaty of Uccialli.

To prove his gratitude to the Italians for their alliance and help with the armies, Menelik ceded Italy the territory which they had already seized. But the Italians, drunk with new ambition, swept on, calmly crossed into Abyssinia, and toward the end of 1889, seized Adowa, while Menelik was busily subduing his enemies. They even penetrated

into the Harrar, the trading region inland from the coast, thus coming into direct dispute, not only with Abyssinia, but with the claims of France and Great Britain. Thereupon, France and Great Britain made a secret treaty which allowed them to oppose Italy's advance if they pleased; a treaty which again put Great Britain in the unenviable position of "double-crossing" Italy, just as they had previously deceived Abyssinia.

This looked like a rare opportunity for German imperialism. Between German East Africa and the Egyptian Sudan, lay the great territory of Uganda, where Catholics, Protestants and Mohammedans had been merily cutting each others throats in their efforts to convert the heathen. The Germans pushed warily up into this country, while shut up in the Equatorial provinces of the Sudan was the German, Emin Pasha. Germany determined to rescue him, while England spent $145,000 on the Stanley expedition. Both nations were seeking to fall heir to Egypt in Central Africa. England ~~and Stanley~~ arrived first, in 1888, and found Emin, at first unwilling to be "rescued." He wanted to hold these provinces and turn them over to Germany. The Khalifa, however, was pressing him hard, and when Stanley appeared ~~in 1888,~~ Emin, finally reluctantly followed him, and they met Karl Peters and the German expedition which had been busily engaged in making treaties with the local chiefs for German expansion. Emin, with his black wife and mulatto daughter, finally arrived at Zanzibar, where he accepted the post under the German administration in East Africa.

Meantime, the stage was set for Italy's final coup. In the seventeenth clause of the Treaty of Uccialli, there arose a characteristic misunderstanding. The Abyssinian text, which was the only one actually signed, said: "His Majesty, the King of Kings of Ethiopia, shall be at liberty to avail himself of the Italian government for any negotiations which he may enter into with other powers or governments." The Italian translation, which was made in Italy, said: "His Majesty, the King of Kings of Ethiopia, consents to avail himself of the Italian government for any negotiations which he may enter into with other powers or governments."

The treaty was signed May 2, 1889. October 12, 1889, Crispi notified the powers by circular letter under the general act of the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 that Abyssinia was an Italian protectorate. On May 5, 1894, he signed agreements with England in which England recognized Abyssinia as an Italian protectorate. A map of Africa by

treaty was published in 1894, with the sanction of the Englished Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in which this rape of Abyssinia was recognized.

But both England and Italy had reckoned without their host. There is no doubt but that the Treaty of Uccialli was a clumsy forgery of the same sort that had previously transferred sovereignty of a larger part of Africa from black men to white. Menelik, however, did not choose to submit. He not only denounced the treaty but he took up arms. He declared by proclamation: "Ethiopia has need of no one. She stretched out her hands to none but God."

The French supplied ~~Menelik~~ these hands willingly with arms and munitions. The forces of Italy and Ethiopia met at Adowa, and Italy's army of 100,000 was annihilated March 1, 1896.

38-1569

Suddenly, the headwaters of the Nile, the Nile Valley, and Egypt, the domination of the Red Sea, the path from the Cape-to-Cairo, all these were in the hands of black men, —the black dervishes of the Sudan, and Menelik II, King of the Kings of Ethiopia and Emperor of Abyssinia. An English officer wrote: "If I were the Mahdi, I would make Egypt pay for every quart of water that runs down the Nile."

With Abyssinia in Italian hands, the British would have been willing to wait in order to clinch their eventual domination of the Nile Valley. She had in 1894 annexed Uganda, thus definitely curbing German expansion in East Africa. In 1895, the Jameson raid had taken place in South Africa as the first step toward a war destined to crush the Dutch and make South Africa a British province. The cape-to-Cairo idea, fostered by Chamberlain and Cecil Rhodes, had seized the imagination of the empire. An agreement with Leopold of Belgium even secured a perpetual lease of a large bloc of territory at the headwaters of the Nile, and filled in the gap between the Great Lakes. This so alarmed the French that this lease was eventually cancelled.

The French, thereupon, took a forward step, and determined to push from French Africa eastward to the Nile and send a French expedition through Abyssinia westward to the Nile, and establish claims which cut off the hinterland of Tripoli even if Italy annexed it, which she had long planned to do. Menelik gave aid and comfort, and in 1894, made a concession to the French to build a railway from Djibuti through the Harrar to Addis Abbaba and the White Nile. French officers trained the Abyssinian army. Great Britain warned France

that she calimed the whole of the Nile Valley and would consider any attempt to dispute this claim as an unfriendly act. Paris, hesitated, and the Abyssinian expedition was called off.

But the Battle of Adowa changed the whole situation. Italy could no longer pull English chestnuts out of the first, and French plans were manifest. Salisbury, again at the English helm, moved quickly. March 5, the news of Adowa reached England, and March 12, England suddenly learned that Chinese Gordon was a Christian martyr, who had been murdered by heathen. She ordered the conquest of the Sudan. Kitchener, with Maxim-Nordenfeldt guns, moved up the Nile. He captured Khartum in September, and ordered the tomb of the dead Mahdi publicly desecrated.

38-15-70

England was not a minute too soon. That very month, Marchand, the Frenchman, was at Fashoda awaiting the French and Abyssinian expeditions from Abyssinia. Indeed, one Abyssinian expedition under a royal prince had already reached the river but had been decimated by fever. The other expedition under a French commander did not materialize. For a moment, the world stood still with World War in the air.

The French had dispatched Captain Marchand to the French Congo April 25, with instructions to march to the White Nile. They again arranged an Abyssinian expedition to join him. The idea was that the two expeditions should meet on the Nile and establish a French claim to the Upper Valley of the Nile. When Kitchener arrived, he would find the French and Abyssinians stretched across the Cape-to-Cairo path. The Abyssinian expedition failed through the negligence of the French governor of Djibuti. When Marchand reached Fashoda in 1898, there was no fortress and no expedition of French and Abyssinians from the east to support him. Kitchener proceeded south to meet Marchand and a small body of Senegalese soldiers. The sympathies of the world were with Marchand. War was imminent. But the French fleet was not equal to the British and the French army at Fashoda was greatly inferior to the British army. March 21, 1899, an Anglo-French declaration was issued, which gave the Nile Valley to Great Britain.

Imperial Italy remained intensely dissatisfied. Her treatment by France in the matter of Tunis and Tripoli, and by England, in the case of Abyssinia, threw her into the arms of Germany and Austria, and she became part of the Triple Alliance. By taking Tripoli from Turkey in 1911-

[HANDS OF ETHIOPIA?]

"Princes shall come out of Egypt. Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." Did the Jewish singer see King & Capitalist here condemned?

Prince & Banefactor
No & look again, Reader. The hands of Ethiopia are stretched in helpfulness to a disenchanted world. What is the Problem of Problems Today but Democracy beating itself helplessly against the Color Line. — Surely, foaming & hurt
seeking, Lynch? What is the horror of Destruction of Arms & Capital but to keep Democracy thus forever
the walled back that may build world Kingdoms of greed on black & brown & yellow slavery? What made the maddest dreams of the Reactionaries & the American abolitionists unattainable save the eternal degradation of the Black. and & the grim
Canal might stretch hands of Ethiopia beckoning
~~to a lonely Invisible~~ God.

not only & the still submerged masses of most everywhere & the lonely disbanged Thinkers but even also & an agonized god.

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Louisville Apr 15
1936

RACE SEGREGATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO EDUCATION
By W. E. B. Du Bois

One of the difficulties of getting at the whole truth about this world is the extraordinary number of its contradictions and paradoxes. They are so puzzling that there is always temptation to settle them by denying or ignoring opposite truths. We continually assert, passionately and fiercely, that certain things are so, when we know perfectly well that they are contradicted by facts which cannot be hidden or denied.

32-1-5

One of the world's great philosophers, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, tried to express this situation and bring a higher and more comprehensive understanding of the world by his celebrated Thesis, Anthithesis and Synthesis; that is; the statement of a great truth; the rise out of that truth of another truth which seems and does contradict the first truth; and then finally, an explanation and combination of these two contradictory aspects of Truth which brings ultimate synthesis and understanding.

32-1-5

The Hegelean dialectic thus expressed has been long discredited as a complete method of explaining the universe, but it till has its practical and intriguing value in clearing up human paradox; and there is a certain higher verity in the fact that one great universally admitted truth continually gives rise to an absolutely contradictory fact; and that in after years, the two become reconciled and understandable in a vast illuminating synthesis.

I want to illustrate this rather abstract introduction by bringing to your minds two contradictory and paradoxical theses: first, let us take the conception of Humanity; of human progress, increasing happiness, peace and good will toward all men. It is a magnificent conception and it calls for the razing of every artificial barrier between human beings. It is a dream of "no segregation", full and sympathetic contact between human beings, knowledge of them and effort toward the greatest and widest human development. It recognizes that hitherto in the world great men, transcendant ability, genius and character, prosperous groups and great families, have been almost accidental in their appearance because of lack of opportunity for developing ability in the masses of men. It believes that the vast majority of mankind are capable of broad education and

32-11-6

culture; that they can achieve and create, and that where with the accidental opportunities of today we have ten great men in science, art and philanthropy, we might easily have ten thousand if all children, for instance, had the attention and care that the Dionne quintuplets are receiving; if we really had universal education of children in small classes with full equipment, under thoroughly educated and carefully selected and deeply devoted teachers; if we had family and social surroundings which would encourage the human soul to blossom and expand and express itself; if every individual and family had work reasonably suited to his ability, and an income which would support him in health and decency, with leisure for recreation and further development.

The doctrine of humanity confines itself to no country, continent or race. It welcomes to human brotherhood black, white, yellow and brown; American, Englishmen, Frenchmen; Japanese, Chinese and Africans. It touches and emphasizes the history and contributions of all people; it exalts no man and no group and no race or nation at the expense of it fellows; and it utterly repudiates the barbarous idea that men must rise by enslaving or insulting, or robbing or murdering their fellows. It finds warrant for all this in the teachings of every great religion, every great Christ, every great Leader: in Christianity, in Buddhism among the followers of Mohammed, and evenin the practical precepts of Fetich.

Moreover, no human dream has had more startling and encouraging results. A doctrine of broad humanity has abolished slavery and serfdom; has attempted universal education and has fought poverty and disease; is back of the missionary movement and the International Red Cross, and is the main spring of all philanthropy and social uplift. It has sponsored and is sponsoring today international and inter-racial movements in almost every realm of human activity: in government and law, in commerce and education, in postal and telegraph service, in radio broadcasting, in scientific experimentation, in public health, in trade unions, copyrights, trademarks, weights and measures and Olympic games. It has been emphasized in dozens of international expositions and international conventions. It has been attempted in the League of Nations, and the movement for world peace, and even in something like a Church Universal. It is the broadest and most splendid vision of mankind and it opposes and must logically oppose all artificial separation

of human beings by barriers of race or color, of wealth or geography. It demands not a unity of identity and slavish regimentation, but finds the glory of civilisation in the freedom and variety of mankind, in the development of genius and art along all lines, and not simply in accordance with ideals of a few. It especially recognizes that human culture is diffused and enriched by human contact. That social contact always was the key to civilization. I know that my own education has been broader and fuller because of the varieties of human beings with whom I have sat in classrooms and worked at scientific tasks and known and lived with. I have gone to school with white students and black students, yellow and brown. I have had friends in England, France, Germany, Spain and Italy. I have worked with Africans and West Indians, Chinese, Japanese and East Indians. I have in this had a priceless opportunity to understand mankind in most of its chief varieties and many of its most illuminating experiences. In the last month, I have talked and conferred and argued with South Africans, East Africans, Nigerians, West Indians, Englishmen, Dutchmen, Jews and Germans. The finest and broadest education can only be built up through such many sided contacts.

This is the great World Thesis which every civilized man recognizes as the

broadest vision of our day.

Yet stretched beside it, contradicting it and confusing it, stands the Antithesis, as Hegel would say, born out of the very Thesis and expressing a terrible Truth which today cannot be denied or ignored or set aside. Behold, for instance, the Negroes of Kentucky. On this dark and bloody ground, they have passed through a development which denies and sneers at human unity and yet typifies and exhibits the most moving passions and efforts of the human soul. This dark and bloody ground belonged to Indians and then was claimed as the heritage of pioneering white men. It became a great endowment for democratic institutions. This free and fertile land was going to mean for the new democracy of the West the abolition of poverty, equality of income, and such breadth of opportunity as would make Americans the richest people on earth in the finest sense of riches. And yet, no sooner did the pioneers set foot upon this gift of God, than they brought black slaves with them and imported into Kentucky an institution which denied every democratic principle upon which their ideals were based. For a brief time, between 1792 and 1799, they allowed black men who were free to vote, and they then did away with even this concession to fairness and logic. They at first filled Kentucky with slaves to raise tobacco, and then made it a breeding ground for human beings to pour slaves into the cotton belt. In the years between 1833 and 1840, it has been estimated that Kentucky exported sixty thousand slaves, and while this total may be too large, certainly it is true, that just as Kansas today exports hogs, so in the fifties Kentucky was exporting Negroes at the rate of from two thousand to five thousand a year. Louisville became the center of the slave trade, especially to supply the newly opening Texas, and in each of five Louisville directories, between 1836-1860, there were from 7-81 dealers engaged chiefly in buying and selling slaves. Moreover, it was not simply a matter of selling adult slaves. John S. Young of 74 Fifth Street advertised in 1849: "I will pay fair cash prices for some thirty or forty Negroes from the age of ten to twenty-five years old, male and female."

Lexington had the best equipped slave markets in the state. The whole sordid

drama of fugitive slaves was enacted here with the Ohio River as the boundary line between slavery and freedom. When the Civil War came, Negroes were used by both Confederate and Union troops until the clear promise of freedom from the Northern troops sent the mass of the Negroes into the Union lines and helped to win the war. It was Kentucky that refused desperately to the last ditch to ratify the 13th Amendment, and yet the Negroes stove with every weapon to achieve freedom, to vote, to work. In Frankfort in 1870, came the great convention which was refused the right to meet in the legislative halls. Planters and capitalists tried to import Chinese and foreign labor, and here in Louisville in 1869, two hundred and fifty Negro delegates came together to discuss their political and economic rights, as well as their schools, and to help the ratification of the 15th Amendment, and the purchase of real estate. With the help of Negro labor, the prosperity of the state was restored, and by 1871, the crops had reached the pre-war level. Despite this tragedy of strife and separation, slavery and human barter, war and social uplift, we have today still a group largely segregated and apart, with their separate schools and separate churches, separate sections of cities where they live, concentrated in certain parts of the state, segregated in their travel and in their social life. Especially are they discriminated against today in their right to employment and to reasonable wages, and in their opportunity to do the work which they are fitted to do. They typify a condition true of eight million Negroes in the South and to a degree true of four other millions in the North. American Negroes illustrate a philosophy definitely and passionately believed the world over, and so strong and impregnable today that no one sitting in this room tonight will witness its entire disappearance or even indubitable beginnings of such disappearance.

This philosophy is a doctrine of separation; of walls and barriers between human beings. It is illustrated perhaps better than anywhere else in Europe. Europe is a land about the size of the United States. It is the smallest of the continents, yet it is the center of modern civilization; a land of extraordinary beauty and interests, from the snows of Norway to the Bay of Naples, from the castles of Spain to the forests and steps of Russia. There are great rivers and magnificent cities; there are museums

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and universities; there are works of art, showing the finest genius of all mankind. To visit Europe, even for a brief time, is a liberal education. No one can see and forget the boulevards of Paris, the dark winding of Piccadilly, Princess Street, Edinburgh, the Unter den Linden of Berlin. No one who has seen the Alps at Berne, the Cathedral at Milan, the Alhambra at Granada, or the golden domes of Moscow, can ever afterward be quite the same. And yet this continent consists of a dozen countries whose frontiers bristle with guns and fortifications, with repressive legislation, and hostile customs. This land has just emerged from a war which left ten million dead men and twenty million wounded and cost some three thousand millions of dollars.

"The total cost of the war would finance a $100,000 hospital and medical dispensary in each of the three million villages, towns and cities of the entire earth--and still leave 37 billion dollars with which to endow medical research.

"The interest on 337 billion dollars at five per cent would itself be sufficient to provide salaries of approximately $1,500 per year for four teachers in each of these three million communities.

"The combined cost of the war would make available a revolving fund of nearly six billion dollars for each of the sixty nations out of which to provide the maintenance of an inclusive scheme of social insurance, covering all risks of sickness, accidents, old age, widowhood, maternity, and unemployment for the entire population. The interest alone would provide 500 million dollars annually for each of the fifteen nations with the largest populations, 300 millions for the next fifteen, 200 millions for the next fifteen, and 100 millions each for the smallest fifteen." (National Defense, Kirby Page, p. 170.)

Today, Europe is spending money at the rate of thousands of millions of dollars a year to prepare for another such effort at human suicide. In the nations of Europe, as in the [redacted] nations of the world, there has grown up a patriotism which not simply lauds one's own country, but lauds each country at the expense of all other countries. It regards other lands with something which is at least suspicion, and at greatest, the most immeasureable contempt. Lands essentially one are split and separated by language and and habit and their written history. Even science embraces the contradictory idea that

the French are less than the Germans, and the Germans less than the French; the English greater than the Italians, and the Italians better than the Greeks; the Hungarians superior to the Austrians, and the Spaniards finer than the Rumanians. Every school boy is compelled, not simply to regard his country as the best on earth, but to promise to defend it with his life, whether the country is right or wrong; and to be willing and eager to suppress truth, even if that suppression contradicts history and common sense.

This patriotism extends to a racial loyalty, whereby the dominant races of the world write history and philosophy to show that the world is what it is, simply because of the power and ability of certain races, and that all decadence is due to race mixture and all civilization to race purity; all this in face of the fact that there isn't a single pure race on earth. We do not need to ask how this philosophy has spread to America; how it defended and sustained human slavery and defends color caste today, and how it is made not simply a criterion of truth, but a way of eternal salvation.

Moreover, this passionate provincialism which most men believe in today has had notable and undeniable results. It has sustained and inspired men; it has emancipated groups and individuals who never dreamed of their own importance and possibilities until the group taught them that they must. There was a time when Germany was nothing in the eyes of the world, and yet through war and struggle and hatred, she came to be oneof the great nations of the earth. Nothing has so transformed and uplifted the poor whites of the South as hatred and fear of the Negro. There was a time in the United States when neither white people nor Negroes themselves thought that black people could be educated; or were worth educating; when there were no Negro teachers, physicians, lawyers nor scientists; when there were few free black workers or any belief that there could be more; when there were no Negro schools nor Negro churches, except such imitations as white people furnished.

And yet, out of race segregation and compulsory degradation, arose a new loyalty, a new confidence, a new determination, which has welded the black people of the United States into a nation within a nation, whose development has become one of the wonders of modern history and is not yet really begun. And before us lies whether we will or no, long years and centuries of separation from other human beings; when we must develop our

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abilities, concentrate our strength, and increase our powers of knowledge and self-defense.

Here, now, stand Thesis and the Antithesis. There is no use denying either set of facts. The union of humanity is the greatest ideal of our time, and the development of mutually hating and warring races and nations is the only apparent present method of developing human beings. What are we going to do about it? It is a fantastic fact. It is a contradiction of logic and religion. We try to gloss it over. We say that race separation in the United States is growing less and is going rapidly to disappear. It is not growing less. It has changed. Its incidence varies largely; its results today are far different and its walls of great different materials and causes and excuses; but the walls of prejudice, as prejudice and separation, are as solid in 1936 as they were in 1836.

We shrink and hesitate to admit this. We whistle to keep our courage and try often to refrain from further racial organization and concentration of effort and development within our race, asserting that the ideal in the United States is one citizenship regardless of race, and that we should not ourselves increase the very discrimination against which we are fighting. And yet despite everything we say, we are every day compelled to go further in segregation.

When I was in a white Northern college, the thought of separately organizing for social or other purposes the Negro students in such colleges, was abhorrent. It was admitting the principle of segregation. But what happened? Today, we have a dozen Negro fraternities represented in practically all colleges, white and colored, and we had to have them, or else go without social life and without the inspiration of our fellows when we were increasingly cut off from contact with our white fellow students, because the segregation which we on our own initiative develop and transform into co-operation and internal strength is absolutely different from the segregation which white America forces upon us with the object of making us weak and pliable and tokeep us in our places.

For us, race segregation is not an End, it is a means. We repudiate it as an End. We embrace it and use it as a means of breaking down the very thing it aims

at--our degradation and want. For white folk race segreation is not a means, but an end; a method of isolating us so as to save themselves from either knowledge or contamination.

Using, therefore, segregation not as an end, but as a means, our path is increasingly clear before us. It admits of no hesitation and contradiction. Its clarity is illustrated by one historic example which I cannot refrain from repeating.

St. George's Church in Philadelphia at Fourth and Vine Streets was a great Methodist Church. The Methodists rather prided themselves that they had followed Jesus Christ rather more fully than the Episcopalians in dealing with slavery. The Church of England had met many difficulties in inducing masters to send their slaves to church. The Methodists had invited them in. St. George's had grown to be the most popular church in Philadelphia. But in 1787, there had begun to pour into the city a large number of freed slaves from Pennsylvania with some fugitive slaves from Delaware and Maryland. So that the number of black folk who worshipped God in St. George's brought difficulties. They were not cultivated; they were not always clean; their manners were not the best. They were, nevertheless, welcomed there until it seemed to the good people of St. George's that something had to be done about this influx of dark Christians.

One Sunday morning two black men were on their knees praying, when the verger tapped them on the shoulder and courteously asked them to continue their prayers in the gallery.

Immediately a problem was presented to these men. Richard Allen was a man of good repute, a leader in a colored group of honest, God-fearing men. He didn't like this sort of thing. He hesitated as to what he should do about it. He knew he had not been asked to go to the gallery simply by the man who tapped him on the shoulder. Undoubtedly it was the decision of the church. He asked to be allowed to finish his prayer and then promised that he would leave and would not come again.

Not all the Negroes agreed. Some said: "What of it? They can worship in the gallery just as well." Most of them had never been used to anything else. If they were told to go to the gallery, they went. These Negroes stayed in St. George's

Church. Their descendants are still Methodists and number 26,130 members, but they form separate congregations with black ministers and black bishops, and they are the one reason why the Methodist Church South and the Methodist Church cannot today find enough religion to unite them in one great Methodist body.

The little group with Richard Allen and Absolom Jones did not go to the gallery. They walked out of the church and then sat down and thought about where they were going to worship.

They formed a little organization with some insurance features and discussed the future after they had voluntarily segregated themselves from the white congregation. They differed in opinion. One part was invited to form a church under the Episcopalians. Their leader, Absolom Jones, was made rector of the church; but he was never allowed to meet with the white ministers. His group formed a church, but it was a church apart from the other churches. That church has grown; similar churches have grown, until you have 51,502 colored Episcopalians in 7,299 churches in the United States. But the segregation of these churches from white churches has never disappeared.

The men under Richard Allen were not satisfied with this. They said, "We are not going to accept segregated membership in any church. We are going to have our own church." They formed the African Methodist Episcopal Church. This church today has 545,814 members in 6,708 churches. It is a Negro organization, with Negro bishops, and owns 32 millions of dollars worth of property.

Thus, it made no difference in its early days whether Negroes accepted segregation or not. They were segregated and are today.

We have got to develop our own residential sections and homes in sheer self-defense against crime and disease in slums. We have got to make our Negro schools the very best schools possible because no price, even of humiliation and discrimination, is too much to pay for knowledge and the best training of our children. We have got to go even further than we have gone in demanding for these schools not simply decent buildings and civilized salaries, but a voice in the allocation of educational funds; the appoint-

ment of teachers; the selection of textbooks, and a share in the duties and powers of superintendence, and state support of professional and higher education. This is not less segregation; it is more; and it is today absolutely unassailable.

What, now, is the Synthesis of this Thesis and Antithesis? How are we going to reconciliate these two points of view? Suffice it to say: they cannot be immediately reconciled. As a practical program, we have got to face and emphasize things as they are and not as they should be. Today, the Negro in the United States has got to emphasize and take advantage of segregation, not simply in education, but particularly he has got to organize more thoroughly his economic life, and he must do this not because he thinks that segregation is best, but because knowing it is the worst thing for this nation and world, he nevertheless knows, too, that it is the only way to serve his group and to develop that power and self-respect without which no pepple can survive today.

On the other hand, beside the practical facts and the immediate and inescapable program, lies deep value and force in spiritual attitude and determined allegiance and Truth and Ideal. We must not worship segregation; we must not for a single second in Eternity call Evil good. The Negro can and must have a clear vision of the ultimate necessity of human union, tolerance and contact. While he builds and teaches and makes efficient Negro schools, he can know that ideal education is absolutely without segregation as to class or race, either among students or teachers. And while he knows that years, if not centuries, must pass by before this ideal can be realized, he need never give up the ideal. Effectual human unity through present diversity can come so long as human eyes remain set toward the morning and humanears hear the singing of the stars. Emphasis continually must change: increased segregation here, increased insistance upon race loyalty and confidence when survival demands, and yet readiness at any time to follow the ideal of one world for all men, whenever and wherever and in whatever degree this ideal becomes real.

Applying specifically to our problem of Negro education, perhaps we can find synthesis of our paradoxin a statement like this: the greatest duty of Negro schools

is to educate white folk; to educate them in a realisation of how efficient Negro teachers can be; of how well Negro students can learn, and how fine an organization can be set up by Negro people. This education of white Americans can lead and will lead and should be designed to lead, to a time when such a thing as a Negro school will be anachronism and the silly waste of money and effort in separate school systems will be a thing of the past; a thing to forget along with War and Protective Tariffs and Poverty and race superiority. Work for the Negro race in school and home, in knowledge and power, in pride and aspiration, is work for the races and nations of the world and for their enlightenment in the ideal of one humanity in which there is no discrimination or segregation based merely on race or color. This is the Synthesis of our current Thesis and Antithesis of contradiction and paradox in the race problem.

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COLORED CAPITAL AND LABOR

by W. E. B. Du Bois

The Amsterdam News ceased publication last month and went into the hands of a receiver. In itself this was a comparatively unimportant occurrence. This weekly newspaper published by colored people in New York City had a circulation of less than 50,000. It was not the best nor most widely read of the Negro papers; but it was enterprising in its news gathering and it had a bright set of young writers who gave spice and interest to its columns.

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It ceased publication because of a strike of its editorial writers. This strike aroused a good deal of interest, partly because it was one of the first successful strikes of the new American Newspaper Writers' Guild and attracted the support of a million members of labor unions in New York City beside the efforts of the mayor and of the principal officials and citizens of Harlem.

More than that, it posed a new and interesting problem of colored capitalists hiring colored laborers; and it was seized upon by radical thinkers, white and colored, as forecasting a division of labor and capital across the Color Line in such a way as to foretell a time when the Color Line would be more or less obliterated by class lines between laborers and capitalists.

There have been weekly colored papers in New York for more than a century and regularly during the last fifty years. For twenty-five years there have been two or three such papers, the oldest, the New York Age, which is over fifty years old, and another, the Amsterdam News, which is more than 25 years old. The News began as the venture of a man with only fair education, little or no capital, but considerable push who carried it on with some success for ten or fifteen years. Then it became the property of a corporation which made the paper the most widely read colored journal in the Northeast. At one time, it was published three times a week and thought seriously of becoming a daily. Later, it confined itself to several editions of one weekly issue.

Colored Capital and Labor

In all these years, its publication took the form of an interesting adventure more than an attempt to make money. The wages paid were low, but after all, income as wage or profit was not the prime object of this paper. The paper wanted to talk about Negroes and discuss their situation and "settle" the Negro problem and everybody enjoyed the game. To be sure, several persons depended on the News for a living, ~~but some of these could have made a better living at other work.~~ There were differences and editorial changes from time to time, but still the paper went on and lately was bought regularly by about 32,000 people each week until the depression settled on it.

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The stock of the paper at this time was owned by an elderly woman, widow of an earlier owner her daughter and her second husband. They were not rich people, but thrifty, owning some real estate; and the daughter was one of the first who ventured to establish a millinery shop in Harlem where she did most of her own work and made a tasteful display. It is possible that the paper was profitable in the boom years during and directly following the war, but there is no evidence that it was very profitable and probably most of the profits were reinvested in the attempt to expand the paper. Since 1930 or thereabouts, the Amsterdam News has been in debt and by the end of 1934, heroic measures seemed to be necessary to stem the tide and increase the income.

In July, 1934, the members of the editorial department formed themselves into a unit of the New York Newspaper Writers' Guild. This was a trade union which had many liberals, like Heyward Broun, among its leaders. Contrary to the policy of most American trade unions, it welcomed Negro members, although there were only a few eligible in New York City.

~~It is not clear just why the editorial writers of the News formed the union at this time.~~ Probably there was a thought that after all the Amsterdam News gained all of its significance from the work that these young writers and executives were doing and that they ought to have a voice in its policy. Every member of the home office staff joined the union and while the owner took no action at the time, she confessed afterward that she was: "somewhat apprehensive that the new unit might be the cause of

future trouble."

The proprietor's real troubles were of course financial and she was casting about frantically for means to keep her periodical going without impoverishing herself. Experiments were made early in 1935 by adding new features and raising the price, but the deficit reached $800 a week and between May and October, the debt to the printer increased $8,000, while the circulation dropped from 32,000 to 18,000. The creditors began to get nervous. Various employees were dropped from the business department and the work of the printing department was especially curtailed.

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Gradually the owner and her family became aware of a phase of modern economic development which they had not realized. Like the capitalists of the nineteenth century, they regarded the Amsterdam News as their "property." The money they had invested in it had been earned as wages and not inherited. All of them gave a considerable amount of their time and labor to the business. Nevertheless, by December, 1934, the situation was so bad that the editorial writers were uneasy for their jobs and the owner less and less disposed to recognize that they had any vested interest in the paper because they were working for it.

It was not, however, until August, that matters came to a head. The owner proposed to cancel the customary summer vacations with pay, while the Guild unit wanted a definite employment contract upon which future wages and conditions of work would be based. This the owner refused. She pointed out that the editors were receiving from $32-$45 a week, the reporters from $26-$30 and the stenographers $15-$18. She admitted that these were depression wages and lower than those formerly paid, but said that they were still as good or better than those paid by other Negro newspapers, and that the employees worked only 4½ days a week and that only one person had been discharged from the editorial department in fifteen years.

Negotiations went on until October when eight members of the editorial staff were dismissed, of whom six were members of the Guild. A strike or lock-out ensued which lasted for eleven weeks and employed the usual strike tactics of picketing and

propaganda,--a procedure usual in many labor communities, but almost unprecedented in a colored community and against colored capitalists.

The owner replied vigorously, stressing the fact that a contract with the Guild meant a contract with an organization dominated by white people, and that this was a colored paper dealing with the problems of Negroes. There was cogency in this argument, because after all, the very existence of the Amsterdam News arose from the fact of color discrimination, especially in economic lines, and if the strike on the News failed, or led to the suspension of the paper, the colored unit could hardly expect employment on white papers. The Guild answered frankly, if not completely:

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"The Guild does not attempt to dictate to any publisher whom he should hire... The constitution of the Guild forbids any discrimination among its membership on account of race, color, sex, creed or political affiliation. At a general assembly meeting of the Newspaper Guild of New York in October, the organization unanimously went on record as opposing the discriminatory policies of metropolitan newspaper publishers in the employment of Negro newspaper people."

The Guild, however, knew that this fair attitude was unusual among labor unions. When for instance a million union men demanded the reinstatement of the Guild unit and furnished funds and voluntary pickets, they represented laborers who in most cases had formerly refused to admit Negro workers to their unions or work beside them on the job.

~~This was not true of all laborers, but certainly of a majority.~~

Colored labor leaders called this reminder of color discrimination merely an excuse for exploitation; a "Jim-Crow" argument, and a subterfuge for justifying low wages. In rebuttal, the proprietors admitted that they did not pay union wages:

~~"The reason that Negro newspapers cannot pay union salaries throughout and exist is simple. Negro newspapers are shut off from the best local and national advertising accounts."~~

"We believe that some Negro business men do make profits and pay low wages. We do not know whether these Negro businesses pay lower wages than white businesses of similar standing... It has not been true that the publisher of the Amsterdam News

has made profits at the expense of low wages. She is as insolvent as her business, except for a few minor and unconvertible properties.

"Is a Negro weekly newspaper prosperous enough to pay current union wages to its employees? Most of them are not. We know of only one Negro publisher who has grown wealthy and has had part union help... He was finally forced to rid himself of union help and although once wealthy, is reported to be in straightened circumstances today. The Amsterdam News has never been able to pay union wages. More than $30,000 of the $43,000 owed the Amsterdam News today is for union printers and engravers. These bills have been allowed to accumulate while she was trying to pay her employees in the business and editorial departments. Her employees in these latter departments were colored; in the other, white. She paid fair wages to her colored employees and forced the whites to wait. Most Negro businesses, harassed by union prices, try to solve the problem by paying low wages to the colored employees."

Despite such disturbing facts, the strikers determined to educate black Harlem and emphasize the thesis that whatever the conditions of work and wages were, the employee had a right to discuss them with the employer and to have voice in the final decision. They, therefore, hired headquarters and spread their propaganda by placards and by the publication of a small one-page paper called "The Reporter", which issued eleven weekly copies.

The owners, on the other hand, absolutely refused to discuss this vital point or make concessions. A colored citizens' committee advised them in September. The mayor of New York urged negotiations in October. An arbitrator whom he appointed held a series of conferences, but only one of the owners of the paper, representing a minority interest, was present. This arbitrator, head of the Federal Regional Labor Board, finally reported to the mayor October 17.

"It seems very clear to me that these workers were fired because of their organization activities and their membership in the Newspaper Guild. If the original discharges were motivated by economy, there is no reason why Mrs. Davis and Mrs. Morse should not have granted the Guild an opportunity to talk it over with them."

Colored Capital and Labor

Meantime, the result of the strike began to be felt. After all, the proprietors were not rich people and had little influence and practically no credit. The paper was reduced from 28 to 16 pages. The wages of the workers who were retained and the strikebreakers were reduced 20% and were in arrears. Thirty-three and one-third percent and more of the advertising was lost. In November, the Minister's Union and other organizations urged conference, but the proprietors replied by having thirty-four of the pickets arrested.

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The pickets began to invade ~~"Striver's Row" and other~~ the better colored residential sections to intimidate certain persons who were aiding or sympathizing with the proprietors. This was a new note. It marked for the first time a definite attempt to split colored Harlem into rich and poor, employer and employee, bourgeois and proletariat. It did not go very far because most of the persons who might have been classed as bourgeois were distinctly on the side of the strikers. This was not a matter of economic theory or labor solidarity and in particular; it was not a movement against property and invested capital. It was simply judgment in a concrete case where they believed the strikers right and the owners wrong. On the other hand, many persons were frightened at this new colored radicalism and took sides when they really believed that the proprietors were within their rights.

Nor is this singular at all. After all, the colored people in Harlem who own their homes, including those who bought before and during the war the beautiful residences on "Striver's Row" erected by the "Yellow Dog Fund" of a great white insurance company, were people trained in the thrift, saving and investment creed of America. They believed that the greatest service that they could do to their race was to buy homes, save money and invest it; and especially so to invest it as to increase the employment of colored people by colored people.

Comes now a generation of younger Negro leaders who have joined white labor leaders in the United States recently in emphasizing the fact that the race question in the United States hides and slurs over the class division into bourgeois and pro-

letariat,--capitalist-employer and employees depending upon wages; and the whites have particularly pointed out that in the Negro group there has arisen a black bourgeoisie exploiting black labor in the same way that whites exploit white labor or at least sympathizing with exploitation; and that the only rational fight of the working man is for white and Negro labor to ignore the Color Line and fight all capitalistic exploitation.

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This logic faces a clear difficulty. Most Negroes are employed by white capitalists and Negro capital is often invested in white business. The main labor problem, therefore, is the relation of capital owned by white folk and the mass of white and colored laborers. For more than a century, the efforts of Negroes to organize with white labor for the rights and progress of both, have been frustrated by the attitude of white laborers. As late as 1925, Ira Reid estimates that 96% of the labor unions refuse in one way or another to admit colored members. If now white labor has a grievance against Negroes because they scab and underbid white labor and try to become capitalists, the fault is clearly in the attitude of labor unions. Today this attitude is slowly changing. But it still remains true that the masses of the white working population in the United States do not regard the Negro population as fellows. They do not want to live near them; they are not willing in many cases to have their children attend the same schools; they do not want to work at the same bench or in the same establishments, and they particularly object to having Negroes receive equal wages and thus achieve equal economic power.

This racial antagonism is being broken down in some respects, but the breaking is slow and there is no magic power in communism or socialism or reform which will abolish it immediately.

Turning their attention from this basic and pressing problem and appearing partially to ignore it, white labor unions have pointed out with increasing insistence that race solidarity among American Negroes actually shelters and protects a growing number of black exploiters and that the existence of this class and its influence makes the Negro masses more easily the tools of white capital. Most Negroes on the other hand insist that without this racial solidarity they could not in the past have fought as successfully for their rights as they have, and that the time is not yet come when they

can afford by giving up their inner organization to leave themselves naked to their enemies. But they are beginning to insist further that racial solidarity need not involve sympathy with exploitation on the part of either white or black investors.

This Amsterdam News strike, therefore, had two aspects: one, an attempt of white labor unions to break a racial solidarity among Negroes which often sheltered and excused an exploiting bourgeoisie; and on the other hand, the attempt of Negroes as a race to compel white labor to join in a fight against the Color Line. Thus the objectives here were not identical, but in some respects contradictory.

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The black propertyholders and small capitalists for the most part stood by the workers in this case and helped them win their fight. White labor stood by the black strikers, but only far enough to secure them in their present jobs and not to make their entrance into other jobs easier. Thus it clearly might be possible for labor solidarity across the Color Line to progress only far enough to disrupt Negro unity for self-defense against continuing race prejudice, and still to hesitate against such a real union of labor against the Color Line as would undermine modern imperialism and the world domination of white investors over colored labor.

On the other hand, if the rift between colored capitalists who employ colored labor and their workers is still small, if Negro propertyholders are still so near the status of workers that they can sympathize with their condition and demands, then here is a group not antagonistic to the labor movement, but possibly holding such stragetic position that they can help and forward a solution of both the labor and race problem.

The strike lasted for eleven weeks and was won, but the winning involved the bankruptcy of the Amsterdam News corporation which passed into a receivership dominated by white creditors. In other words, the operation was successful and if the patient did not die, he at least remained dead several weeks andis not yet out of danger.

Negotiations for the sale of the paper went on between the creditors and the proprietor of a colored paper in Baltimore, and also with a group of colored professional and business men in New York. The principal creditor, a white printer, whose bill was $21,000, refused the Baltimore offer because it involved his losing a large printing job.

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The New York group, however, was similar in many respects to the group who formerly owned the paper and against whom the strike was initiated. In other words, it was petty-bourgeois—small propertyholders, business and professional men. All of them were investors on a moderate scale. The leaders were two physicians, one of them formerly part-owner of a large apartment house and the other a leading stockholder in one of the largest Negro insurance companies. These men tried to save the Amsterdam News, not primarily as a profit-making institution, but as a Negro institution in order that Harlem might have a paper which would fight race prejudice and discrimination.

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But on the other hand, they did recognize as their predecessors had not, that the black labor which they employed had a right to a voice in the conduct of the business. They assented to an adjustment committee, severance notice and a union contract. They hired ten of the fifteen strikers and raised the wages of stenographers to $21 and reporters to $30. They gave the editors an increase of 10% in salary.

What light does this strike throw on capital and work among Negroes?

First of all, just how far have Negroes accumulated capital and developed what may be called a capitalist class? Perhaps one of the most recent and interesting answers to this query is the report on Negro retail business made by the United States census in 1932. There are in the United States 25,701 stores operated by Negroes selling a little over one hundred million dollars worth of goods a year. They were chiefly grocery stores, filing stations, restaurants, cigar stores and drug stores, and their average sales per year were a little less than $4,000. Now it has been estimated that a store with $12,000 worth of annual sales earns only a margin of $1,750 for payroll and profit. This means that the 26,000 Negro stores average only $600 a year for payroll and profit and the bulk of this is obviously payroll and not profit.

Beside retail business, Negroes have invested in farms, newspapers, banking and insurance, barber shops and boarding houses; but in all these cases, the group of capitalists as distinct from workers, is small. What we have here is not capitalists and workers, but workers with some capital and with a few exceptions this is a characteristic development of Negro business.

Colored Capital and Labor

How will this tendency develop in the future?

There are two current theories: one is illustrated by the attitude of the strikers on the Amsterdam News. There must come in the ranks of American labor increasing solidarity and unity of action across and despite the Color Line. The outlook for favorable consummation of this program presents today some lines of hope. But the development of labor solidarity between whites and blacks in the United States is not a matter of years, but of decades, if not indeed of a century or more, and ~~that~~ while it is developing not only must the black worker live, but he must live and achieve in such a way that his value as an ally will be recognized by the white worker.

38-12-183

The problem of capital among American Negroes is a different one than among whites. The whites own the basic mass of accumulated capital with its control of machines and material. White labor can gradually share in that ownership and control through political power and organization or through the use of force. Black labor can share only to the extent that Negroes are a part of the white labor movement. On the other hand, while they are slowly becoming a part of the white labor movement and during the serious and critical years of hesitation and racial barriers, there is a chance for Negroes to accumulate and control some capital. They are, for instance, consumers, which means that they spend each year some two thousand million dollars for the purchase of goods. The direction of this power can become in their hands a method of saving and a weapon for enforcing employment at decent wages. It is today in the South then sole effective right to vote. This was shown in a tense, silent battle lately fought in Atlanta. A large chain store in a Negro section employs white clerks. One of them assaulted a Negro customer. As a result, Negroes withdrew their patronage. I passed the store on Saturday night a month ago. It was brilliantly lighted with a large stock of goods and a number of clerks and not a single customer that I could see, while surrounding stores were fairly well patronized. This boycott with little advertisement or agitation went on for two months. The Ku Klux Klan marched by in sheets and pillowcases; written threats were made against competing white and colored stores, but the community stood firm. I passed the store last Saturday night. It was closed. What is clear here is the power which the Negro consumer, even with his

small wage and unorganized condition, has in his hands today. That consuming power with the savings of Negro professional classes can without doubt command a considerable aggregate of capital.

If that capital is used for investment in white business or in competition with white capital and for the same ends of pure profit-making, it will not accomplish much; but if on the other hand, it can be used by people fully conscious and intelligent concerning the fundamental change in industrial organization which is coming in the United States and throughout the world, this capital can be used to further that revolution and to prove to the world that American Negroes can become worthy citizens of the new socialistic state. Negro efforts to this end have appeared in many parts of the world: in the cocoa-raising and co-operative selling on the West Coast of Africa; in co-operative agriculture and fruit raising in Jamaica; and in mutual insurance and neighborhood retail stores in the United States.

38-12-184

How far can a Negro economic structure be built in America behind the tariff of race prejudice; that is, behind the discrimination and difference which will not yield easily even to the incentive of profit and better wage? Instances of this may be seen in life insurance; amusements of various kinds; personal services, such as barber and beauty shops, boarding houses and hotels; and newspapers and magazines, catering to the Negro group. Within this partially closed circle business may develop and be protected because of lack of general competition. But this very opportunity may involve low wages, bad living conditions and exploitation of various sorts within the Negro group. If it does, how far is this problem of exploitation is similar to or identical with the general white labor problem in the country and how far can it be fought by the same weapons, as in the Amsterdam News strike? Here the result was apparently to socialize partially a Negro enterprise and not to kill it and that ~~will be~~ was a triumph. But suppose that Negro labor in an essentially Negro enterprise strikes and the result of the strike is simply to abolish the Negro job? This might be a labor victory, but a Negro defeat too costly to be borne.

The real answer is a racial solidarity which persists until race prejudice disappears and yet is so organized as not to be used as a tool for the exploitation of any

laboring class. This the Negro race can accomplish by making within its own growth the interests of its laboring classes paramount and by putting into the hands of these people, through co-operative enterprise, the ownership and control of capital sufficient to finance Negro business. Eventually such a business structure can by growth and efficiency withstand competition beyond racial lines and become at least one of the paths of Peace to economic Revolution.

38-12-185

(1)

37-9-51

COLORED CAPITAL AND LABOR

W. E. B. Du Bois

The Amsterdam News ceased publication last month and went into the hands of a receiver. In itself this was a comparatively unimportant occurrence. This weekly newspaper published by colored people in New York City had a circulation of less than 50,000.

It was not ~~perhaps~~ the best nor most widely read of the Negro papers, but it was enterprising in its news gathering and it had a ~~rather~~ bright set of young writers who gave spice and interest to its columns, and it ~~distinguished itself among Negro newspapers~~ by being a member of the Audit Bureau of Circulations ~~and~~ carrying ~~a very considerable amount of local advertising~~.

It ceased publication because of a strike of its editorial writers. This strike aroused a good deal of interest, partly because it was one of the first ~~very~~ successful strikes of the new American Newspaper Writers' Guild, ~~a white-collar union~~, and ~~it~~ attracted the support of ~~perhaps~~ a million members of labor unions in New York City besides the efforts of the mayor and of the principle officials and citizens of Harlem. More than that, it posed a new and interesting problem of ~~the result and meaning of the development of a Negro bourgeoisie; that is, of~~ colored capitalists hiring colored laborers, and it was seized upon by radical thinkers, white and colored, as forecasting a division of labor and capital across the Color Line in such a way as to foretell a time when the Color Line would be more or less obliterated by class lines between laborers and capitalists. ~~On the other hand~~, there are those who fail to see this and who believe that the economic class division which many ~~seem to see~~ in this strike was an exaggerated effort to trace a pattern which either does not exist ~~as yet~~ or exists in such an embryonic state as not to be typical.

~~In any case~~, at any rate, the situation is worth review and study. ~~First to our facts.~~

There have been weekly colored papers in New York for more than a century and regularly during the last fifty years. For twenty-five years there have been two or three such papers, the oldest, the New York Age, which is over fifty years old, and another, the Amsterdam News, which is more than 25 years old. The News ~~It~~ began as the venture of a man with

little or no capital

only fair education but considerable push who carried it on with some success for ten or fifteen years. Then it became the property of a corporation which ~~and secured a number of young, bright writers whose lively collection of news and interesting presentation of it~~ made the paper the most widely read colored journal in the Northeast ~~and gave it a considerable body of local advertising.~~ At one time, it was published three times a week and thought seriously of becoming a daily. Later, it confined itself to several editions of one weekly issue. In all these years, its publication took the form of an interesting adventure for more ~~rather~~ than of an attempt to make money ~~profit.~~ The Rank and File Wages were low, but after all, income ~~neither~~ as wages or ~~as~~ profits was not ~~were~~ the prime objects of this paper. The paper wanted to talk about Negroes and discuss their situation and "settle" the Negro problem and everybody enjoyed the game. There were differences and editorial changes from time to time, but still the paper went on and was ~~read~~ eagerly sought after by regularly by about 32,000 people each week until the depression settled on it.

The ~~owners~~ stock of the paper at this time was owned by ~~were~~ an elderly woman, her daughter and her second husband. They were not rich people, but thrifty, owning some real estate, and the daughter was ~~being~~ one of the first who ventured to establish a millinery shop in Harlem where she did most of her own work + made a tasteful display. It is possible that the paper was profitable in the boom years during and directly following the war, but there is no evidence that it was very profitable and probably most of the profits were reinvested ~~forced~~ in the attempt to expand the paper. Since 1930 or thereabouts, the Amsterdam News has been in debt and by the end of 1934, ~~some~~ heroic measures seemed to be necessary to stem the tide and increase the income.

37-9-52

~~In the meantime,~~ In July, 1934, the members of the editorial department formed themselves into a unit of the New York Newspaper Writers' Guild. This was a trade union which ~~had been formed.~~

To be sure several persons depended on the
~~[illegible]~~ News for a living but some of these
could have made a better living at
other work

over

had many liberals, like Heyward Broun, among its leaders. Contrary to the policy of most American trade unions, it welcomed Negro members, although there were only a few eligible in New York City.

It is not clear just why the editorial writers of the News formed the union at this time. Probably ~~there was some dissatisfaction with the ownership, but beyond this, undoubtedly,~~ there was a thought that after all, the Amsterdam News gained all of its significance from the work that these young writers and executives were doing and that they ought to have a ~~larger~~ voice in its policy ~~than they had been having.~~ Every member of the home office staff joined the union and while the owner took no action at the time, she confessed afterward that she was "somewhat apprehensive that the new unit might be the cause of future trouble."

37-9-53

The institution's real troubles were of course financial and she was casting about frantically for means to keep them her headed going northward uncontrollably headed

Experiments were made early in 1935 by adding new features and raising the price, but the deficit reached $800 a week and between May and October, the debt to the printer increased $8,000, while the circulation dropped from 32,000 to 18,000. The ~~owners~~ began to get ~~scared and the creditors~~ nervous. Various employees were dropped from the business department and the work of the printing department especially curtailed.

(4)

reasonable and the conditions of work not bad considering the general situation.

The salaries of the full-time workers were: editor, $45, assistant editor, $35, city editor, $32, reporter, $30, artist, $26, stenographers and secretaries, $15-$18.

37-9-54

The publisher admitted that "It was not true that the publisher had been indifferent to the welfare of her employees. Her lowest-paid reporter received $30 a week. The editor was paid $45. The salary of the sports and theatrical editor, a veteran employee, was $50. The society editor was paid $35 a week." These were 'depression' wages, much lower than those formerly paid, but still as good or better than those paid by any other Negro newspaper. The employees had the five-day week; in fact, they worked only four and one-half days. They had no fear of losing their jobs. Only one person had been discharged in the editorial department in 15 years."

When August 20 the union submitted a contract as a basis of negotiations, the owner practically refused to discuss the matter and following the advice of a reactionary lawyer, she soom euchred herself into the position of seeming to defend her own property on the theory that nobody had any business to interfere with it, not even those whose work was making the property valuable. Finally, October 7, 1935, the editorial staff was called in and eight dismissals announced. Six of the eight were Guild members. Of those discharged, seven had been there from 5-8 years and four from 3-5 years.

4

(~~Insert~~.)

Gradually the owner and her family became aware of a phase of modern economic development which they had not ~~recognized~~ realized. Like the capitalists of the nineteenth century, they regarded the Amsterdam News as their property. The money they had invested in it had been earned asdwages and not inherited. All of them gave a considerable amount of their time and labor to the business. Nevertheless, by December, 1934, the situation was so bad that the editorial writers were uneasy for their jobs and the owner less and less disposed to recognize that they had any vested interest in the paper because they were working for it. It was not, however, until August, that matters came to a head. The owner proposed to cancel the customary summer vacations with pay, while the Guild unit wanted a definite employment contract upon which future wages and conditions of work would be based. This the owner refused. She pointed out that the editors were receiving from $32-$45 a week, the reporters from $26-$30 and the stenographers $15-$18. She admitted that these were depression wages and lower than those formerly paid, but that they were still as good or better than those paid by other Negro newspapers, and that the employees worked only 4½ days a week and that only one person had been discharged from the editorial department in fifteen years. Negotiations went on until October when eight members of the editorial staff were dismissed, of whom six were members of the Guild. A strike or lock-out ensued which lasted for ~~seven~~ eleven weeks and employed the usual strike tactics of picketing and propaganda, a procedure usual in many labor communities, but almost unprecedented in a colored community and against colored capitalists. The owner replied vigorously, stressing the fact that a contract with the Guild meant a contract with an organization dominated by white people, and that this was a colored paper dealing with the problems of Negroes. There was cogency in this argument, because after all, the very existence of the Amsterdam News arose from the fact of color discrimination, especially in economic lines, and if the strike on the News failed, or led to the suspension of the paper, the colored unit could hardly expect employment on white papers. The Guild answered frankly, if not completely.

37-9-55

(5)

After some jockeying for position lines between the proprietor and her editorial workers were tautly drawn, and what the proprietor called a strike and the workers called a lock-out, ensued for eleven weeks. The usual strike tactics with picketing and some violence ensued, a procedure ~~of~~ usual in many labor communities, but almost unprecedented in a colored community and against colored capitalists.

37-9-56

The proprietors hit back vigorously. ~~The~~ declared that the "recognition of the Guild would give control of the personnel of her editorial office to the Guild, a primarily white organization. She had no prejudices against the white leaders as such, nor against whites. She had four white reporters on her pay roll. But she was fearful that whites would not be able to understand the special problems of a Negro business and would lack the sympathy and spirit of sacrifice necessary to maintain it."

There was cogency in this argument because after all the very existence of the Amsterdam News arose from the fact of color discrimination, not only in social lines, but particularly in economic lines in New York and all through the country. ~~The~~ moreover showed the strike in the News fact the colored unit need expect no employment on white ~~papers~~ papers in New York. ~~Not only did the New York Newspaper Guild make no movement toward such an innovation, but undoubtedly many members of the Guild, if not most of them, would resign rather than work beside a Negro reporter or editorial writer.~~ In other words, when the Amsterdam News failed, labor solidarity with white workers ~~did~~ would not provide the unsuccessful strikers with meat or drink.

The answer of the Guild was frank if not complete

37-9-57

(4) "The Guild does not attempt to dictate to any publisher whom he should hire. That is to say, the Newspaper Guild does not attempt to say to any publisher that he must hire Heywood Broun, John Doe or Henry Lee Moon. It proposes, rather, to offer to Broun, Doe and Moon its full protection on the job and to stand by them in case the publisher wishes to discharge them for Guild activity. The constitution of the Guild forbids any discrimination among its membership on account of race, color, sex, creed or political affiliation. At a general assembly meeting of the Newspaper Guild of New York in October, the organization unanimously went on record as opposing the discriminatory policies of metropolitan newspaper publishers in the employment of Negro newspaper people." In those instances in which Negroes are employed on the metropolitan press they are members of the Guild units on those papers. On the Daily News Edward Lewis, a photographer, is a member of the Guild. He first joined the Guild while working as a photographer on The Amsterdam News. In Philadelphia, Newark and Boston Negroes working on daily papers have been members of the Guild. In our instance, the members of our unit and the Newspaper Guild were more interested in regaining the jobs from which we had been locked out than being placed in new jobs."

The Guild, however, knew that even this negatively fair attitude was unusual among labor unions. When for instance a million union men demanded the reinstatement of the Guild unit and furnished funds and voluntary pickets, they represented laborers who in most cases had refused to admit Negro workers & then commenced to work beside them on the job. This was not true of all laborers, but certainly of a majority

6

Colored Labor Leaders called this accusation of Color discrimination merely an excuse for ~~exploitation~~; ~~by employers~~ a "Jim-Crow" argument, & a subterfuge for justifying low wages. For rebuttal

The proprietors did not deny that ~~the wages they paid were less than the wages of similar white workers.~~ admitted they did not pay union wages.

37-7-58

"The reason that Negro newspapers cannot pay union salaries throughout and exist is simple. Negro newspapers are shut off from the best local and national advertising accounts." ~~We believe that most persons, considering this question, think of Negro newspapers in comparison with white dailies. The Negro newspaper should be compared to weekly rural white publications of the second grade.~~"

"We believe that some Negro business men do make profits and pay low wages. We do not know whether these Negro businesses pay lower wages than white businesses of similar standing. ... It has been our impression that a trained Negro young man or young woman expects more for similar service than the white person gets in so-called white-collar jobs. It has not been true that the publisher of the Amsterdam News has made profits at the expense of low wages. She is an insolvent as her business, except for a few minor and unconvertible properties.

"Is a Negro weekly newspaper prosperous enough to pay current union wages to its employees? Most of them are not. We know of only one Negro publisher who has grown wealthy and has had part union help. ... ~~That publisher was~~ He was finally forced to rid himself of union help and although once wealthy, is reported to be in straightened circumstances today. The Amsterdam News has never been able to pay union wages. More than $30,000 of the $43,000 owed the Amsterdam News today is for union printers and engravers. These bills have been allowed to accumulate while she was trying to pay her employees in the business and editorial departments. Her employees in these latter departments were colored; in the other, white. She paid fair wages to her colored employees and forced the whites to wait. Most Negro businesses, harassed by union prices, try to solve the problem by paying low wages to the colored employees."

7 8

Despite such disturbing facts, the strikers determined to educate black Harlem and emphasize the thesis that whatever the conditions of work and wages were, the employee had a right to discuss them with the employer and to have voice in the final decision. They, therefore, hired headquarters and spread their propaganda by placards and by the publication of a small one-page paper called "The Reporter", which issued eleven weekly copies.

37-9-59

The owners, on the other hand, absolutely refused to discuss this vital point or make concessions. A colored citizens' committee advised them in September. The mayor of New York urged negotiations in October. An arbitrator whom he appointed held a series of conferences, but only one of the owners of the paper, representing a minority interest, was present. This arbitrator, head of the Federal Regional Labor Board, finally reported to the mayor October 17.

"It seems very clear to me that these workers were fired because of their organization activities and their membership in the Newspaper Guild. If the original discharges were motivated by economy, there is no reason why Mrs. Davis and Mrs. Morse should not have granted the Guild an opportunity to talk it over with them."

In November, the Minister's Union and other organizations urged conference, but the proprietors replied by having thirty-four of the pickets arrested. Meantime, the result of the strike began to be felt. After all, the proprietors were not rich people and had little influence and practically no credit. The paper was reduced from 28 to 16 pages. The wages of the workers who were retained and the strikebreakers were reduced 20% and were in arrears. Thirty-three and one-third percent and more of the advertising was lost. The pickets ~~were said to have walked six thousand miles and they~~ began to invade "Striver's Row" and other residential sections to intimidate certain persons who were aiding or sympathizing with the proprietors.

This was a new note.

It marked for the first time a definite attempt to split colored Harlem into rich and poor, employer and employee, bourgeois and proletariat. It did not go very far because most of the persons who might have been classed as bourgeois were distinctly on the side of the strikers. For the moral part this was not a matter of economic theory or class solidarity and on hardening; it was not movement against property and invested capital. It was simply judgment on a concrete case where they believed the strikers right & the owners wrong. In

other cases, however, many persons were frightened at this new colored radicalism and openly took sides when they really believed that the proprietors were within their rights.

37-9-60

Nor is this singular at all. After all, the colored people in Harlem who own their homes, including those who bought before and during the war the beautiful residences erected by the "Yellow Dog Fund" of a great white insurance company, were people trained in the thrift, saving and investment creed of America. They believed that the greatest service that they could do to their race was to buy homes, save money and invest it, and especially so invest it as to increase the employment of colored people by colored people. This was a doctrine which for a generation had not been questioned. The opponents of Mr. Washington had not denied this main thesis, but merely insisted that it was more important to study and know situations and trends in the economic and social world than merely to save and invest. But they did not deny that saving and investment was a very important matter.

Now comes a generation of younger Negro leaders who have joined white labor leaders in the United States recently in emphasizing the fact that the race question in the United States hides and slurs over the class division into bourgeois and proletariat, capitalist-employer and employees depending upon wages; and the whites have particularly pointed out that in the Negro group there has arisen a black bourgeoisie exploiting black labor in the same way that whites exploit white labor, and that the only rational fight of the working man is for white and Negro labor to ignore the color line and fight capitalistic exploitation.

This logic faces a clear difficulty. Most Negroes are employed by white capitalists and Negro capital is often invested in white business. The main labor problem, therefore, is the relation of capital owned by white folk and the mass of white and colored laborers. For more than a century, the efforts of Negroes to organize with white labor for the rights and progress of both, have been frustrated by the attitude of white laborers. As late as 1925, Ira Reid estimates that 96% of the labor unions refuse in one way or another to admit colored members. If now white labor has a grievance against Negro labor because it scabs and underbids white labor, the fault is clearly the attitude of labor unions. Today this attitude is slowly changing. Unions like the Amalgamated Clothing Union and many of the new industrial unions are welcoming Negro workers. If now beyond this white labor blames Negro labor for encouraging and refusing to fight, exploiting organizations of Negro capital, how far is this charge justified by the facts?

37-9-61

Turning their attention from this basic and pressing problem and appearing partially to ignore it, white labor unions have pointed out with increasing insistance that race solidarity among American Negroes actually shelters and protects a growing blass of black exploiters and that the existence of this class and its influence makes the Negro masses more easily the tools of white capital. Negroes on the other hand insist that without this racial solidarity they could not in the past have fought as successfully for their rights as they did, and that the time is not yet come when they can afford by giving up their inner organization to leave themselves naked to their enemies. And they insist further that racial solidarity need not involve sympathy with exploitation on the part of either white or black investors.

This Amsterdam News strike, therefore, had two aspects: one, an attempt of white labor unions to break a racial solidarity among Negro ~~workers~~ which often sheltered and excused an exploiting bourgeoisie, and on the other hand, the attempt of Negroes as a race to compel white labor to join in a fight against the color line. Thus, then, the objectives here were not identical, but in many respects contradictory ~~objectives involved, and the future development of these two movements~~

The black propertyholders and small capitalists for the most part stood by the workers in this case and helped them win their fight. White labor stood by the black strikers, but only far enough to secure them in their present jobs and not to make their entrance into other jobs easier. Thus it clearly might be possible for labor solidarity across the color line to progress only far enough to disrupt Negro unity for self-defense against continuing race prejudice and still to hesitate against such a real union of labor against the color line as would undermine modern imperialism and the world domination of white investors of colored labor. 14 On the other hand, if the rift between colored capitalists who employ colored labor and their workers is still small, if Negro propertyholders are still so near the status of workers that they can sympathize with their condition demands, and if Negro workers can still hope in some degree to own property and control capital, then here is a group not antagonistic to the labor movement, but holding such possible stragetic position that they can help and forward a solution of both the labor and race problem.

37-9-62

11)

The strike lasted for eleven weeks and then was triumphantly declared won. ~~but~~ The winning however involved the bankruptcy of the former employers, the passing of the Amsterdam News corporation into a receivership, and the eventual sale of the paper to a new corporation. In other words, the operation was successful and if the patient did not die, he at least remained dead several weeks. PP Negotiations for the sale of the paper went on between the Creditors and the proprietors of a colored paper in Baltimore and a group of colored professional + business men in New York. The principal creditor of the Amsterdam News, a white printer, who the News owes $21,000, refused the Baltimore offer because that would involve his losing the job of ~~the~~ printing ~~of~~ the paper (which would be handled by) in Baltimore and in a non-union shop. PP On the other hand, the group in New York who offered to purchase was in many respects ~~the same kind of~~ a similar to the one group that was relinquishing the paper. It ~~consisted of~~ was led by two physicians, one of whom was connected with a large Negro insurance society, ~~and some associated colored business men.~~ These men did not regard ~~They were not looking upon~~ the Amsterdam News primarily as a profit-making institution. It must, of course, pay expenses or they could not afford to take it over; but on the other hand, they were not proposing to live upon its profits and they were ~~proposing~~ planning to give largely of their own time and efforts to preserving what they called a "Negro" institution; that is, in order to have a paper in Harlem which would fight race prejudice and discrimination as exhibited by white capital and white labor, these men proposed to buy the Amsterdam News. PP They did, however, represent a distinct grouping of black capital + black labor they were not only willing to confer with their employees, but were in fact compelled to ~~negotiate~~ by the threat of the strike. They did not, however, retain all of the 15 or 16 strikers, but gave work to ten of them and dismissed the others and the strikebreakers. They raised the minimum ~~raise~~ wage of stenographers to $21 and reporters to $30, and gave the others an increase of 10% in salary. They assented to an adjustment committee, severance notice, and a union contract. They said:

> "We appreciate that the meeting of the Guild wages and conditions will cause some inconvenience. However, we believe that the need for the continued existence of The Amsterdam News is so great that no sacrifice should be spared in order to bring this to pass."

37-9-63

lasted for eleven weeks and then according to the triumphant statement of the New York Nation, the strike was won; the demands of the writers for a five-day, forty-hour week, two weeks' vacation with pay, dismissal notices and an adjustment committee, etc., were all granted. One detail, however, was not emphasized, and that was that the Amsterdam News cease publication. The operation was successful, but the patient died.

THE NEWSPAPER GUILD has won another strike. On Christmas Eve the lockout at the *Amsterdam News,* a Harlem newspaper, ended with the granting of the guild's demands after an eleven weeks' fight during which the newspaper was forced into a receivership largely as the result of the withdrawal of advertising and of reader support. The nine full-time workers among the fifteen locked out are guaranteed that there will be no discharges for at least three months; strike-breakers are to be immediately discharged; the settlement specifies a guild shop with a five-day, forty-hour week, time off for overtime, the establishment of minimum wages, and a 10 per cent increase for those reinstated. It also provides for an adjustment committee, severance notice, and a union contract with the prospective buyers of the *News.* The *News* fight, with victory, is a heartening event, though it was in no sense a major battle. The opponent of the guild in this case was armed with none of those economic weapons which are at the disposal of powerful newspapers. But it is such battles carried through to a successful conclusion which will make the guild an effective fighting organization. And there is no doubt that the big publishers find the guild's victories disconcerting. An item which appeared in the New York *Times* of December 22 suggests as much. This item reported with some detail that the *Amsterdam News* had gone into receivership, but the principal reason for this state of affairs, namely, the boycott of advertisers and readers which the guild had been able to make effective, was not mentioned. Nor was the connection between the receivership and the strike referred to in the *Times* account of the settlement. The *Times* can hardly plead lack of space for this omission; it would seem difficult to deny that when a union bites a newspaper that's news. Unfortunately it is for the *Times* and its contemporaries to decide which news is fit to print.

306-6-47

The strike lasted for eleven weeks and was won, but the winning involved the bankruptcy of the Amsterdam News corporation which passed into a receivership dominated by white creditors. In other words, the operation was successful and if the patient did not die, he at least remained dead several weeks and is not yet out of danger.

Negotiations for the sale of the paper went on between the creditors and the proprietor of a colored paper in Baltimore, on the one hand, and a group of colored professional and business men in New York. The principal creditor, a white printer, whose bill was $21,000, refused the Baltimore offer because it involved his losing a large printing job. The New York group was similar in many respects to the group which was relinquishing the paper. It consisted of two physicians; one, a large stockholder in a Negro insurance society. These men tried to save the Amsterdam News, not primarily as a profit-making institution, but as a Negro institution in order that Harlem might have a paper which would fight race prejudice and discrimination as exhibited by white capital and white labor.

37-9-64

But on the other hand, they did recognize as their predecessors had not, that the black labor which they employed had a right to a voice in the conduct of the business. They assented to an adjustment committee, severance notice and a union contract. They hired ten of the fifteen strikers and raised the wages of stenographers to $21 and reporters to $30. They gave the editors an increase of 10% in salary.

What light does this strike throw on capital and work among Negroes?

First of all, just how far have Negroes accumulated capital and developed what may be called a capitalist class? Perhaps one of the most recent and interesting answers to this query is the report on Negro retail business made by the United States census in 1932. There are in the United States

The Negro and Capital

S[illegible]. 25,701 stores operated by Negroes selling a little over one hundred million dollars worth of goods a year. They were chiefly grocery stores, filing stations, restaurants, cigar stores and drug stores, and their average sales per year were a little less than $4,000. Now it has been estimated that a store with $12,000 worth of annual sales ~~reports~~ earns only a margin of $1,750 for payroll and profit. This means that the 26,000 Negro stores average only $600 a year for payroll and profit and ~~most~~ the bulk of this is obviously payroll and not profit. Beside retail business, Negroes have invested in farms, newspapers, banking and insurance, barber shops and boarding houses; but in all these cases, ~~a~~ the group of capitalists as distinct from workers ~~which has arisen among American Negroes~~, is ~~still~~ small and unimportant. What the trend here is not Capitalists ~~[illegible]~~, but workers with capital and with a few exceptions this is a characteristic development of Negro business.

How will this tendency develop in the future?

There are two current theories: one is illustrated by the attitude of the strikers on the Amsterdam News. There must come in the ranks of American labor increasing solidarity and unity of action across and despite the color line. The outlook for favorable consummation of this program ~~is not~~ seems today ~~inspiring, although there are~~ some lines of hope. B.W. It still remains true that the ~~mass~~ of the white working population in the United States does not regard the Negro population as fellows. They do not want to live near them; they are not willing in many cases to have their children attend the same schools; they do not want to work at the same bench or in the same establishments, and they particularly object to having Negroes receive equal wages and thus achieve equal economic power. This racial antagonism is broken down in some respects, but the breaking is slow. The ~~the~~ chief difficulty in the spread ~~and power~~ of unionism throughout the South is racial antagonism, and unionism across the color line has only appeared in the case of a few ~~one~~ sharecroppers who were at the very bottom of the industrial heap. This means that the development of labor solidarity between whites and blacks in the United States is not a matter of years, but of decades, if not indeed of a century or more, and that while it is developing,

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Singularly enough, we have not seen a single suggestion that the ideal ending of this strike would have been for the editorial writers and some of the other employees to have resussitated the Amsterdam News as a co-operative enterprise. They would have been protected from outside competition by the fact that they were running a colored newspaper for colored readers. They knew by experience the job of producing such a paper and there is no reason in the world why these workers should not from their sympathizers have secured enough credit and available capital to have started such a co-operative enterprise. The idea was not mentioned. It was not thought of. All turned unanimously again to capitalism.

37-9-66

This end of the strike was hailed as a victory and it was victory, but as the Nation said: "It was in no sense a major battle." In fact, so far as the labor movement is concerned, it was a very minor battle. The proprietors of the Amsterdam News did not represent entrenched capital. They were not exploiting labor in any real sense of the word, and with their very limited resources, their defeat did not call for all of the ammunition ~~and paraphernalia~~ heavy artillery that New York labor brought to bear. On the other hand, this is a battle which is big in its implications for the future, both to the Negro problem and to the labor movement.

This is illustrated by the congratulatory messages that came in on the winning of the fight. John L. Lewis, champion of industrial unionism, regarded the victory as a "triumph for organization," but William Green, head of the A. F. of L., said not a single word. The conservative Negro citizens, most of them small property holders and none of them manual laborers, were careful in their statements: The rector of St. Phillips sees in the strike a triumph for "fundamental human rights." A colored assemblyman is glad that "the publication will continue," and a Presbyterian preacher explains that the union "had no hostility to Negro business or any other business." On the other hand, the Negro radicals ~~strike with the North and~~ regard the strike as a triumph in recognizing the right to "collective bargaining," and the example of Negro and white laborers fighting together as an opportunity for developing broad, pro-labor sentiment." Finally, Norman Thomas sees in it a victory for the "solidarity of workers." Another senses the tragedy of the situation as the exploitation of race loyalty for private gain. Now all this reveals curiously different reasons for congratulation, and the implicit and real differences revealed ~~in the Negro group~~ must frankly be faced.

while still another discovers some educated Negroes who are not "boot lickers"

13

First of all how far is there a Negro capitalist class?

The Negro leaders of Reconstruction recognized that Negroes must have capital, but they tried for the most part to have this capital furnished by the state in the shape of land to be distributed among Negro farmers, with some additional capital in the shape of draught animals and tools. For the most part, this proposal failed. Then came the advice of Booker T. Washington, who said to Negroes: go to work, save, invest, ~~and~~ until some Negroes become small capitalists. A good deal was accomplished along this line. Atlanta University made a study of Negro business in 1896 and showed that the small savings of numbers of Negroes had been invested in business of various sorts and that they were to a considerable extent successful. Building on this ~~knowledge~~ report, Mr. Washington formed the Negro Business League and this organization encouraged the investment of Negro savings and the hiring of Negro workers.

37-0-67

But the whole movement had from the beginning a co-operative trend. It was only partially investment for profit; it was rather the use of group savings in order to give the group employment, and this aspect was especially advertised and emphasized. Out of this group economy, there arose naturally the more specific and traditional type of investment corporation. There were banks, factories, ~~manufacturies and~~ for cotton goods and hair preparations and especially insurance. In insurance, the peculiar character of this Negro business was ~~again~~ illustrated. Negroes were discriminated against in white insurance companies. No matter what their physical condition, they could not get insurance at current rates and sometimes not at all. This gave the Negro insurance company a certain marginal advantage and money was widely collected from workers and professional people to start the Standard Life, which was the first old line life insurance company. In all these enterprises, however, the differentiation between exploiter and exploited was ~~not~~ by no means clear. There was not here the set-up which Karl Marx had in mind when he described capitalist and proletarian and stated the logical dialectic through which he could inevitably predict the clash of the two groups and ultimate overthrow of the capitalist through revolution. In the case of business among American Negroes, there was ~~no such~~ especially clearly differentiated capitalist class. The capital was owned by the workers, laborers, porters, washerwomen and a few professional people, ~~invested~~

The Negro and Capital

not only must the black worker live, but he must live and achieve in such a way that his value as an ally will be recognized by the white worker. It is not enough, therefore, that he show himself willing to strike and lose his own job. He must not only achieve union wages and modern conditions of work, but he must also achieve a job, and he does not have today the chance of throwing responsibility for furnishing a job on a militant and powerful bourgeoisie. Organized work, ~~therefore,~~ among colored people becomes a more singular and definite adventure than among whites, and this leads to the second consideration. Careless talk among white laborers and reformers leads people to regard capital as the enemy of labor, when always what the great economic leaders have tried to say was that the capitalist who controls capital was the enemy, and that capital itself was indispensable and the only method of carrying on modern industry. That makes the problem of capital among American Negroes a different one than among whites. The whites have the mass of accumulated capital with its control of machines and material. White labor can share in that ownership and control through political power and organization. Black labor can share only to the extent that Negroes are a part of the white labor movement. But, on the other hand, while they are becoming a part of the white labor movement and during the serious and critical years of hesitation and racial barriers, there is a chance for Negroes to accumulate and control capital in certain small ways. They are consumers, which means that they spend each year some two thousand million dollars for the purchase of goods. The direction of this power can become in their hands a method of saving and a weapon for enforcing employment at decent wages.

We have had a tense, silent battle to such ends in Atlanta. A large chain store in a Negro section employs white clerks. One of them assaulted a Negro customer. As a result, Negroes have withdrawn their patronage. I passed the store on a Saturday night a month ago. It was brilliantly lighted with a large stock of goods and a number of clerks and not a single customer that I could see, while surrounding stores were fairly well patronized. This boycott without advertisement or much agitation has been going on for two months. The Ku Klux Klan has marched by in sheets and pillow-cases, written threats have been made throughout the community, but the community stands firm. I passed the store last Saturday night, it was closed.

~~The Negro and Capital~~

~~firm. What they will gain in the end is not clear.~~ What is clear here is the power which the Negro consumer, even with his small wage and unorganized condition, has in his hands today. ~~Now~~ That consuming power with the ~~curtailed~~ small savings of Negro workers and the professional classes, can without doubt command a considerable aggregate ~~amount~~ of capital. If that capital is used for investment in competition with white capital and for the same ends of profit-making, it will not accomplish much; but if on the other hand, it can be used by people fully conscious and intelligent concerning the fundamental change in industrial organization which is coming in the United States and throughout the world, this capital can be used to further that great and benevolent revolution and to prove to the world that American Negroes can become worthy citizens of the new socialistic state. Negro efforts to this end have appeared in many parts of the world: In the cocoa-raising and co-operative selling on the West Coast of Africa; in co-operative agriculture and fruit raising in Jamaica; and in mutual insurance and neighborhood retail stores in the United States.

37-9-69

The thing which the white American worker is loathe to learn is that his path to comfort and prosperity in the future depends less and less on his ability to become a capitalist and investor and live on profits. It is only through increased ~~savings~~ wages and better conditions of living, that prosperity is coming to the mass of Americans. If this is true of white workers, it is all the more true of Negro workers, and must be recognized in their philosophy and action.

No 15

How far can a Negro economic structure be built in America behind the tariff of race prejudice; that is, behind the discrimination and differences which will not yield easily to the incentive of profit and better wage. Instances of this may be seen in life insurance; amusements of various kinds; personal services, such as barber and beauty shops, boarding houses and hotels; and newspapers and magazines, catering to the Negro group. Within this partially closed circle, business may develop and make profit because of lack of general competition. But this very opportunity may ~~lead to~~ involve low wages, bad living conditions and exploitation of various sorts within the Negro group. If it does, how far is this problem of exploitation similar to or identical with the general white labor problem in the country and how far can it be fought by the same weapons? Suppose that Negro labor in an essentially Negro enterprise strikes, and the result of the strike is simply to abolish the ~~whole~~ Negro job and make any future job of the same sort dependent upon re-establishment under the same general conditions?

37-9-70

The real answer is a racial solidarity which persists until race prejudice disappears & yet is so organized as not to be used as a tool for the exploitation of any laboring class. This the Negro race can accomplish by making within its own group the interests of its laboring classes paramount & by putting into the hands of these people, through ~~by~~ cooperative enterprise, the ownership & control of capital support & finance Negro business. Eventually such a business structure can by growth & attaining metropolitan competition go beyond racial lines and become ~~and become~~ at least one of the pillars of Peace & ~~[redacted]~~ Revolution.

Census

Very often, the investors themselves worked in the business along side the other employees. Their point of view was the point of view of workers and it was this reason that for a long time I argued that there was no Negro bourgeosie. On the other hand, as Negro business grew, it became more true that a group of Negro capitalists were arising as such, although they were still so small in number and power that their influence was not great, and in no case comparable to the influence of teachers & preachers.

(Negro Negroes did however form a petty bourgeois — a group dependent upon capitalists, sharing their ideals & ready & forward their aims.)

37-9-71

Especially young, educated Negroes, became thoroughly bourgeois in outlook; that is, they looked forward to a time when Negro business should grow to such importance and power that Negro capital would dominate the scene, make treaty and alliance with white capital, and support and rule Negro labor. This, of course, was dangerous but not fatal. All that was necessary was by education and propaganda to make the intelligentsia of the Negro race see that their future & the future of the world lay with laborers rather than capitalists.

Moreover race prejudice tended to force this truth home even more quickly than formal education. Race discrimination separated Negro & white capitalists so thoroughly that the black capitalist was continually forced to make common cause with black labor. It needed only an intelligentsia with courage & skill & vision & refusal to compromise to carry on the fight against realistic facts.

This can be eliminated by

It became a fact but slowly to a considerable extent in banking, insurance and manufacture, in the small retail business, where still had the worker investing his own wages and working with his fellow employees. This was shown to be the case in the report on Negro retail business made by Charles E. Hall on the basis of the Census of 1930. He showed that there were in the United

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"The Amsterdam News did not come into the possession of the Powell-Savory Corporation until the Receiver's sale was effected on Friday morning, January 10th.

"Our attitude towards the striking employees is cordial as is evidenced by our retaining ten of them.

It is, ~~to be sure,~~ then a question as to just how the curious problem posed by the strike on the Amsterdam News is going to be solved, but certainly it is not at all a clear and simple thing which many well-meaning radicals celebrate. It does not mean that the solidarity of white and black labor has come. It does not mean that the ~~stopping of~~ strike at the Amsterdam News was, in fact, a good thing. It was a calamity and evidently the facts of the situation show clearly that the paper could not afford to meet the standards of wage and conditions of work which the white papers in New York City were able to. Moreover, these same white papers and the white labor upon the papers, are not going to operate black labor as jobs in return for those which have been lost. It becomes, therefore, the bounden duty of thinking black folk to work through the intricacies of this situation and ~~and~~ try and find a new path to economic freedom for black men.

37-9-74

It is a question to reveal to black folk
& have them keep their good name of loud advertising
discredited

The ideology of the Negro-American ~~must be~~ is set largely by the surrounding society. That means that the average Negro must believe in capital and investment and incomes depending upon the exploitation of labor. No matter if the average American Negro fails to accomplish this in his own economic life and depends primarily upon wages, nevertheless, so long as this is his outlook and ideal, just so long he will be kept from sympathy and union with the white laboring class and will be always ready under any circumstances to experiment with investment as a step toward wealth.

37-9-75

(Insert)

The anomaly of this situation is, that on neither side is there the kind of development that is theoretically required. There is no group of Negro capitalists bent on the continued exploitation of Negro workers with power and resources to make an income in this way.

37-9-76

On the other hand, the Negro bourgeoisie in this case was for the most part genuinely sympathetic with the demands of these editorial workers and wanted with them to work out and continue a project which was working for the welfare of both groups.

But the Negro workers, trained in the ideology of the labor group, sought to separate the working class from any taint of the bourgeoisie and fight a battle against them. They, therefore, emphasized the difference between the small propertyholder and the laborer, when in fact the laborer is largely the small propertyholder and the propertyholder largely works for a living.

The question comes then, is this separation for theoretical purposes really necessary? Instead of the Negro group developing as white groups have developed into two great opposing economic classes, can they not now in the midst of their development compose their interests and by economic co-operation develop into bourgeoisie and proletariat?

and concentration of wealth, a smaller and smaller proportion of American workers will get their income in that way. If their future prosperity depends upon wages, how is this kind of income to be raised to civilized standards? Manifestly through an intelligent labor movement using its political power and guided by proper knowledge of great economic ideals. If any considerable proportion of the laboring class has no such ideals and is willing to be made tools of by those to whose interest it is to keep down wages, then this class of men is a danger and it must, on the one hand, be organized for proper economic advance, and on the other hand, it must be taught.

37-9-77

Curiously enough in America there has been very little attempt on the part of the labor movement or the liberal and radical organizations to teach Negroes. It has been factiously assumed that Negroes naturally and by instinct know their real paths of advantage, that because they have suffered in social and economic discrimination, they should know the best way to escape it. While then money and effort has been expended to show Southern white mill workers what their economic program should be, and to teach the mass of American labor in the North how to use its political power, the Negro has been left to the guidance of religion, formal education and philanthropy. The results in many respects have been deplorable, but these results can not be corrected by abuse and recrimmination. I have repeatedly heard trade American offi cials address Negroes and blame them bitterly because they were so often strikebreakers. I have heard Socialists, Progressives and Communists berate black folk for not joining their movements(out of hand,)and yet I knew that nine-tenths of the listeners were hearing these doctrines of economic emancipation for the first time from these critics and then not from teachers who explained, but from men who assumed knowledge and criticized the people who did not follow it.

First and foremost, the job which has disappeared must be restored in some way or other so that these young writers can earn a living. The need for the service which the Amsterdam News gave is manifest. One hundred thousand Negroes in Harlem want to read news and discussion about themselves and their fellows. Merchants and others want to advertise their wares and services. I secured a temporary office last summer by advertising in the Amsterdam News. Hundreds of apartments and furnished rooms

are rented in that way. Now if service to these ends is to be restored, how can it be done? The newspaper tells us that two professional men, one connected with a Negro insurance society, are going to buy the bankrupt paper and re-issue it. Will they live up to the bargain made by the Guild as to wages and hours, etc.? Can they do it even if they want to and keep the paper solvent? What would be the object of the re-born periodical? To make profits for its new owners or to do public service? If the first object be true, can that profit be made and the promised wages paid? If the second be true, who will have greater interest in its accomplishment, the new owners or the workers on the paper? And if the workers on the paper, why should they not own it? Why if the led by white labor, and they proposition for re-building in accordance with broader ideals. Why does the union movement simply endorse the matter and expect a new capitalistic organization to carry the whole thing on more successfully than it has been carried on? It is a curious dilemma.

37-9-78

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It happens, however, that we are facing in the United States a situation when it is no longer probable that any considerable number of the workers of America are going to better their future condition through profits. The prosperity and comfort of most Americans in the future is going to depend upon wages. We can not all become capitalists and investors. In fact, with the growing monopoly and

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All the strikebreakers were dismissed and all the former staff was re-hired with an increase of 10% in salary. The stenographers were raised to a minimum of $21 and all reporters to $30. The editor asked the owner to negotiate with her employees and appointed an arbitrator, but the owner refused.

Pickets invaded "Strivers Row".

37-9-41

It is said that the pickets in all walked six thousand miles. The Amsterd
News December 19 was reduced from 20 to 16 pages.

Mrs. Davis was particularly blamed for calling the Guild a white man's guild. The Harlem Labor Center, West 125th Street, held a mass meeting and expressed sympathy with the strike.

37-9-42

In July, 1934, a unit of the New York Newspaper Writers' Guil
formed in the editorial department of the Amsterdam News,
, the Newspaper Writers' Guild, a trade union of
had been formed in New York City. It does not compare in influence with the teachers and

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professional men and its future development is so handicapped by competition and monopoly and the strait drawing of the color line, that it seems extremely doubtful if the future development of the colored race in America is going to be along the line of capitalistic investment.

t Negroes congratulated the restored News.

A number of prominen

308-6-18

nd others sued the owners for libel.

the action was taken by the Central Trades and Labor Council of the A.F. of L., combined with the International Labor Garment Workers' Union, the United Hebrew Trades, the American Federation of Musicians, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, etc. Most unions some of these have been fair to Negro labor, but according to Ira Reid's recent study, 90% of the unions represented by these million men refused to admit Negroes as fellow laborers, either by constitutional enactment or by repeated and invaluable action. There can be no doubt that a great many members of the American Newspapers' Writers Guild would dislike to work with a Negro writer or would absolutely refuse. Despite this, the editorial strikers had a right to say that they had received in this case more whole-hearted support than perhaps ever before. If for instance similar co-operation from railway unions had been given the Pullman Porters, their success would have been immediate and instead of their being refused on technicalities; a seat on the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., they would have had full recognition and by this time decent wages and conditions of work.

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On the midst of these difficulties, the proprietress

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In other words, she and her family suddenly and rather unexpectedly were brought face to face with a phase of modern economic development with which they were not in the slightest degree acquainted. Just as Like the early capitalists of the nineteenth century, they looked upon the Amsterdam News as their property. They had put their wages in it and they had worked upon it. They were in no sense merely investing capitalists nor was their capital something that had come to them by chance, inheritance or good luck. It was money they had worked for and saved, and the husband gave a good deal most of his time as business manager and the others, women gave time, and thought and sacrifice to the enterprise. By December, 1934, the financial situation was so bad that the editorial writers were so uneasy for their jobs, that the proprietor took a stand and threatened that unless the union was given up, she was going to discharge them. Nothing, however, was actually done on either side until the following August. Eight more months passed.

In August, 1935 this month, matters were brought to a head when the owner in renewed efforts to curtail expenses cancelled the customary summer vacations with pay. The Guild thought it time to take a stand. They did not protest at the salaries vacation cut or at the necessity of curtailing expenses, but they did want to talk with the proprietor and propose a definite contract as a basis of future negotiations. The wages paid at the time were not un-

37-9-46

This logic reached two difficulties: first of all, most Negroes are employed by white capitalists and very few by Negro capitalists; and secondly, Negro capital is invested often in white business, so that a considerable proportion of Negro capital employs white labor. The interests of white and Negro labor are largely identical but it is white labor that has hitherto refused to see this. A century's effort on the part of Negro workers to join the white labor movement has been singularly unsuccessful. Ira Reid, who has recently studied the situation, tells us that even today 96% of the trade unions exclude Negroes, eit

37-9-47

In September, 1935, a citizens' committee urged Mrs. Davis to negotiate with the employees. She refused. October, 1935, the mayor urged Mrs. Davis to negotiate. She refused and the Guild campaigned, reducing its circulation and advertising.

November, 1935, the Ministers' Union, Citizens' Committee, advertisers and others, urged Mrs. Davis to negotiate. She refused. Thirty-four pickets were arrested and freed.

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December 28, 1934, Mrs. Davis and her lawyer called in the office force and said she would have no union on her paper and threatened their discharge.

In August, 1935, a notice was posted cancelling vacations with pay. Previously vacations had been given on the basis of one week with pay and one week without pay. Now the two weeks were to be given without pay. On account of this, the Guild August 12 decided to submit a contract as the basis of negotiations. The conference was held August 20, but was not successful.

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In May, 1935, it was thought that perhaps the paper could be resuscitated by adding new features and raising the price to 10¢. The experiment was costly. The indebtedness to the printer increased $8,000 from May until October, while the circulation dropped from 32,000 to 18,000. By October, the deficit had reached $800 a week and the firm's reserves were exhausted and its credit curtailed. Something drastic had to be done. During the year, a dozen persons were dropped from the business department and in the printing department the number of editions, which originally were seven, was reduced to one, which saved about $200 a week. Then the owners decided to prune the editorial department.

The publisher claims that she first discharged three persons for purposes of economy and afterward five more because nothing was done to get the paper out. Thereupon a strike took place, Oct 9 — or a lock-out

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"A vicious campaign has been waged against the paper. Aided and abetted by the Guild and other union organizations, eight members of the home office staff and all but two of the outside staff who were members of the Guild, took their case to the public and described the publisher as a malevolent persecutor of labor. The sympathy of many intelligent and influential citizens was won through this deceitful plea. These citizens never took the trouble to find out the publisher's side. A vigorous campaign was waged against circulation and advertising. The circulation was not injured, but valuable local advertising was forced out of the paper, not because the advertiser supported the strikers in principle, but because he did not want his establishment picketed."

W. E. B. Du Bois
226 West 150 Street
Apartment 5 Jay
New York, New York

37-10-44

THE AFRICAN ROOTS OF WAR

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

I used this title in 1915 and I use it again now as it is just as true. War must be feared today not on the great European front where the world is watching, but in out-of-the-way places where smooth propaganda minimizes and even disguises the reasons, and where valuable private profit may be reaped. There is oil along the eastern highlands of Africa and in Abyssinia, and there is none in Italy; there are valuable metals, including gold. Above all, here from the Blue Nile and the Atbara comes half the water supply of the Nile Valley, including the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Egypt itself.

The great ramparts of Abyssinia, soaring over seas of hills and mountains, form the greatest stronghold of all Africa, and the one part which has natural barriers for defense. It was a German who said that the power which held the Abyssinian highlands could dominate the imperialism of Europe in Africa.

Abyssinia is a pear-shaped mountain clump, cut into island-like sections which are separated by deep gorges and ravines. It is nearly as large as France and Spain combined, and looms high on the northwest toward the Valley of the Nile, on the southwest toward the Great Lakes, and on the east toward the sea. It rises in three great terraces: a plane of rocky strata; a plateau about eight thousand feet above the sea, and above this snow-capped mountains which sometimes rise nearly another eight thousand feet. "It looks," says the traveller, "like a storm-tossed sea, suddenly solidified."

The highest ramparts of this "citadel of Africa", lying as they do between the fever-infested South and the sun-baked Sudan, form a fortress which would be difficult even for a modern army to storm. It is to her mountains that Abyssinia owes the fact that her population is the only dark race in Africa not yet under European domination.

In these highlands, both the Blue Nile and the Atbara rise, and thus Abyssinia commands a full half of the waters of the Nile, and dominates the most direct route to the Nile Valley. Moreover, its natural seaboard commands the

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whole of one side of the Gulf of Aden, and the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb. When the Suez Canal was opened these waters became the throat of the British Empire.

When the canal was opened in 1865, its significance for the British Empire was evident, and in 1876, the dual control of England and France in Egypt was arranged. Modern commercial imperialism began rapidly to assume its essential characteristics. Africa was discussed at the Congress of Berlin in 1878. France had begun her African empire in Algeria in 1830, and now both Bismark and Salisbury were willing for her to add Tunis, despite the fact that this site of ancient Carthage belonged logically to Italy.

The scramble for Africa began. In 1881, France seized Tunis, and in 1882 England seized Egypt, while England, France and Italy with one accord turned toward northeast Africa and the coasts of Abyssinia. The Italians on some shadowy claim took what is now Eritrea in 1882, but were blocked by both Great Britain and France from further extension South. Great Britain took British Somaliland in 1884; the French already had Obock and nearly came to blows with the British until a treaty was made in 1887.

Meantime, the situation of the British in Egypt had peculiar repercussions in Abyssinia. Egypt was groaning under the debt which had been deliberately encouraged by France and England. Her rulers, who had squandered the proceeds, sought to keep up the interest by ruinous and exhaustive taxation. Europe intervened to insure payment of interest on her debt. Crushed between Europe and Turkey, Egypt learned to Arabi Pasha, and cried "Egypt for the Egyptians," and rebelled. The English trained their guns upon Alexandria and defeated Arabi at Tel-el-Kebir. This left the former rulers in nominal control, while the English held the real power along the Lower Nile.

But above the First Cataract in ancient Ethiopia, misrule and extortion had long been worse than in Egypt. Before the Arabi rebellion in 1878, the mulatto Rabah had swept through the Bahr-El-Ghazel and the regions south of Lake Chad. Now there arose a greater leader and a vaster motif. Mohammed Ahmed, son of a priest in Dongola, had established headquarters 150 miles above Khartum. He was a tall, broad-shouldered, majestic black man, with great eyes. He had visions. Disciples gathered around him, and eventually he proclaimed himself the Mahdi, the Messiah of the Mohammedan revelation.

The country went into the throes of a religious crusade against Egypt. A holy war was proclaimed, and a strong army organized. The Mahdi put down blasphemy, feasting, drinking, smoking and swearing. Thousands followed him. The Egyptians in 1883 sent an army of 10,000 under the Englishman, Hicks Pasha. They were annihiliated, with only 300 left alive. Kordofan, Dafur and the Bahr-El-Ghazel surrendered. Only a German, Emin Pasha, still upheld Egyptian power down in the Equatorial provinces next to Uganda. By the end of 1883, the Mahdi was master of a territory equal to Spain, France and Germany, and his army was closing in on Khartum, the capital of the Sudan.

England hesitated. Gladstone and the Little Englanders had driven Disraeli from power, and ruled from 1880-1885, or at least had as much power as any radical government could have in England so long as the Tory House of Lords held the veto. It was impossible for them to withdraw from Egypt and maintain English dividends, although they declared the English stay there but temporary; but Gladstone preemptorily refused to undertake the conquest of the Sudan.

But the Sudan was a choice morsel, not only for the heads of Egyptian slavery and misrule, but also for English commercial development in the Valley of the Nile and in East Africa. English imperialists were not without resouree, and they seized upon Chinese Gordon. This man was a religious fanatic, ill-balanced if not at times insane. He had fits of rage, courage and murder. He had fought in the Crimean War, and played a large role in the Chinese upheaval. He went on sprees with the Bible in one hand and a flask of brandy in the other; he lived among the London poor; and was about to go to the Belgian Congo when English commeree forced Gladstone to send him to the Sudan, ostensibly to "report" on the situation. Gordon reached Khartum in 1884, and was made Governor-General. He proceeded to recognize slavery even though the suppression of the slave trade was one of the ostensible excuses for English interference in the Sudan. The Mahdi swept between him and Cairo, and cut off his communications. England held indignation meetings and public prayers, but Gladstone was determined not to be entangled. Osman Digna, the Mahdi's general, marched to the borders of Abyssinia

7-10-46

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and drove back the English army. They retaliated in a successful attack, but Gladstone refused to let them follow it up. He compelled them to withdraw, and declared that the invasion of the Sudan would be a war of comquest against a people "rightly struggling to be free."

The Mahdi, with thirty thousand men, laid seige to Khartum. Gladstone was certain that Gordon could retreat from Khartum if he wished, and that his persistence in staying there was a "bluff" on the part of the Imperialists to force the hands of the Liberals. Hartington threatened to resign. Gladstone had to yield. An army of relief, with 10,000 troops, was slow in getting started, and too late to take advantage of the high waters of the Nile. Gordon's hair turned white. Hundreds died daily of hunger in Khartum. The dead lay unburied. The assault began. Gordon hesitating whether to fight or commit suicide, finally put on his uniform and rushed downstairs. He met four tall, grim, black men, and died.

In England, Gladstone was called a murderer and a traitor.

For thirteen years, the Mahdi and his successor, the Khalifa, ruled in the Sudan. Thus, the whole of the Sudan was lost to Egypt and England. The Egyptian garrisons on the northern border of Abyssinian were finally withdrawn in 1886, and Abyssinian French, British and Italian possessions on the coast were in danger of being overwhelmed by the Mahdi.

This looked like a rare opportunity for German imperialism. Between German East Africa and the Egyptian Sudan, lay the great territory of Uganda, where Catholics, Protestants and Mohammedans had been merrily cutting each others throats in their efforts to convert the heathen. The Germans pushed warily up into this country, while shut up in the Equatorial provinces of the Sudan was the German Emin Pasha. Germany determined to rescue him, while England spent $145,000 on the Stanley expedition. Both nations were seeking to fall heir to Egypt in Central Africa. England and Stanley arrived first, and found Emin unwilling to be "rescued." He wanted to hold these provinces and turn them over to Germany. The Khalifa, however, was pressing him hard, and when Stanley appeared in 1888, Emin reluctantly followed him, and they met Karl Peters and the German expedition which had been busily engaged in making treaties with the local chiefs for German expansion. Emin, with his black wife and mulatto daughter,

finally arrived at Zanzibar, where he accepted the post under the German administration in East Africa.

Late in 1884, the scramble for Africa became bitter. England was encroaching upon the Portuguese colonies; Germany had appeared in the field; France was at work in North Africa. France, England and Italy had seized the coast of Abyssinia, and in the vast Valley of the Congo, comprising the whole center of Africa, little Belgium had proposed an international state. An European conference to settle the rules of the game for the further looting of Africa seemed necessary. It came together in Berlin in November, 1884, and lasted through February, 1885. The United States was represented. The Congo was recognized not as an international state but as the personal property of the King of Belgium. Certain rules of procedure for the further seizure of Africa were adopted, and before the conference was ended, the German Colonial Party forced Bismark's hand, seized Zanzibar and East Africa, and appeared as a full-fledged African colonial power.

There were several significant occurrences in 1885. The Mahdi died after the fall of Khartum and was succeeded by the Khalifa. England came to the verge of war with Russia over the approach to India. The Gladstone government fell in June, and the Tories under Salisbury, came into power. Salisbury, looking toward a beginning of re-assertion of power in Central Africa, and fearing that the Khalifa would drive Europe from the coast of Abyssinia, suggested that Italy seize the Port of Massowah, which the withdrawal of Egypt left unoccupied. This was disloyal to Abyssinia, since only the year before England had signed a treaty of alliance with Johannes IV. and with Johannes' help had held back the Mahdi. To hand over to the Italians, Massowah which belonged logically to the Abyssinians and to which Italy had no shadow of claim was an extraordinary breach of faith. Italy proceeded to take Massowah, as Giolitti says, as "a consolation prize," having been cheated out of Tunis, held back in Tripoli; out-manoeuvered both at the Congress of Berlin and the Berlin Conference; as well as losing her chance to participate in Egypt.

Once having placed her foot in Massowah, Italy proceeded to make alliance with Johannes' chief enemy, Menelik of Shoa, a pretender to the Abyssinian throne. Johannes found himself between two enemies, Italy and the Khalifa, and eventually was killed in battle by the latter in 1889. Immediately, Menelik proclaimed himself

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King of Kings, and in May signed with the Italians the celebrated treaty of Uccialli.

To prove his gratitude to the Italians for their alliance and help with the armies, Menelik ceded Massowah to Italy ~~the territory which they had already seized~~. But the Italians, drunk with new ambition, swept on, calmly advanced into Abyssinia, and toward the end of 1889, seized Adowa, while Menelik was busily subduing his enemies. They even penetrated into the Harrar, the trading region inland from the British and French coast, thus coming into direct dispute, not only with Abyssinia, but with the claims of these other countries. ~~France and Great Britain~~. Thereupon, France and Great Britain made a secret treaty which allowed them to oppose Italy's advance if they pleased; a treaty which again put Great Britain in the unenviable position of "double-crossing" Italy, just as she had previously deceived Abyssinia.

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In the very month, May, 1889, when Italy signed the treaty of Uccialli with Menelik, Crispi, assuming that Abyssinia had already become an Italian protectorate, determined to get the adjoining Somaliland coast. This last stretch of coast, called the Benadir Coast, belonged to Zanzibar, but the territories of the Sultan had been divided up between the British and the Germans, except Benadir. The Italians immediately got a concession of this territory for a down payment and promised annunity. The Italian government notified Lord Salisbury that a protectorate had been established over the Somali Coast, and six months later, this was extended as far as British East Africa.

In 1892, the coast became an Italian possession. The natives rebelled, but reinforcements were rushed in, and the land turned over to an Italian company for exploiting the mining rights. The native ownership of land was completely ignored.

The stage was now set for Italy's final coup. In the seventeenth clause of the Treaty of Uccialli, there arose a characteristic misunderstanding. The Abyssinian text, which was the only one actually signed, said: "His Majesty, the King of Kings of Ethiopia, shall be at liberty to avail himself of the Italian government for any negotiations which he may enter into with other powers or governments." The Italian translation, whichwas made in Italy, said: "His Majesty, the King of Kings of Ethiopia, consents to avail himself of the Italian government for any negotiations which he may enter into with other powers or governments."

The treaty was signed May 2, 1889. October 1, 1889, there was an additional treaty by which Menelik was to receive a loan of four million lire from an Italian bank under the guaranty of the Italian government, and on security of the Harrar Custom House. October 12, 1889, Crispi notified the powers by circular letter under the General Act of the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, that Abyssinia was an Italian protectorate. On May 5, 1894, he signed agreements with England in which England recognized Abyssinia as an Italian protectorate. A map of Africa by treaty was published in 1894, with the sanction of the English Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in which this rape of Abyssinia was recognized.

But both England and Italy had reckoned without their host. There is no doubt but that the Treaty of Uecialli was a clumsy forgery of the same sort that had previously transferred sovereignty of a larger part of Africa from black men to white. Menelik, however, did not choose to submit. He not only denounced the treaty but he took up arms. He declared by proclamation: "Ethiopia has need of no one. She stretches out her hands to none but God."

The French supplied Menelik willingly with arms and munitions. The forces of Italy and Ethiopia met at Adowa, and Italy's army of ~~forty thousand~~ 100,000 was annihilated March 1, 1896.

Suddenly, the headwaters of the Nile, and the Nile Valley, ~~and Egypt, the domination of the Red Sea,~~ and the path from the Cape-to-Cairo, ~~all these~~ were in the hands of black men,--the black dervishes of the Sudan, and Menelik II., King of the Kings of Ethiopia and Emperor of Abyssinia. An English officer wrote: "If I were the Mahdi, I would make Egypt pay for every quart of water that runs down the Nile."

With Abyssinia safe in Italian hands, Great Britain had the black dervishes of the Sudan bottled up. She could let them simmer in their own wrath until she leisurely extended her "influence" over them. She had (dominated Uganda indirectly since 1890, and) in 1894 annexed Uganda formally, thus definitely curbing German expansion in East Africa. In 1895, the Jameson raid had taken place in South Africa as the first step toward a war destined to crush the Dutch and make South Africa a British province. The Cape-to-Cairo idea, fostered by Chamberlain and Cecil Rhodes, had seized the immagination of the empire. Agreement was made with Leopold of Belgium which secured a perpetual lease of a large bloc of

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territory at the headwaters of the Nile, and filled in the gap between the Great Lakes.

France was alarmed, Germany protested, and there was talk of war. But the British Empire yielded a little, and Lord Roseberry consented to withdraw the Congo agreement. The French, thereupon, took a forward step, and determined to push from French Africa eastward to the Nile. Menelik of Abyssinia gave aid and comfort, and in 1894, made a concession to the French to build a railway from Djibuti through the Harrar to Addis Abbaba and the White Nile. French officers trained the Abyssinian army. Great Britain warned France of her own and Egypt's claims in the Nile Valley and that she would consider any attempt to dispute these claims as an "unfriendly act." Paris declared that England accompanied a legally indefensible claim with a threat of war, and insisted that the control of the Sudan and the Nile Valley was an unsettled question.

But the Battle of Adowa changed the whole situation. Italy could no longer pull English chestnuts out of the fire, and French plans were manifest. Salisbury, again at the English helm, moved quickly. March 5, the news of Adowa reached England, and March 12, England suddenly learned that Chinese Gordon was a Christian martyr, who had been murdered by heathen. She ordered the conquest of the Sudan as the first step toward evacuating Egypt. Kitchener, with Maxim-Nordenfeldt guns, moved up the Nile to Dongola. He captured Khartum in September, and ordered the tomb of the dead Mahdi publicly desecrated. The Khalifa committed suicide in 1898. England was not a minute too soon. That very ~~month~~ September, Marchand, the Frenchman, was at Fashoda awaiting the French and Abyssinian expeditions from Abyssinia. Indeed, one Abyssinian expedition under a royal prince had already reached the river but had been decimated by fever. The other expedition under a French commander did not materialize. For a moment, the world stood still with world war in the air.

The French had dispatched Captain Marchand to the French Congo April 25, with instructions to march to the White Nile. They arranged an Abyssinian expedition to join him. The idea was that the two expeditions should meet on the Nile and establish a French claim to the Upper Valley of the Nile. When Kitchener arrived, he would find the French and Abyssinians stretched across the Cape-to-Cairo path. The Abyssinian expedition failed through the negligence of the French governor of Djibuti. When Marchand reached Fashoda in 1898, there was no fortress and no expedition of French and Abyssinians from the east to support him. Kitchener proceeded south

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to meet Marchand and a small body of Senegalese soldiers. The sympathies of the world were with Marchand. War was imminent. But the French fleet was not equal to the British and the French army at Fashoda was greatly inferior to the British army. March 21, 1899, an Anglo-French declaration was issued, which gave the Nile Valley to Great Britain. France was bitter but her conquest of Madagascar in 1896 was recognized.

Italy thus stood disillusioned over her Colonial dream with only the barren sands of Tripoli and two bits of Abyssinian coast. This irked her sorely, while it brought Abyssinia again to the notice of the world. Who are the Abyssinians and what is their government?

Haile Selassie II. is by tradition the 384th King to sit upon the throne; and leaving out mere tradition, we know of at least 200 Abyssinian kings in historic times. Abyssinia represents the fourth step inward of African culture since the prehistoric migration which spread the Negro race over the world. First came the Egyptian mulattoes on the Lower Nile, with boundaries which lay 500 miles south of the delta at the First Cataract. Then, comes ancient Ethiopia and modern Nubia, the land of black men, where Egyptian culture took refuge against the assaults of Asia. Here, at Napata, centered a civilization which ruled the world from 750 to 600 B.C. Asia, and the encroaching desert, drove the center of culture again south 500 miles further to Meroe; that shield-like island, formed by the waters of the Atbara and the Blue Nile. Here reigned the Candaces and here black culture flourished in trade and met Greek influence and Roman power.

New enemies appeared; not only a continually failing water-supply, but black hordes from the West and Southwest and new conquerors from the North. The power of Ethiopia declined in this strife, and for 600 years, Arabs and Nubians fought over its remains. Then came the black Fungs from the West. Arabs ruled in the North, and Fungs in the South,--a division which lasted down to the middle of the 19th Century. Finally, about 1840, Egypt conquered the Sudan, and for forty years reduced it to ruin and misery. It was against this rule that the Mahdi made the first successful revolt.

Meantime, however, "The Citadel" of the South, which was Abyssinia, and represented the fourth step down from Egypt, held its independence against Islam and heathendom. In these highlands bordering the Red Sea, Semitic settlers from Arabia had

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filtered in in a series of movements extending over a long period of time, and became gradually incorporated with the original black population. Among these immigrants were many Jews who took refuge here from the conquerors of Palestine. Thus, a race of Semitic mulattoes arose and established a kingdom which centered around Axum, a trading post established about the First Century, A.D.

This kingdom took its name, "Abyssinia", from a Semitic tribe, "Habesh"; but the people of Habesh were neither contented nor safe in being simply Abyssinian. Trade and defense forced them toward ancient Ethiopia, and they disputed with the Arabs and Nubians over the domination of the island of Meroe. Here they claimed sovereignty as early as 356 A.D., and actually destroyed its capital a century later. Greek and Roman influence filtered into Abyssinia from the East, and trade made Axum flourish. Myths of its obscure origin began to arise: the Jewish myth of descent of its royal house from Solomon; the Negro myth of its descent from Aethiopis, whose tomb was pointed out at Axum.

The new Christian religion came to Abyssinia in the Fourth Century after Christ, and thus a third great center of Christianity, in contrast to Rome and Constantinople, was established. Then came the red wave of conquest from the North, and the history of Abyssinia becomes dim and shadowy. As Gibbon has written, "Encompassed by her enemies, Ethiopia slept a thousand years, forgetful of the world by whom she was forgotten."

We catch glimpses of Abyssinian history here and there, as when in 525, at the request of the Emperor Justinian, the Abyssinians in sixty ships landed in Arabia, and captured Yemen, which they held for seventy-five years. In the Tenth Century, a certain Judith or Esther usurped the throne and the Falashas or black Jews, together with the native Zagwes, ruled.

It was not until the 15th Century that the explorations of the Portuguese again brought Abyssinia to the attention of the world. The Portuguese appeared in Abyssinia in 1532 in time to aid them with 400 horsemen against the attacks of the Mohammedans, who had advanced as far south as Massowah. The Portuguese located in Abyssinia the source of the legend of Prester John, that ghostly Christian ruler, who during the Middle Ages was supposed to be reigning in Africa or India, and was

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the source of many legends.

Abyssinia from early times was divided into a number of great districts, each administered by an hereditary chief called a Ras. Over these chiefs ruled a Negus, called a "King of Kings". When this overlord was a strong man, he ruled a powerful country. When he was weak, there was anarchy and confusion.

Such a period of disintegration was in progress about the middle of the 19th Century under Johannes; but he was succeeded in 1855 by the Emperor Theodore, a gifted, ruthless man, who came to the throne at the time when European imperialism was being organized and stretching out inquiring hands toward Asia and Africa. Scientists, traders, missionaries and adventurers wandered into Abyssinia. Theodore was well-disposed toward Europeans, and curious about their countries, but inevitable misunderstanding occurred, both in matters of etiquette and religion. "I know the tactics of European governments," said the observing Theodore, "when they try to acquire an Eastern state. First, they send out missionaries; then consuls to support the missionaries; then battalions to support the consuls. I am not a Rajah of Hindustan to be made mock of in that way."

But Theodore needed alliance and friendship with Europe, if they came to him on honorable terms, to help organize his kingdom and beat back the threatened domination of Turks and Egyptians. He considered himself insulted, however, when the British and others after making fair promises, forgot all about him and ignored his overtures; in angry retaliation he seized and imprisoned the British minister and other Europeans.

Thereupon, in 1867, the British sent Napier with an army of 12,000 men to invade Abyssinia. The expedition found Theodore busy with a rebellion, and the invading army had the support of these rebels. Theodore was surrounded in his capital where the British troops with superior rifles killed two thousand Abyssinians, while losing only 20 whites. Theodore surrendered and released the prisoners, but Napier had promised the rebel chiefs to degrade and dethrone him. The English artillery opened fire on Magdala and Theodore shot himself dead. His body was allowed to be mutilated by a mob, while Napier received a peerage.

Anarchy ensued in Abyssinia between 1868 and 1872, with two rival claimants to the throne, Johannes of Tigre and Menelik of Shoa. In the midst of this dispute,

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the Egyptians pushed into Northern Abyssinia, seized some of the Border provinces, and dominated the trade to the coast. In 1876, however, they were nearly annihilated in Jura, although still in possession of Massowah on the coast, and the province of Harrar. Then came the Mahdi. We have seen how Italy aspired to dominate Abyssinia, but was frustrated by Menelik II., who became emperor in 1889, and ruled until 1913.

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Let us turn now to Italy which thus came into contact with Abyssinia, and is pursuing the same object today. Chamberlain, father of the modern phase of English imperialism, once said frankly: "Empire is commerce." Despite effort to camouflage this as the "white man's burden," the essential truth remains.

Modern industrial imperialism is a method by which governments lay open areas of cheap labor and raw material for exploitation through private agencies. The cost of such exploitation would be much too great for private enterprise alone to bear profitably. But if it can be done by the public taxation which supports armies and navies, and gives them strength and blood of young men, then there is a chance for private enterprise to make large profits by small investment which secures raw material and cheap labor. Moreover, unless such raw material and cheap labor are thus made available to a country like Italy, rivals will seize them and make it impossible for the lagging country to amass wealth and capital and secure recognition among the Great Powers which today control industry and commerce.

The profits upon private enterprise invested in the cheap labor of brown and black men, and in the cheap but essential materials which they raise, have reached such heights which put unrivaled power in the hands of nations which own them. It was such considerations that made Germany rush suddenly into colonial enterprise after the Franco-Prussian War, and today pushes Italy toward Abyssinia.

The nationalization of Italy had finally been accomplished in 1870. But Italy was poor and undeveloped. Industries sprang up in the North, while agriculture dominated the South. But, if Italy was to become one of the Great Powers, she had to have modern industrial development, and that she conceived depended upon imperial expansion. Her treatment by France in the matter of Tunis and Tripoli, and by England, in the case of Abyssinia, threw her into the arms of Germany and Austria, and she became part of the Triple Alliance. By taking Tripoli from Turkey in 1911-

1912, Italy had helped precipitate there world-wide conflagration, and had gained for herself a strip of barren sand by "a perfect nightmare of horror...a veritable carnage." Nevertheless, on the eve of the World War, Prime Minister Salandra declared that Italy's policy would be dictated by "Sacred Egoism". Thus, in 1914, Italy, holding herself aloof, offered herself to the highest bidder.

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It is said that at one time France dangled the Port of Djibuti with its Abyssinian railway terminal before Italy, and even the Colony of Tunis ~~in 1935~~. At any rate, in the secret treaty of London, it was expressly agreed by Great Britain, France, and Russia, not only that Italy was to receive large portions of Austrian territory, but that: (Article XIII. of the Treaty of London of April 26, 1915.)

"In the event of an extension of the French and British colonial possessions in Africa at the expense of Germany, France and Great Britain recognise to Italy in principle the right of demanding for herself certain compensations, in the form of an extnsion of her possessions in Eritrea, Somaliland, Libya, and the colonial districts bordering on French and British colonies."

Italy immediately entered the war on the side of the Allies, and there ensued lively discussion of future colonial development by imperial Italian bodies, like the Istituto Coloniale Italiano, the Societá Africana d'Italia, the Societá Italiana di Esploranioni, and the Istituto Orientale di Napoli, and by a number of publicists. For her entrance into the war, Italy paid a terrible toll. Six hundred thousand lay dead and a million were wounded. The country seethed with disillusion and discontent, and the Paris Conference, by ignoring the Treaty of London, gave Italy what she regarded as a "mutilated victory", despite the territory which she gained from Austria. As a result, the Socialists, who had opposed Italy's entrance in the war, captured the government in 1919, and the beginnings of proletarian revolution in the form of sydicalism appeared. ~~Factories were seized and labor reached for control.~~

Italy ~~must~~ had to choose and choose quickly between a redistribution of wealth and economic power dictated by the working classes, or a re-organization of industry in the interests of capital but so far restrained that the mass of workers could be kept at labor in peaceful subjection. The resultant Fascism, started by the march on Rome

In the second half of 1919, Italy passed through a severe financial crisis, and the lire fell to one-third of its value, while prices were eight times their height in 1913.

Five hundred thousand workmen seized factories in North Italy, and this was regarded as the beginning of revolution. But it was not, for Italy cannot exist without importing wheat, coal, iron, cotton, mineral oil and copper. And to pay for these, she must have foreign credits.

in 1922, and gradually developed, faced a tremendous task. It must keep peace, restore confidence, curb the power of capital, furnish more capital, and insure profits. These contradictory objects could be carried out only if the first could be continuously assured, and the last realized in fact. Confidence and faith in Italy, and peaceful submission to the burdens of war and oppression, were accomplished by a subtly conceived psychological onslaught, which revived in the minds of young Italy the glory of Rome and the expansion of colonial empire. For glory, it appealed to youth in its curiously illogical national hymn: "Youth, springtime of beauty. Facism is the safeguard of our liberty." What could thrill young Italy more than revenge for Adowa?

"I heard Mussolini say on one occasion, speaking from the balcony of the Chigi Palace on the Corso in Rome--this was before he moved over to the Palazzo Venezia--'Camice Nere [Blackshirts] when you look at the map, you see that the island of Sicily is the southernmost limit of our empire. But I swear to you that the day will come when the island of Sicily will be the geographical center of our empire!'"

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The history of Rome was invoked, and Mussolini began sabre-rattling on a tremendous scale, and particularly emphasized the fact that Italy proposed to have colonies where she could settle her expanding population, and that also that population must expand. The millions of Italians who had immigrated to North and South America must in the future find homes under the Italian flag. Moreover, Mussolini said frankly that Tripoli and Eritrea were not enough. "These two colonies alone cannot solve our population problem, mark this well!" He emphasized the plight of the Italians in Tunis. There were ninety thousand of them compared with seventy-one thousand Frenchmen, and the French were threatening to turn Italian children into French citizens. Mussolini protested bitterly, and demanded a great navy to protect a future empire.

What all this means is made clearer by considering the present Colonial position of Italy. She has three African colonies: Lybia, which is the former Tripoli and Cyrenaica. Together, they have 687,914 inhabitants, and an area of about 900,000 square miles. On the coast bordering Abyssinia, are two other colonies: one, Eritrea, with 621,000 inhabitants, and the other, Somaliland, with 1,000,000. Most of these inhabitants in all three colonies are natives, there being in the total population of two and one-third million, less than 50,000 Italians.

The Fascist Party first represented young patriots, but soon they were given pecuniary support by landholders and industrialists, who hasten to join their ranks. And today, Italian Fascism is a social revolution guided by landed capitalism.

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The colonies do not pay for themselves, and it costs Italy some $25,000,000 a year above their income to balance the budget. And of this, $25,000,000, $15,000,000 goes for a local army officered by Italians and manned mainly by natives.

In the meantime, Abyssinia was bestirring herself. Menelik, the great emperor, died the year before the World War. He was succeeded by a daughter, and then by a grandson, whose hatred of Europeans and fanatical attitude on religion made him no fit instrument for a diplomatic role. Finally, Ras Tafari, a leading prince, was nominated as successor; he was crowned King in 1928 and Emperor, November 2, 1930, amid the pomp of one of the oldest branches of the Christian Church. Significantly, he determined to call his country "Ethiopia, the land of the Burnt Faces," and not Abyssinia, from the Semitic tribe of Habesh. To the far-sighted, the coronation of Haile Selassie II., presented at once foreboding and encouraging omens. He represented the beginning of a new era. Forces were at work to end the whole system of European aggression upon colored countries. In the formation of the League of Nations was the idea of a world tribunal where the lesser nations could at least be heard. The idea of the mandates was to put certain colonies under the guarandianship of the League of Nations, and prevent at least the extremes of exploitation. In ~~Abyssinia~~ Ethiopia there seemed to lie the best chance for a new development. An unhampered tradition went back thousands of years that enabled these black men and brown to be proud of their color, their ancestry, their history. Surely, here was a chance to begin a new world.

For if ~~Abyssinia~~ Ethiopia thus represented a beginning of new things, it also represented a continuation of the old, and this fact, too, was clear at the coronation. Representatives of thirteen countries braved the difficulties of travel and were present at Addis Addaba. There was the Duke of Glouster, son of the King of England; there was the Duke of Udine, son of the King of Italy; there was ~~Marshal~~ Franchet d'Esperey, ~~representing~~ a marshal of France; and a royal prince of Japan. The British representative stood, always, at the emperor's right hand, and the Italian at his left. It looked almost like a foregathering of cormorants watching a feast, where each was seeing that one did not get all and each maneuvering for the largest possible share.

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Meantime, the new Emperor, born in 1891, and much travelled in Europe, was evidently an enlightened man who proposed to make Abyssinia a modern country. He is

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a little brown man with curly hair, dignified and serious, educated in France, and eager for the advance of his country. As Prince, he had visited England, France and the continent, and wished to come to the United States, but the United States did not invite him. He began sending a few Abyssinians to be educated abroad; he began to reorganize the system of justice, and tried to re-build the state in many ways. There were difficulties. Some were internal; ~~Abyssinia is~~ Ethiopia is more than two thousand years old with an unbroken tradition, strong feudal princes, old families, and inbred customs opposed to change. The emperor had to attack evils like domestic slavery slowly and with care. Yet in this case, European philanthropy, with rapacious commercialism back of it, hammered at the reformer and forced him to set a pace which time may prove far too fast for his slow changing nation. It is quite possible that the new emperor, by his innovations and European policy, has strained dangerously the allegiance of some of his powerful followers, linked as they are to ancient allegiance and hoary customs.

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~~The Emperor has persisted~~ Ethiopia, against the protest of England, and Italy, but with the backing of France, ~~his country~~ entered the League of Nations in 1923, and in 1928, Italy and Abyssinia signed a treaty of friendship and arbitration for all disputes to remain in force twenty years.

Nevertheless, the international relations of Ethiopia, coupled with old efforts at economic intervention, make the situation of the country difficult. In 1906, the agreement between Great Britain, France and Italy to respect and preserve the integrity of Abyssinia was really designed to prevent industrial concessions made to one from injuring the claims of any of the others. The notes between Great Britain and Italy in 1925 secretly divided Ethiopia into spheres of influence with Great Britain dominant in the regions of Lake Tsana and the headwaters of the Nile, and Italy along the borders of Eritrea and Somaliland. Ethiopia brought this treaty to the notices of the League of Nations. Mussolini explained, and MacDonald half apologized, and yet later when certain American engineers in 1927 signed a $20,000,000 contract to dam the waters of Lake Tsana, England insisted upon her prior rights, and by quiet diplomacy broke the contract.

So far, the Ethiopians have avoided the pitfalls which put Algeria, Tunis and Egypt into debt-servitude to the bankers of Europe. Ethiopia has at present no

public debt, and the banking facilities of the country which were for a long time under the domination of Egypt, and thus indirectly of England, have recently been consolidated under the Bank of Ethiopia.

On the other hand, in the matter of communications, Ethiopia has become seriously entangled. Thehistory of this goes back to the concession which Menelik made in 1894 to a French company for a railroad from Djibuti through Harrar to Addis Abbeba and the White Nile. Construction was hurried directly after the Battle of Adowa, and English commerce was greatly aroused. When the French were unable to raise sufficient capital for the enterprise, they borrowed from English investors, and then tried to make the railroad a government enterprise. To this Menelik strongly objected. Thereupon, it was proposed that the railroad be internationalized and owned by several European governments, but Menelik would not consent to this. Finally, when the French company was bankrupt in 1907, a new private company was formed under an Ethiopian whose bonds were backed by the guaranty of the French government, but whose real owners were the French and English, with a few Ethiopians. Four hundred and eighty-six milesof this railroad have now been built.

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In addition to this, the Italians own 1,225 miles of telegraph lines, while the Ethiopians themselves have five thousand miles of telephone. The resources of Ethiopia are almost entirely undeveloped. The population is probably about ten million. The annual value of its trade, imports and exports, is about $10,000,000, and there are undoubtedly large mineral resources in the mountains, not to mention the entirely undeveloped water power.

It is clear that the present clash between Italy and Abyssinia had its immediate use in two facts: the discovery of oil in a desert border region where Abyssinia has long had imperfect control, and where Italy, for commercial reasons, has been encroaching upon the ill-defined boundaries. Secondly, because the sudden re-adjustment of European alliances caused by the murder of Dolfus, has compelled Mussolini to justify his sabre-rattling to the youth of Italy in Ethiopia rather than in North Africa.

Mussolini used to wind up his most flamboyant speeches with a fiery exclamation: "E Tunisia?" To this word, pronounced in a questioning tone of voice, the massed blackshirts then replied with a thunderous shout: "A Noi!" which means: "To Us!"

The African Roots of War

The murder of the prime minister of Austria by the German Nazis halted an understanding between France and Italy which might have forced France and England to disgorge the German colonies in Africa and grant Italy's African demands in full. But Italy feared Pan-Germany more than France; France feared Hitler's militarism; and England feared German industrial competition.

37-10-61

Laval and Mussolini renewed the old efforts to come to an understanding. Exactly what their written understanding is has not been published, but it is pretty clear from subsequent events. Nothing was probably said about the navy. Italy has little money to build ships, even if she wants to. Some concessions were made as to Italians in Tunis, and some territorial concessions in the hinterland of Tripoli, probably not large in actual extent, but important in opening one of the main trade routes from Lake Chad to Tripoli, and involving some 50,000 square miles of territory.

The main concession undoubtedly was in Abyssinia, and that concession consisted, first, in promising to keep hands off if Mussolini should make war upon Abyssinia, and seize any part of her territory. Secondly, to grant Italian capital additional power in Abyssinia. It is rumored that three thousand shares of the Djibuti Railroad have been turned over to Italy, and that a rectification of frontier between Eritrea and French Somaliland has been so arranged as to give Italy direct access to the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb.

All this means a tighter economic cordon around Ethiopia to make her access to foreign markets more difficult, and to keep out capital from countries other than Italy, Great Britain, and France. Behind this movement, and tending to strengthen the common interests of these imperial powers, are two menaces from Asia: one is the new independence of the kingdom of the Arabs opposite Abyssinia across the Red Sea. At best this is going to cut off Italian trade with Eritrea, and at worst, it is going to encourage every Arab in North Africa to remember the trail of blood through which Italy walked to secure the barren victory of Tripoli. Again, the recent appearance of Japan in Abyssinian industrial development, has alarmed the West. It is rumored that Japan has already captured one-third of the commerce of Abyssinia, and the French charge that the Japanese wish to equip Ethiopia industrially, and furnish technical help for her new machines. If in this way

Japan should obtain an economic foothold in Ethiopia, she might lay claim to share in one of the ports of the Red Sea through which Ethiopian commerce must pass. And as a French writer has said recently:

"On that day Japan will say: 'I want Djibuti. It belongs to me on account of my tremendous interests in Ethiopia.' And who knows whether or not we shall have to concede in order to save Indo-China from civil war or even from a war of aggression? Germany also sees things from this point of view and does not hide her satisfaction, as Heinrich Nebel's recent articles in the Frankfurter Zeitung indicate." (Living Age, pp. 404, 405, quoting Henry De Monfreid in the Nouvelles Littéraires.)

Italy then mobilizes against Ethiopia, in spite of the League of Nations; in spite of her treaty of arbitration; in spite of reported efforts at conciliation and adjustment, her troops are piling soldiers and equipment into Eritrea. She intends to seize Ethiopian territory on one pretext or another, to secure oil, and to draw a tighter broad or base of economic and military aggression about her. She will not attempt complete subjugation--the inner citadel is too strong, and the Ethiopians too fierce and unruly. But economic strangulation, continued aggression and European propaganda may accomplish what direct force cannot do immediately.

37-10-62

Here, then, is war again. That war which has never ceased since the World War, but now comes nearer the European circle where its sparks are increasingly dangerous. Moreover, let no one think that the demand of Italy in Africa is the end of demands. The reason that Germany refuses to make categorical answers to the handsome overtures of France and England concerning re-arming and debt, is because there is still one unmentioned subject, and that is, German colonies, and particularly German colonies in Africa, since the attitude and power of Japan makes colonial aggression in Asia unhealthful just now. Hitler recently in his Saar speech, intimated that the work of redeeming German colonies had not been finished, and he doubtless used the word "colony" advisedly. That Germany is going to demand the return of German Africa, before she consents to raise the war menace in Europe, is absolutely certain. The scramble, therefore, in Africa, for cheap labor and cheap war material is not ended. It helped start World War in 1914, and it may easily do it again in our day; and if this international jealousy does not start such a war, the war may be started by the Africans themselves, for after

all, Africa is not held by Europeans. Africa today is held in subjection to Europe by black armies. Except in the Union of South Africa, nine-tenths of the European armies are composed of natives. Their allegiance has been bought by emphasizing tribal jealousies and encouraging envy, and doling out small amounts of power and prestige. But this is not enough. The unrest in black Africa is widespread. We are told that the killing of Italians by Abyssinian tribesmen quickly spread to every coast of the black continent. One of these days, the very troops by which Europe holds Africa, are going to cease to play the part so long assigned them. It only needs the guiding thought and the great leader. And with all that Europe can do in airplane, tank, and war guns, let the world remember that a group of determined black men, armed even partially with modern technique, could take their stand on the snow-swept heights of Ethiopia, within sight of the Equator, and in the midst of the black world, and shake the centers of European imperialism. The day that the League of Nations lets Italy strangle Ethiopia will begin the low roll of this tom-tom. It may not be heard today or for a hundred years, but the time will come. The attempt to throttle ~~Abyssinia~~ Ethiopia as a salve for keeping Italian workers from open revolt may easily be the real cause to set the world aflame.

37-10-63

4000 words

one week

3

ROME, Jan. 8.—An official communiqué issued tonight defined as follows France's cession to Italy of 44,500 square miles of territory in Africa: (2)

The frontiers of Libya [which belongs to Italy] are extended to a line which, leaving Tummo, reaches the western frontier of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan at the intersection of the 24th meridian east longitude with the 18th degree, 45 minutes, north latitude.

This line leaves Aozou and Guezenti in Italian territory and Bardai and Tecro in French territory. The area thus added to Libya is approximately 44,500 square miles.

The frontier between Eritrea [belonging to Italy] and French Somaliland is changed by a line drawn between Dereloua to Dadato on the Weima River. This change gives Italy a strip on the coast fronting on the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb. Italy also gets the Island of Doumerrah. Frontier Commissions will work out the details of the new frontiers.

3. A series of agreements, three in number, affecting French and Italian colonial possesions in Africa. Under the first, France concedes Italy extensive, though not commercially important, territory in Tibesti in the southwest corner of Libya; under the second, she yields Italy territory in French Somaliland, running back from the coast, to be added to Italy's Eritrea, which will give the Rome government control of the Strait of Babelmandeb linking the Red sea and the Gulf of Aden, and cedes to Italy 3,000 shares of stock in the Djibuti-Addis Ababa raliroad; under the third, France agrees to extend for 10 years the citizenship and special privileges of Italian residents in Tunis, after which period they will be deprived of those special rights for 30 years. (1)

FRANCE AND ITALY END ALL DISPUTES; JOIN TO BAR WARS

French Give Up 44,500 Square Miles in Africa and a Share in Abyssinian Railway.

REICH ARMING IS REBUKED

Britain Will Now Promote an Accord to Germany Back Into Arms Conference.

By ARNALDO CORTESI.
Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ROME, Jan. 8.—An official communiqué issued this evening gives a complete outline of the Italo-French agreements signed yesterday.

The agreements conclude with a general declaration that all questions pending between Italy and France have been settled, that the two powers mean to collaborate in all fields, and that they will consult each other whenever circumstances render such a step advisable.

The colonial demands made by Italy have been partly accepted by France, which has ceded to Italy a tract of 44,500 square miles south of Italy's Libyan colony.

The frontier between Libya and the French colonial possessions to the south is exactly defined.

[The added territory conceded to Libya, while about as large as New York State, falls far short of what Italy desired. Her aim was to get a corridor to Central Africa, but she has accepted virtually a continuation southeastward of the line partially drawn in a former Franco-Italian settlement and acquires only a further area of desert land.]

At the same time France ceded to Italy a small strip along the coast south of the Italian colony of Eritrea facing the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb. Italy and France will appoint commissions to delimit the new frontiers and settle all other questions arising in connection with the transfer.

Railway Concession.

Another agreement aimed to promote the trade of France and Italy with their colonial possessions. It included a provision that Italy should have a share in the ownership of the railway from Addis Ababa, the capital of Abyssinia, to Jibuti, French Somaliland.

[The French concessions to Italy in Somaliland and Abyssinia are most important. The territorial concession to Eritrea is small, but it gives Italy a shoreline on the Gulf of Aden. The share in the French railway to Addis Ababa, however, will greatly increase that country's influence at the Abyssinian capital and in trade, and will enable her to offer stronger competition to Japan, which has been pressing for political and commercial favor in Abyssinia.]

Concerning the status of Italian residents in Tunis, the agreement of 1896 is continued in substantially its present form until 1965. The new accord provides that all children of Italian parents born before that date are allowed to retain Italian nationality, though those born from 1945 onward will be permitted to choose either Italian or French nationality on reaching their majority.

The Italian schools in Tunis are to continue as at present until 1955, when they will become private Italian schools.

Other privileges enjoyed by Italians will continue until 1945, after which they will be progressively abolished.

In connection with the Austrian and Central European situation, Italy and France agreed to recommend that the powers concerned conclude among themselves a treaty of non-intervention in each others internal affairs, agreeing not to give any aid to movements directed at disturbing each others territorial integrity by violence. This pact, it was decided, should be signed initially by Italy, Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Austria and later should be extended also to France, Rumania and Poland.

Consultation Provided.

Meanwhile, however, France and Italy agreed to consult in the event that Austrian independence should be seriously threatened this consultation pact also may be extended eventually to include other powers.

An agreement on the subject of German rearmament said:

"In relation to the great powers' declaration of Dec. 11, 1932, on equality rights, France and Italy found themselves in agreement that no power may modify by unilateral act its obligations in the matter of armaments, and that if this eventuality should come to pass they will consult together."

MUSSOLINI SIGNS PACTS WITH LAVAL

Agreements Include One to Hold Reich Arming Illegal Until 5 Powers Allow It.

NATIONS DECLARE AMITY

Franco-Vatican Concordat Is Reported in View as Foreign Minister Talks With Pope.

By ARNALDO CORTESI.
Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ROME, Jan. 7.—Premier Benito Mussolini and French Foreign Minister Pierre Laval after a final conversation at the Palazzo Venezia this evening signed the Italo-French agreements that have been developed in the last two days.

The texts of the agreements were not made public. Immediately after the signing Signor Mussolini received the French press and M. Laval the Italian press, both declaring that a complete solution of all pending Italo-French questions and a harmonization of their viewpoints on all matters of a general nature had been achieved.

Communiqué Tells Results.

An official communiqué issued by both Italian and French sources defined the results of the conversations as follows:

The head of the Italian Government and the French Minister of Foreign Affairs concluded the Italo-French negotiations by signing some agreements relative to the interests of the two countries in Africa and some acts that register the community of views existing between their governments on questions of European order.

They have found that the two governments are in agreement on the necessity for a plurilateral understanding on the Central European question. They have agreed that the conception they have adopted shall be submitted as rapidly as possible to the examination of the countries interested. They have agreed, moreover, that while waiting for this understanding to be concluded they will examine together in the spirit of the understanding itself all measures that the situation may require.

In the absence of any positive official information it is necessary to fall back on the most reliable unofficial sources available. According to these sources the agreements included the following:

First, a solemn declaration of friendship and an official communiqué concerning the harmonization of the two governments' views on African questions and the principal problems of general policy.

Will Consult on Austria.

Secondly, a procès-verbal in which Italy and France undertake to consult in the event of a new threat against the independence of Austria and to urge the neighboring States and the successors of the Austro-Hungarian Empire to sign an agreement among themselves undertaking reciprocally to respect one another's frontiers and not to interfere reciprocally in one another's internal affairs.

Thirdly, three colonial conventions, one regarding the status of Italian residents in Tunis, whose present privileges will continue until 1965, and two others concerning territorial concessions to be made by France in Southern Lybia and Somaliland.

Fourthly, a protocol in which, in the light of the five-power declaration of December, 1932, the Italian and French Governments declare themselves in agreement to consider the rearming of Germany illegal so long as the Reich has not reached a special agreement on that subject with the five powers.

[The five-power declaration of December, 1932, which was intended to bring Germany back into the Disarmament Conference, defined one object of the conference as the achievement of equality within some system of security.]

The reason why these agreements were not made public is said to be that they must first be submitted—except, of course, those relating to purely Italo-French colonial questions—to the other interested powers. In the case of the agreement on German rearmament there is the added reason that this question will be further discussed during the stay of French Premier Pierre-Etienne Flandin and M. Laval in London, where a final decision will be reached.

Aim at No Nation, Says Laval.

Speaking to the Italian press M. Laval emphasized particularly that the decisions as to Italo-French colonial matters were eminently fair and should be well received. By removing misunderstandings between Italy and France they had enabled the two countries without any reservations and in an atmosphere of mutual comprehension examine all problems of a gen

LAVAL SAYS ACCORD IN ROME AIDS PEACE

Declares in Paris He Sealed Franco-Italian Friendship 'in a Durable Manner.'

NATIONALISTS ARE UNEASY

Fear New Move by Reich on Arms—Geneva Doubtful on Real Meaning of Pacts.

By P. J. PHILIP.
Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, Jan. 9.—Foreign Minister Pierre Laval returned from Rome today "fully satisfied," he declared.

"In sealing Franco-Italian friendship in a durable and solid manner, I think I have well served the interests of my country and of peace," he said.

In so far as the restoration of cordiality to Franco-Italian relations is concerned, his satisfaction is universally shared by his countrymen. But already the question is being raised: "What next?"

One of the first visitors to the Quai d'Orsay today after the Minister's return was Charge d'Affaires. Following the League of Nations Council meeting and the Saar plebiscite the coming week-end, all attention will be directed toward the proposed visit of Premier Pierre-Etienne Flandin and M. Laval to London, which has been set for the 20th. In anticipation of that visit much importance is being attached to the paragraph of the Rome communiqué regarding the declaration of equality right in armaments of December, 1931. In this the two governments declare that they have agreed that no country may modify, by unilateral act, its obligations in the matter of armaments, and that if such an event occurs, they will consult.

Interpretations Differ.

By some that declaration is welcomed as the accession of Italy to the ranks of those nations that will oppose legalization of Germany's rearmament. Others find the phrasing of the clause very strange and discover in it the seed of new negotiation that may, under the guise of establishing limitation and control of German armaments, legalize what has been done.

With that prospect in mind the Nationalist press has begun to expres qualms regarding the prospects for the visit to London. British press also comment on the visit also has seemed to French Nationalists to confirm that all that has been done and all that is being planned leads inevitably toward a new discussion of Germany's armament status, toward revision of treaty terms and eventually toward Germany's return to Geneva.

Even should the London visit tend this way, however, it is pointed out that it is Germany that must make the final decision as to whether it desires to return to the concert of nations or remain outside.

Among others, The Temps thinks the events of the past few days and the success of M. Laval where Chancellor Hitler failed, in his visit to Premier Mussolini, must impress Berlin with the necessity of abandoning a policy that is fast leading to economic and political isolation. The Temps, however, is not among those that see the road opening to a new armament settlement with Germany. It prefers to see in the Rome communiqué notification to Berlin that the ranks of the former allies are now closed against revision of the armament conditions and that the warning given in Rome will be confirmed in London.

Delay Mystifies British.

By CHARLES A. SELDEN.
Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Jan. 9.—The delay of the French and Italian Governments in providing the Foreign Offices of other countries with the full official texts of the agreements signed in Rome forty-eight hours ago is causing some surprise in London.

Although Sir John Simon, the Foreign Secretary, knew enough of the purport of the arrangement to express his personal satisfaction, this piecemeal information was not considered sufficiently precise to be used as a basis for definite study by the British Government. Therefore, when the Cabinet met today for the first time since the Christmas holidays the discussion of the new European situation was only casual.

The Ministers want to see the agreement in black and white and study all its implications before making a decision concerning the next British move. What is particularly desired is the exact wording of the Franco-Italian understanding that "no country may modify by unilateral act its obligations in the matter of armaments" and that if there is such modification the two signatories will consult.

It is reported unofficially that there is no specific mention of Germany in this disarmament clause and no intimation that any country has already taken unilateral action.

This point is relevant to the government's determination to make use of the Rome agreement as a new point of departure for reviving the disarmament negotiations. Preliminary talks on that subject will be undertaken at Geneva by Sir John and Anthony Eden, the Lord Privy Seal, who are leaving for Switzerland tomorrow.

Fear of Italy Ridiculed.

By The Associated Press.

LONDON, Jan. 9.—A British spokesman said today that he regarded as "wild" any idea that Italy, by acquiring new African territory from France, had also acquired a talking point in any future negotiations with Great Britain through the command of the southern approach to the Suez Canal from the Indian Ocean.

It was pointed out that Great Britain has the island of Perim, just off the land added to Eritrea and also holds British Somaliland in that vicinity.

"Italy already has Eritrea and Italian Somaliland," said the spokesman, "so that the new small addition does not bring additional problems. Because Italy already has territory there, she has every right to interest herself in that part of the world."

League Sentiments Mixed.

By CLARENCE K. STREIT.
Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

GENEVA, Jan. 9.—Under the official optimism usual on such occasions, the attitude of influential League of Nations quarters toward the Franco-Italian accords is much the same as it was toward the Franco-Italian bases of the naval agreement of 1931.

It was then mixed, with some persons hopeful, with many waiting to see in practice what spirit was really behind it and with a few observers who proved shrewd in expecting it to lead to some surprise counter-move from Germany.

It may be recalled that soon afterward the Austro-German customs union protocol was announced, starting a train of events of which the bases of the naval agreement were only the first victims.

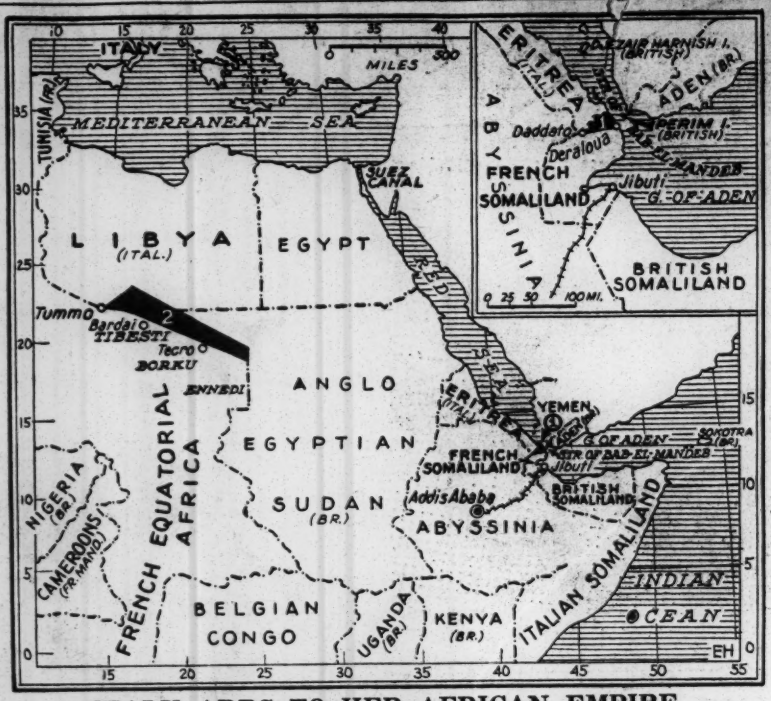
After that experience some observers are wondering now what Germany is going to do, especially in the Austrian and armament fields, and what surprise she may spring, but nothing is expected before the Saar decision. Meanwhile, it is expected that hotel and corridor talk during the Council session that opens Friday with routine affairs will be devoted largely to insiders trying to follow up and outsiders trying to get light on what really happened at Rome.

European Pact Doubted.

The mixed sentiments are illustrated by the Journal des Nations, the Little Entente's Geneva organ. It concedes that the Rome meeting may prove the nark of a decisive change "for the better" in Italian policy, but it is dubious about the Central European non-interference pact. Though it would like to see Italy keep out of Austrian, Hungarian and, above all, Yugoslav affairs, it complains that the agreement would make it harder to intervene against Austrian restoration of the Hapsburgs or an Austro-German anschluss achieved by Nazi control of the Austrian Government.

Some French circles here are skeptical of the value of any accord between a democracy and a dictatorship. While most observers here welcome the French cession of 44,500 square miles in Africa to Italy to add to Eritrea and Libya, there remains a desire to see what its practical effect will be, particularly in Abyssinia. Apparently Abyssinia itself is still guessing, for she has made no further move here, and pending word that she at least intends to send some one to represent her at this Council session her appeal against Italy still remains off the agenda.

League circles are interested to learn from Italy that the Rome Government has withdrawn from public sale and official distribution copies of the Italian map recently exhibited in League lobbies that showed some of the disputed territory between Italy and Abyssinia as lying within the Abyssinian boundaries. A footnote made the reservation that the map was not "official." It is understood the map was withdrawn because "there was a necessity for certain changes."



ITALY ADDS TO HER AFRICAN EMPIRE.

The maps show the cessions made by France in the negotiations just concluded at Rome: (1) A block of land opposite the British island of Perim in the strategic Bab-el-Mandeb Strait, which is to be incorporated into Eritrea, and (2) a large strip to the south of Libya, which is to be annexed to that Italian colony.

ABYSSINIA DELAYS APPEAL TO LEAGUE

Reserves Right to Present Case Against Italy if Council Fails to Act Soon.

HUNGARY OFFERS REPORT

It Is Reported to Admit Official Negligence in Connection With Marseilles Killings.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

GENEVA, Jan. 11.—The Abyssinian Minister to Paris, who arrived here yesterday to appear, if necessary, before the Council of the League of Nations, reserved the right to bring his appeal against Italian "aggression" before the Council at this session.

There is reason to believe he warned Secretary General Joseph Avenol that he would use this right if Abyssinia does not get satisfaction otherwise before the session is ended. This led to important conversations today among the British, French and Italians with a view to quieting Abyssinia.

Little Entente quarters interested in keeping well informed on a question so annoying to Italy explain that Abyssinia is in no hurry to start the League's wheels moving now because she anticipates "a worse attack in about a month," which might provide her with a better atmosphere in Geneva.

Hungary today handed Sir Anthony Eden of Great Britain, as reporter, a 200-page report of her investigation of any share her authorities may have had in the Marseilles assassination. The report is understood to find that a number of officials were guilty of negligence. Probably the Little Entente will seek to prevent Hungary from getting the affair ended thus, and will try to keep it on the agenda at least until the May session on the ground that the Marseilles trial has not yet been held.

The Council instructed the transit section, on the recommendation of Maxim Litvinoff of Russia, as reporter, to begin work toward a convention to prevent pollution of the sea by oil. A committee of experts says this pollution is seriously menacing bathing resorts, bird and sea life, particularly near the United States and England.

Tewfik Rushdi Aras, the Turkish Foreign Minister, presides at this session of the Council.

Emperor Writes to King.

By The Associated Press.

ROME, Jan. 11.—Emperor Haile Selassie of Abyssinia went over Benito Mussolini's head today to handle the Italo-Abyssinian dispute as one king to another.

Writing directly to King Victor Emmanuel, he outlined his government's viewpoint on the situation growing out of recent border clashes between Italian and Abyssinian forces. The Abyssinian Charge d'Affaires here, Negadras Yesus, presented the letter and received the Italian King's assurance that Italy wanted peace with her African neighbor.

Negadras yesterday conferred with Mussolini regarding the implications of the new Franco-Italian agreements concerning Africa and received Il Duce's promise that Italy intends no aggression.

Tunis
Mussolini & war

THE WORLD'S WINDOW

By PIERRE VAN PAASSEN.

Mussolini In Tunis.

[redacted]

Sicily is the bridge to Africa. We must cross that bridge. On the other shore lies Tunis. To whom does Tunis belong?" And like a clap of thunder came the answereing cry: "A Noi! A Noi! Evivva il Duce! Evivva Mussolini!"

However, the tri-color of France still floats over the protectorate of Tunis. I don't know how many Arabs there are in Tunis, two million perhaps, but there are fully three hundred thousand Italians. Everything is Italian in the capital city and in the main cities inland. The banks are Italian. Half the shipping in the port is Italian. There are Italian inscriptions on the tombstones in the cemeteries and on the ex-votos in the churches. Except for the architectural style, which is Arabic, Tunis is an Italian city. There are Italian newspapers, Italian bookshops, the restaurants serve macaroni and spaghetti and the bambinos in the streets bear so striking a resemblance to those of Foggia and Naples that you imagine yourself somewhere in the Abruzzi or in Calabria.

The French In Tunis.

There are also some 35,000 Frenchmen in Tunis. The French run the administration, the courts, the customs service. They are the functionaries the postmen, the policemen, the soldiers, the tax collectors and the justices of the peace. The Italians do the work. They are the market-gardeners, the shop-keepers the wine-growers, the railway and road builders, in short they form the productive element. France has not the men to go out colonizing. In the first place, of course, Frenchmen do not emigrate. This is not because they love their country more than Germans or Irishmen. The French do not need to emigrate, for France is a land of plenty, an opulent country.

That universal crisis of which we hear so much has not begun to touch the land of France even now. France has the third largest colonial empire in the world, after Britain and Holland. But France has not the men to colonize that empire. The war destroyed 1,600,000 young Frenchmen. One million six hundred thousand makes an awful big hole in the population. So big a hole, in fact, that the numbers of recruits for the army this year is at its lowest ebb since the days of Napoleon. The men who would have been the fathers of 18-year-old boys, the recruiting age, lie buried in the 200-year-old cemeteries along the front. One million and a half potential fathers dead—their children unborn, that is the tragedy of France.

Italy Has The Men.

Italy has plenty of men. The Italian population is going up by leaps and bounds. Not as fast as Russia's, but quite fast just the same. Italy once had a preponderating influence in Tunis. That was when the country was still independent. Then a revodution broke out—some say the French engineered that revolution—be that as it may. France stepped in to restore order and stayed. France stole a march on Italy. But Italy didn't have Mussolini in 1881. Now their "Italianita"—of that fact, that they are Italians. They want something to say in the running of the country. And, best of all, they would like to see Tunis joined to their motherland, to Italy and not to France.

17-10-264

Abandon Conciliation Feb 1935

47-10-136

to
eral

European nature. He
stressing that the Ital
agreements were directed
no nation.

In his address to the French pre
Signor Mussolini said that an Italo
French accord had been fully real
ized as concerned both problems in
teresting only these two countries
and problems of a general nature.

"The agreement means," he said,
"that a mutually satisfactory co
promise has been reached betwee
opposing needs. As to problems of
a general European nature we have
set down a common Italo-French
attitude in certain possible contin-
gencies. This is very important.
I do not think any flights of rheto-
ric are necessary to emphasize the
exceptional significance of this
agreement, which establishes a
common line of action between two
nations such as ours."

Warns of Undue Optimism.

After having said, as M. Laval
had, that the agreements were di-
rected against no one, Signor Mus-
solini warne against excessive op-
timism.

"It must not be thought," he said,
"that everything has been done
and nothing remains to be done.
No. Friendships must constantly
be cultivated to synchronize them
with the natural developments of
peoples and their interests. Friend-
ships must not be mummified in
diplomatic protocols, but must be
a living part of life."

Special interest was also attribu-
ted here to the visit of M. Laval to
the Pope this morning and to Car-
dinal Pacelli, the Vatican Secretary
of State, this evening. These were
said to be not mere courtesy visits,
as was shown by the fact that he
remained in close conversation with
the Pope for fifty minutes and
with the Secretary of State almost
an hour. It is presumed the situ-
ation of the Saar population, more
than 50 per cent of which is Catho
lic, formed a large part of the con-
versations. It is reported in some
quarters that a concordat between
France and the Holy See is also
being discussed.

smooth propaganda murmurs + even sacrifices the reasons

THE AFRICAN ROOTS OF WAR

I used this title in 1915 and I use it again now as it is just as true. War begins not on the great European fronts where the world is watching, but in out-of-the-way places where ~~nobody cares~~, and ~~not~~ where valuable trade profit may be reaped. There is oil along the eastern highlands of Africa and in Abyssinia; there are valuable metals, including gold. Above all, here from the Blue Nile and the Atbara comes half the water supply of the Nile Valley, including the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Egypt itself.

The great ramparts of Abyssinia, soaring over seas of hills and mountains, form the greatest stronghold of all Africa, and the one part which has natural barriers for defense. It was a German who said that the power that held the Abyssinian highlands could dominate the imperialism of Europe in Africa.

Abyssinia ~~has been called~~ is a pear-shaped mountain clump, cut into island-like sections which are separated by deep gorges and ravines. It is nearly as large as France and Spain combined, and looms high on the northwest toward the Valley of the Nile, on the southwest, toward the Great Lakes, and on the east, toward the sea. It is ~~divided~~ rises in three great terraces: a plane one of rocky strata; a ~~second~~ plateau about eight thousand feet above the sea, and above this, snow-capped mountains which sometimes rises nearly another eight thousand feet. "It looks," says the traveller, "like a storm-tossed sea, suddenly solidified."

The highest ramparts of this "citadel of Africa", lying as they do between the fever-fested South and the sun-baked Sudan, form a fortress which would be difficult even for a modern army to storm. It is to her mountains that Abyssinia owes points the fact that her population is the only dark race in Africa not yet under European domination.

In these ~~islands~~ highlands, both the Blue Nile and the Atbara rise, and thus Abyssinia commands a full half of the waters of the Nile, and dominates the most direct route to the Nile Valley. Moreover, its natural seaboard, ~~which already has been seized by Europe~~, commands the whole of one side of the Gulf of Aden, and the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb. When the Suez Canal was opened these waters became the ~~throne~~ throat of the British Empire.

47-10-110

The African Roots of War

English commerce long has had its eye on Abyssinia, and once in 1865 actually captured the capital of the country and war ensued. Emperor Theodore then committed suicide. But it was enabled to do this by the help of Abyssinia, who was in rebellion against Theodore, and the Suez Canal was at that time still a French project.

When the canal was opened in 1865, its significance for the British Empire was evident, and in 1876, the dual control of England and France in Egypt was arranged, and three years later, the Khedive Ismail was deposed.

Modern commercial imperialism began now rapidly to assume its essential characteristics. The partition of Africa was discussed considered at the Congress of Berlin in 1878. France had begun her African empire in Algeria in 1830, and now both Bismark and Salisbury were willing for her to aid Tunis, despite the fact that this site of ancient Carthage belonged logically to Italy. The scramble for Africa began. On the very eve of the Congress of Berlin, Germany rushed into East, West and Southwest Africa and presented the Congress with a fait accompli. In 1881, France seized Tunis, and England seized Egypt, while England, France and Italy with one accord turned toward northeast Africa and the coasts of Abbysinia. The Italians on some shadowy claim took what is now Eritrea in 1882, but were blocked by both Great Britain and France from further extension South. Great Britain took British Somaliland in 1884, and the French already had Obock and nearly came to blows with the British until a treaty was made in 1887.

Meantime, the situation of the British in Egypt had peculiar repercussions in Abyssinia. Egypt was groaning under despotism and debt which had been deliberately encouraged by France and England who had tempted the venal rulers into incurring an enormous unanimous indebtedness to Europe, and these rulers, in turn had sought to keep up the interest on this debt by ruinous and exhaustive taxation. Finally, in desperation, the natives rebelled. Ahmed Arabi, a mulatto colonel, led a successful revolt in Egypt, whereupon the English turned their guns upon Alexandria, defeated Araby, and took control of Egypt. This left the former rulers in nominal control of the whole of Egypt but of actual control of the Sudan, while the English held the real power along the Lower Nile. Here the injurious and over-taxation of the Egyptians con-

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~~tinued, and the rebellion that had been started by Araby was checked only in Egypt, but continued in the Sudan. Indeed,~~ Before the Araby rebellion in 1878, the mulatto Rabah had swept through the Bahr-El-Ghazel and the regions south of Lake Chad, ~~but~~ Now there arose a greater leader and a vaster motif. Mohammed Ahmed, son of a priest in Dongola, had established headquarters 150 miles above Khartum. He was a tall, broad-shouldered, majestic black man, with great eyes. He had visions. Disciples gathered around him, and eventually he proclaimed himself the Mahdi, the Messiah of the Mohammed an Revelation.

The country, ~~was~~ groaning under misrule, ~~and~~ went into the throes of a religious crusade against Egypt. ~~Powerful Emirs saw opportunity for revenge.~~ A holy war was proclaimed, and a strong army organized. The Mahdi put down blasphemy, feasting, drinking, smoking and swearing. Thousands followed him. ~~In 1882, he seized Kordofan.~~ The Egyptians in 1883 sent an army of 10,000 under the Englishman, Hicks Pasha. They were annihiliated, with only 300 left alive. ~~In 1883. The next year~~, Kordofan, Dafur and the Bahr-El-Ghazel surrendered. Only a German, Emin Pasha, still ~~held up the~~ upheld Egyptian power ~~fell~~ down in the Equatorial provinces next to Uganda. By the end of 1883, the Mahdi was master of a territory equal to Spain, France and Germany, and his army was closing in ~~about~~ on Khartum, the capital of the Sudan.

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England hesitated. Gladstone and the Little Englanders had driven Disraeli from power, and ruled from 1880-1885, or at least had as much power as any radical government ~~can~~ could have in England so long as the Tory House of Lords ~~holds~~ held the veto. It ~~was~~ seemed impossible for them to withdraw from Egypt, although they declared the English stay there but temporary; ~~and~~ but Gladstone preemptorily refused to undertake the conquest of the Sudan. ~~He said, rightly, that these people were fighting for liberty in their own land.~~ But the Sudan was a choice morsel, not only for the heads of Egyptian slavery and misrule, but also for English commercial development ~~in the whole of~~ the valley of the Nile + in East Africa. ~~The~~ English imperialists were not without resources, and they seized upon Chinese Gordon. This man was a religious fanatic, ~~and~~ ill-balanced if not at times insane. He ~~was a Scotchman,~~ had fought in the Crimean War and played a large role in the Chinese upheaval, and had fits of rage, courage and murder. He read the Bible; went on sprees of drinking brandy; lived among the London poor, and was about to go to

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the Congo when English commerce forced Gladstone to send him to the Sudan, ostensibly to report on the situation. Baring, the English commissioner in Egypt, protested, and knew that Gordon would so involve England that they would have to send the army into the Sudan; but Queen Victoria and Lord Hartington prevailed, and Gordon reached Khartum in 1884, and was made Governor-General. He proceeded to recognize slavery even though the suppression of the slave trade was one of the ostensible excuses for English interference in the Sudan. The Mahdi swept between him and Cairo, and cut off his communications. England held indignation meetings and public prayers, but Gladstone was determined not to be entangled. Osman Digna, the Mahdi's general, marched to the borders of Abyssinia and drove back the English army. They retaliated in a successful attack, but Gladstone refused to let them follow it up. He compelled them to withdraw, and declared that the invasion of the Sudan would be a war of conquest against a people "rightly struggling to be free."

Gladstone was certain that Gordon could retreat from Khartum if he wished, and that his persistence in staying there was a bluff on the part of the Imperialists to force the hands of the Liberals.

The Mahdi, with thirty thousand men, laid seige to Khartum. Hartington threatened to resign. Gladstone had to yield. An army of relief, with 10,000 troops, was sent, but it was slow in getting started, and too late to take advantage of the high waters of the Nile. Gordon's hair turned white. Hundreds died daily of hunger in the besieged city. The dead lay unburied. The city was assaulted. Gordon hesitated whether to fight or commit suicide; finally then put on his uniform and rushed down the stairs. He met four tall black men, and was killed. In England, Gladstone was called a murderer and a traitor. The Queen was bitter with resentment, but European war was imminent, and Gladstone remained fervent. For thirteen years, the Mahdi and his successor, the Khalifa, ruled in the Sudan. Thus, the whole of the Sudan was lost to Egypt, and the Egyptian garrisons on the northern border of Abyssinia were finally withdrawn in 1886, and French, British and Italian possessions on the coast were in danger of being overwhelmed by the Mahdi.

This looked like a rare opportunity for German imperialism. Between German East Africa and the Egyptian Sudan, lay the great territory of Uganda, where Catholics, Protestants and Mohammedans had been merely cutting each others throats

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in their efforts to convert the heathen. The Germans pushed warily up into this country, ~~and~~ while shut up in the Equatorial provinces of the Sudan was the German Emin Pasha. ~~English and Americans heard about him and sent the Stanley expedition to a cost of $145,000 to rescue him. But Emin did not want to be rescued.~~ He wanted to hold these provinces, ~~either for himself or, more probably, to~~ and turn them over to Germany. The Khalifa, however, was pressing him hard, and when Stanley ~~finally~~ appeared ~~across Africa~~ in 1888, Emin reluctantly followed him and met Karl Peters and the German expedition which had been busily engaged in making treaties with the local chiefs in Uganda for German expansion. Emin, with his black wife and mulatto daughter, finally arrived at Zanzibar, where he accepted the post under the German administration in East Africa. ~~The English finally hoisted the Germans, and got Uganda in 1894.~~

Late in 1884, the scramble for Africa became bitter. England was encroaching upon the Portuguese colonies; Germany had appeared in the field; France was at work in North Africa. France, England and Italy had seized the coast of Abyssinia, and in the vast Valley of the Congo, comprising the whole center of Africa, Little Belgium had proposed an international state. A European conference ~~Congress~~ to settle the rules of the game for the further looting of Africa seemed necessary. It came together in Berlin, in November, 1884, and lasted through February, 1885. The United States was represented. The Congo was recognized not as an international state but as the personal property of the King of Belgium. Certain rules of procedure ~~domination~~ for the further seizure of Africa were adopted, and ~~no sooner had the Berlin act been passed than~~ before the Conference was ended the German Colonial Party forced Bismark's hand; seized Zanzibar and East Africa, and ~~finally~~ appeared as a full-fledged African colonial power.

There were several significant occurrences in 1885. The Mahdi died after the fall of Khartum and was succeeded by the Khalifa. England came to the verge of war with Russia over the approach to India. The Gladstone government fell in June, and the Tories under Salisbury, came into power. Salisbury, looking toward a beginning of re-assertion of power in Central Africa, and fearing that the Khalifa would drive Europe from the coast of Abyssinia, suggested that Italy seize the Port of Massowah. This was disloyal to Abyssinia, since only the year before England had signed a treaty with Johannes VI. ~~which they had been trying to get since 1869,~~ and with Johannes' help

Germany determined to regain Emin, while England spent $145,000 to rescue him. The Stanley expedition and Stanley refused. Emin wanted to hold Egypt in Central Africa. England

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had held back the Mahdi. To hand over to the Italians Massowah which belonged to the Abyssinians and to which Italy had no shadow of claim was an extraordinary breach of faith. Italy proceeded to take Massowah, as Giolitti says, as a "consolation prize", having been cheated out of Tunis, held back in Tripoli, and out-manoeuvered both at the Congress of Berlin and the Berlin Conference, as well as losing her chance to participate in Egypt. Once having planted her foot in Massowah, Italy proceeded to make alliance with Johannes' chief enemy, Menelik of Shoa, a pretender to the Abyssinian throne. Johannes found himself between two enemies, Italy and the Khalifa, and eventually was killed in battle by the latter in 1889. Immediately Menelik proclaimed himself King of Kings, and in May signed with the Italians the celebrated treaty of Uccialli. To prove his gratitude to the Italians for their alliance and help with the armies, Menelik ceded to Italy the territory which they had already seized. But the Italians, drunk with new ambition, swept on, calmly crossed the into Abyssinia, and toward the end of 1889, seized Adua, while Menelik was busily subduing his enemies. They even penetrated into the Harrar, thus coming into direct dispute, not only with Abyssinia, but with the claims of France and Great Britain. Thereupon France and Great Britain made a secret treaty which allowed them to oppose Italy's advance if they pleased; A treaty which thus again put Great Britain in the unenviable position of double-crossing Italy. Just as they had previously deceived Abyssinia.

In the very month, May, 1889, when Italy signed the treaty of Uccialli with Menelik, Crispi, assuming that Abyssinia had already become an Italian protectorate, determined to get the adjoining Somaliland coast. ~~The Italian consul at Zanzibar reported that two Sultans running this coast wanted to hand it over to Italy.~~ The Italian government notified Lord Salisbury that a protectorate had been established over the Somali Coast, and six months later, this was extended as far as British East Africa. This last stretch of coast, called the Benadir Coast, belonged to Zanzibar, but the territories of the Sultan had been divided up between the British and the Germans, except Benadir. The Italians immediately got a concession of this territory for a down payment and promised annunity. But in 1892, the coast became an Italian possession. All native land rights ignored.

The natives rebelled, but reinforcements were rushed in, and the land turned over to an Italian company for exploiting the mining rights. The native ownership of land was completely ignored. The stage was now set for Italy's final coup.

the leading regions inland from the coast

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In the seventeenth clause of the Treaty of Uccialli, there arose a characteristic misunderstanding. The Abyssinia text, which was the only one actually signed, said: "His Majesty, the King of Kings of Ethiopia, shall be at liberty to avail himself of the Italian government for any negotiations which he may enter into with other powers or governments." The Italian translation, which was made in Italy, said: "His Majesty, the King of Kings of Ethiopia, consents to avail himself of the Italian government for any negotiations which he may enter into with other powers or governments." On the basis of the Italian text which the French called "a clever forgery," Italy arranged for Menelik to annex Abyssinia.

The treaty was signed May 2, 1889. October 1, 1889, there was an additional treaty by which Menelik was to receive a loan of four million lire from an Italian bank under the guaranty of the Italian government, and on security of the Harrar Custom House. And if the loan was not paid regularly, Italy was to take over the administration of the Custom House. In other words, the stage was all set for the repitition of the Algiers, Tunis and Egyptian procedure. October 12, 1889, Crispi notified the powers by circular letter under the general act of the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 that Abyssinia was an Italian protectorate. As soon as the Italian Green Book, with the Italian version of the treaty was published in 1890, the French brought the matter to Menelik's notice. He refused to recognize the treaty, and in 1893, denounced it, sending a letter to the great powers and informing them that he had never consented to territories becoming an Italian protectorate. Italy paid no attention, and on March 25 and April 15, 1891, and on May 5, 1894, signed agreements with England in which England recognized Abyssinia as an Italian protectorate, but with boundries so arranged that the Italians were shut off from the valley of the White Nile. A map of Africa by treaty was published in 1894, with the sanction of the English Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in which this rape of Abyssinia was recognized.

But both England and Italy had reckoned without their host. There is no doubt but that the Treaty of Uccialli was a clumsy forgery of the same sort that had previously transferred sovereignty of a larger part of Africa from black men to white. Menelik, however, did not choose to submit. He not only denounced the treaty but he took up arms. He declared by proclamation: "Ethiopia has need of no one. She stretches out her hands to none but God."

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The French, ~~bitter at England's duplicity,~~ supplied Menelik willingly with arms and munitions. The forces of Italy and Ethiopia met at Adowa, and Italy's army of forty thousand was anniliated March 1, 1896. ~~The world paused.~~

Suddenly, the headwaters of the Nile, the Nile Valley, and Egypt, the domination of the Red Sea, the path from to the Cape ~~and~~ to Cairo ~~the Congo,~~ all these were in the hands of black men,--the black dervishes of the Sudan, and Menelik II., King of Kings of Ethiopia, and Emperor of Abyssinia. ~~Not only that, but he had a powerful ally.~~ An English officer ~~once~~ wrote: "If I were the Mahdi, I would make Egypt pay for every quart of water that runs down the Nile."

With Abyssinia safe in Italian hands, Great Britain had the black dervishes of the Sudan bottled up. She had in 1894 annexed Uganda, thus definitely curbing German expansion in East Africa. In 1895, the Jameson raid had taken place in South Africa as the first step toward the war ~~which was~~ destined to crush the Dutch and make South Africa a British province. The Cape-to-Cairo idea, fostered by Chamberlain and Cecil Rhodes, had seized the immagination of the empire. Agreement was made with Leopold of Belgium which secured a perpetual lease of a large blee of territory at the headwaters of the Nile, and filled in the gap between the Great Lakes. France was alarmed, and there was talk of war. But the British Empire yielded a little, and Lord Roseberry signed a treaty withdrawing the Congo agreement. ~~The French, with their strong influence in Abyssinia, were~~ ~~disposed~~ forced to give up their claim to power in the Nile Valley.

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She couldn't let them Remain in Ukan even Until after Peace by Extending their "influence" over them.

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The French refused to yield. Paris was indignant, and threatened war. The British government yielded a little, and Lord Rosebarry signed a treaty withdrawing the Congo agreement in June, 1894. The French, thereupon, took a forward step, and determined to push from French Africa eastward to the Nile and send a French expedition through Abyssinia westward to the Nile. Menelik gave aid and comfort to France, and in 1894, made a concession to the French to build a railway from Djibuti through the Harrar to Addis Abbaba and to the White Nile. French officers trained the Abyssinian army. Great Britain warned France that she claimed the whole of the Nile Valley and would consider any attempt to dispute this claim as an unfriendly act. Paris, hesitated, and the Abyssinian expedition was called off.

The Tories and the Liberals, fighting over Home Rule, with imperialism in the background, had alternated in power. But in 1896, Salisbury was again at the helm and the Jameson raid had taken place in South Africa, and Cecil Rhodes, with his dream of British domination from the Cape-to-Cairo, was at his zenith.

March 5, the news of Adowa reached England, and March 12, England suddenly learned that Chinese Gordon was a Christian martyr and had been murdered by heathens, who ordered the conquest of the Sudan. Kitchener, with Maxim-Nordenfeldt guns, moved up the Nile, starting the same month as the battle of Adowa. Kitchener He captured Khartoum in September and ordered the tomb of the dead Mahdi was publicly desecrated. England was not a minute too soon. That very month, Marchand, the Frenchman, was at Fashoda awaiting the French and Abyssinian expeditions from Abyssinia. Indeed, one Abyssinian expedition under a royal prince had already reached the river but had been decimated by fever. The other expedition under a French commander did not materialize. For a moment, the world stood still with world war in the air.

The French had dispatched Captain Marchand to the French Congo April 25, with instructions to march to the White Nile. They again arranged an Abyssinian expedition to join him. The idea was that the two expeditions should meet on the Nile and establish a French claim to the Upper Valley of the Nile. When Kitchener arrived, he would find the French and Abyssinians stretched across the Cape-to-Cairo path. The Abyssinian expedition failed through the negligence of the French governor of Djibuti. When Marchand reached Fashoda in 1898, there was no fortress and no expedition of French and Abyssinians from the East to support him. After Kitchener won the Battle of Omdurman

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Kitchener To meet

~~in September, 1898, he proceeded South to secure the whole of England of the whole valley of the Nile from Uganda to Foshada. He found~~ Marchand and a small body of Senegalese soldiers. The sympathies of the world were with Marchand. ~~France claimed the Valley of the Nile for France, and England for Great Britain.~~ War was imminent, But the French fleet was not equal to the British ~~fleet~~ and the French army at Fasheda was greatly inferior to the British army. March 21, 1899, an Anglo-French declaration was issued, which gave the Nile Valley to Great Britain.

Italy thus stood disillusioned over her Colonial dream with only the barren sands of Tripoli and ~~two~~ bits of Abyssinia coast. This irked her sorely, while it brought Abyssinia again to the notice of the world. Who are the Abyssinians and what is their government?

Haile Selassie II. is by tradition the 384 th King to sit upon the throne, and leaving out mere tradition, we know of at least 200 Abyssinian kings in historic times. Abyssinia represents the fourth step inward of African culture since the pre-historic migration which ~~spread~~ the Negro race over the world. First came the Egyptian mulattoes on the Lower Nile, ~~whose~~ with boundaries other lay 500 miles south of the ~~desert~~ delta at the First Cataract. Then, comes ancient Ethiopia and modern Nubia, the land of black men, where Egyptian culture took refuge against the assaults of Asia. Here, at Napata, centered a civilization which ruled the world from 750 to 600 B.C. Asia, and the encroaching desert, drove the center of culture again south 500 ~~more~~ further miles to Meroe, ~~them~~ at shield-like islands, formed by the waters of the Atbara and the Blue Nile. Here reigned the Candaces and ~~here~~ black culture dominated in trade at met ~~the~~ Greek influence and Roman power. New enemies appeared. Black hordes from the West and Southwest and new conquerors from the North. The power of Ethiopia declined ~~disappeared~~ in this ~~duel,~~ climate and for 600 years, Arabs ~~and fought~~ fought over its remains Nubians. Then came the black Fungs from the West, and ~~Ethiopia was divided between~~ Arabs ruled in the North, and Fungs in the South, a division which lasted down to the middle of the 19th Century. Finally, about 1840, ~~the Mamelukes united and~~ Egypt conquered the Sudan, and for forty years, ~~1840-1880,~~ was reduced it to ruin and misery. Against this rule, that the Mahdi ~~in 1881~~ made the first successful revolt. Meantime, however, "The Citadels" of the South," which was Abyssinia, and refused the fourth steps down from Egypt, held its highlands bordering the Red Sea, Semitic settlers from Arabia had

: not only a Continuity but under-current, but

independence against Italian dominion

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filtered in in a series of movements extending over a long period of time, and became gradually incorporated with the originan black population. Among these immigrants were many Jews who took refuge here from the conquerers of Palestine. Thus, a race of Semitic mulattoes arose ~~here,~~ and established a kingdom which centered around Axum, a trading post established about the First Century, A.D. This kingdom, ~~which~~ took its name Abyssinia from a Semitic tribe, "Habesh"; ~~whence the name "Abyssinia" is derived.~~ But the people of Habash were ~~not~~ merchants contented ~~to be~~ not safe in simply Abyssinia. Traders defense forced ~~They longed to rule over~~ them toward ancient Ethiopia, and disputed with the Arabs and ~~the Black Barbarians,~~ Nubians the domination of the island of Meroe, ~~over which~~ Here they claimed sovereignty as early as 356 A.D., and actually destroyed its capital a century later. ~~Meantime,~~ Greek and Roman influence filtered into Abyssinia from the East, and trade made Axum flourish. Myths of its obscure origin began to arise. The Jewish myth of descent of its royal house from Solomon; the Negro myth of its descent from Aethiopis, ~~who was said to be buried~~ whose tomb was located at Axum. ~~At last came~~ came to Abyssinia the new Christian religion in the Fourth Century after Christ, and thus a third great center of Christianity, in contrast to Roman and Constantinople, was established ~~in Abyssinia.~~ Then came the red wave of conquest from the North, and the history of Abyssinia becomes dim and shadowdy. We catch glimpses of Abyssinian history here and there, as when in 525, at the request of the Emperor Justinian, the Abyssinians in sixty ships landed in Arabia, and captured Yemin, which they held for seventy-five years. In the Tenth Century, a certain ~~Queen~~ Judith, a Caliph usurped the throne, ~~introducing either paganism or Judism. Associating with her in this revolt were a native tribe called the Zagwe, who were Christians. This revolt, now Christian, now Jewish, lasted~~ for three hundred years until the old line of kings were restored in the middle of the 13th Century, ~~and Yequeno Anlak, a prince of Shoa, became King of a united and Christian land. Yet, as I have said, the history of all this period is dim,~~ and As Gibbon has written, "Encompassed by her enemies, Ethiopia slept a thousand years, forgetful of the world by whom she was forgotten." It was not until the 15th Century that the explorations of the Portuguese again ~~came~~ brought Abyssinia to the attention of the world. ~~They reached the Cape-of-Good-Hope in 1488, and in 1532~~ Portuguese in 1532 appeared in Abyssinia in time to aid them with 400 horsemen against the attacks of the Mohammedans, ~~who would come~~ that advanced

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- began with the Falashas or Black Jews and the Zagwes ruled

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as far south as Massowah. ~~Immediately, they~~ The Portuguese in Abyssinia located ~~here~~ the ~~original~~ source of the legend of Prester John, that ghostly Christian ruler who during the middle ages was supposed to be reigning in Africa or India ~~for many years,~~ and was the source of many legends. Abyssinia ~~in the 15th Century and later,~~ from early times was divided into a number of great districts, each administered by an hereditary chief called a Ras. Over these chiefs ruled a Negus ~~an emperor~~ called a "King of Kings". When he was a strong man, he ruled this overlord ~~organized~~ a powerful country. When he was weak, there was anarchy and confusion ~~disillusion.~~

Such a period of disintegration was in progress about the middle of the 19th Century under Johannes; but he was succeeded in 1855 by ~~by a younger man,~~ the Emperor Theodore, ~~who conquered the whole of Abyssinia, and was crowned in 1855. He was~~ a gifted, ~~ambitious~~ ruthless man, ~~and~~ who came to the throne at the time when European imperialism was being organized and stretching out inquiring hands toward Asia and Africa. Scientists, traders, missionaries and adventurers wandered into Abyssinia. Theodore was ~~then~~ well-disposed toward Europeans, and curious about their countries, but inevitable misunderstanding occurred, both in matters of etiquette and religion. "I know the tactics of European governments," said the observing Theodore, "when they try to acquire an Eastern state. First, they send out missionaries; then consuls to support the missionaries; then battalions to support the consuls. I am not a Rajah of Hindustan to be made a mock of in that way." But Theodore ~~wanted~~ needed alliance and friendship with Europe, if they came to him on honorable terms, ~~and~~ helped him organize his kingdom & beat back the ~~rapacity and cruelty~~ threatened dominion of Turks and Egyptians. He considered himself insulted when the British, after making fair promises, ignored his overtures, ~~and~~ imprisoned the British minister and other Europeans.

Thereupon, in 1867, the British sent ~~Sir Herbert~~ Napier with an army of 12,000 men to invade Abyssinia. The expedition found Theodore busy with a rebellion ~~against him,~~ and the invading army had the support of the rebels. Theodore was surrounded ~~at Magdala in Northern Abyssinia opposite Djibuti. The superiority of~~ in his capital where the British troops with superior rifles killed two thousand Abyssinians, while losing only 20 whites ~~British were wounded.~~ Theodore ~~offered to~~ surrendered and release the prisoners, but Napier had promised the rebel chiefs to degrade and dethrone him.

The English artillery opened fire on Magdala and ~~as the English soldiers scaled the wall,~~ Theodore shot himself dead. His body was allowed & ~~The British let his body~~ be mutilated

forgot all about him and

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by a mob, while ~~they rewarded~~ Napier received with a peerage.

Anarchy ensued in Abyssinia between 1868 and 1872, with two rival claimants to the throne, Johannes of Tigre and Menelik of Shoa. In the midst of this dispute, the Egyptians pushed into Northern Abyssinia, and seized some of the Border provinces and dominated the trade to the coast. In 1876, however, they were nearly anniliated in Jura, although still in possession of Massowah, the coast, and the province of Harrar. Then came the Mahdi, and despite the partial help of the English, Egypt was driven out while Italy, Great Britain and France succeeded to a part of the territory which she held.

We have seen how in the ~~sudden turmoil~~, Italy aspired to dominate Abyssinia, but was ~~conquered~~ crushed by Menelik II., who became emperor in 1889, and ruled until 1913.

Let us turn now to ~~look at this~~ Italy which thus came into contact with Abyssinia, and is pursuing the same object today.

Chamberlain, father of the modern phrase of English imperialism once said frankly "Empire is Commerce". Disputa attempt Commonplace thus as the "White Man's Burden", the essential truth remains,

Modern industrial imperialism is a method by which governments lay open areas of cheap labor and raw material for exploitation through private agencies. The cost of such exploitation would be much too great for private enterprise alone to bear profitably But if it can be done by the public taxation which supports armies and navies, and gives them strength and blood of young men, then there is a chance for private enterprise to make large profits by small investment which secures raw material and cheap labor. Moreover, unless such raw material and cheap labor are thus made available to a country like Italy, ~~other countries~~ rivals will seize them and make it impossible for the lagging country to ~~get access to these advantages~~ amass wealth and capital and secure recognition among the great Powers which today control ~~these~~ industry & commerce

The profits upon private enterprise invested in the cheap labor of brown and black men, and in the cheap but essential materials which they raise, have reached such heights which put unrivaled power in the hands of nations which own them. It was such considerations that made Germany rush suddenly into colonial enterprise after the Franco-Prussian War, and today pushes Italy toward Abyssinia.

The same thing is happening in the international field that happened in the American labor field, when part of the labor force was reduced to slavery. The

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~~It was in 1861 that an Italian statesman said: "We have made Italy, now we must make Italians."~~ The ~~unification~~ nationalization of ~~the country, beginning with the revolution of 1821 and 1848,~~ Italy had finally been accomplished in 1870. But Italy was poor and ~~poorly~~ undoubtedly was developed. Industries sprang up in the North, while agriculture dominated the South. But, if Italy was to become one of the great powers, she had to have modern industrial development, and that she conceived depended upon imperial expansion. Her treatment by France in the matter of Tunis and Tripoli, and by England, in the case of Abyssinia, threw her into the arms of Germany and Austria, and she became part of the Triple Alliance. Nevertheless, on the eve of the World War, Prime Minister Salavdra declared that Italy's policy would be dictated by "Sacred Egoism." By taking Tripoli from Turkey in 1911-1912, Italy had helped precipitate there world-wide conflagration, and had gained for herself a strip of barren sand, by "a perfect nightmare of horror...a veritable carnage ~~of carnage~~." Thus, in 1914, Italy, holding herself aloof, offered herself to the highest bidder. ~~Offers came fast.~~

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It was said that at one time France dangled the Port of Djibuti with its Abyssinian railway terminal, and the Colony of Tunis, ~~to Italy~~ before Italy in 1915. At any rate, in the secret treaty of London, ~~signed April 26, 1915,~~ it was expressly agreed by Great Britain, France and Russia, not only that Italy was to receive large portions of Austrian territory, but that: (Article XIII of the Treaty of London of April 26, 1915.)

"In the event of an extension of the French and British colonial possessions in Africa at the expense of Germany, France and Great Britain recognize to Italy in principle the right of demanding for herself certain compensations, in the form of an extension of her possessions in Eritrea, Somaliland, Libya, and the colonial districts bordering on French and British colonies."

Italy immediately entered the war on the side of the Allies, and there ~~was~~ ensued lively ~~much~~ discussion of future Colonial development by imperial Italian bodies, like the Istituto Coloniale Italiano, the Società Africana d'Italia, the Società Italiana di Esplorazioni, and the Istituto Orientale di Napoli, and by a number of publicists.

For her entrance into the war, Italy paid a terrible toll. Six Hundred Thousand lay dead and a million were wounded. The country seethed with disillusion and discontent, and the Paris Conference, by ignoring the Treaty of London, gave Italy what she regarded as a "mutilated victory", despite the territory which she gained from Austria. As a result, the Socialists, who had opposed Italy's entrance in the war, captured the government in 1919. and the beginnings of proletarian revolution in the form of Syndicalism appeared. Factories were seized and labor seized for control.

15

Italy must choose and choose quickly between a redistribution of wealth and economic power dictated by the working classes, or a re-organization of industry in the interests of capital but as for restrained ~~far enough as~~ that the mass of workers could be kept as labor in peaceful subjection. The resultant Fascism, started by the march on Rome in 1922, and gradually developed, faced a tremendous task. It must keep peace, restore confidence, curb the power of capital, furnish more capital, and insure profits. These contradictory objects could be carried out only if the first could be continuously assured, and the last realized, in fact Confidence and faith in Italy, and peaceful submission to the burdens of war and oppression, were accomplished by a subtly conceived psychological onslaught, which revived in the minds of young Italy the glory of Rome and the expansion of colonial empire.

47-10-184

For glory, it appealed to youth in its curiously ~~[illegible]~~ eloquent national hymn: "Youth, springtime of beauty. Fascism is the safeguard of our liberty." What compels Mussolini to say Italy must have revenge for Adowa? 16

"I heard Mussolini say on one occasion, speaking from the balcony of the Chigi Palace on the Corso in Rome—this was before he moved over to the Palazzo Venezia—to the Camice Nere (Blackshirts) when you look at the map, you see that the island of Sicily is the southernmost limit of our empire. But I swear to you that the day will come when the island of Sicily will be the geographical center of our empire."

The history of Rome was invoked, and Mussolini began sabre-rattling on a tremendous scale, and particularly emphasized the fact that Italy proposed to have colonies where she could settle her expanding population, and that also that population must expand. The millions of Italians who had immigrated to North and South America must in the future find homes under the Italian flag. Moreover, Mussolini said frankly that Tripoli and Eritrea were not enough. "These two colonies alone cannot solve our population problem, mark this well." He emphasized the plight of the Italians in Tunis. There were ninety thousand of them against seventy-one thousand Frenchmen, and the French were threatening to turn Italian children into French citizens. Mussolini protested bitterly and demanded a great navy to direct a future empire.

What all this means is made clearer by considering the present Colonial position of Italy. She has three African colonies: Lybia, which is the former Tripoli and Cyrenaica, and the coast bordering Abyssinia, Eritrea, with 621,000 inhabitants, and the other, Somaliland, with 1,000,000. Most of these inhabitants in all three colonies are natives, there being in the total population of two and one-third million, less than 50,000 Italians.

The colonies do not pay for themselves, and it costs Italy some $25,000,000 a year above their income to balance the budget. And of this, $25,000,000, $15,000,000 goes for a colonial army officered by Italians and manned by natives.

47-10-135

17

In the meantime, Abyssinia was bestirring herself. Menelik, the great emperor, died the year before the World War. He was succeeded by a daughter, and then by a grandson, whose hatred of Europeans and fanatical attitude on religion made him no fit instrument for a diplomatic role. Finally, ~~there came to the throne Ras Tafari.~~ Ras Tafari, a leading prince, was nominated as successor; he was crowned King in 1928, and Emperor November 2, 1930, amid the pomp of one of the oldest branches of the Christian Church. Significantly, he determined to call his country "Ethiopia, the land of the Burnt Faces," and not Abyssinia, from the Semitic tribe of Habesh. ~~To the far-sighted, the Coronation of Haile Selassie II~~

To the far-sighted, the coronation of the Emperor Haile Selassie II., presented at once foreboding and encouraging omens. He represented the beginning of a new era. Forces were at work to end the whole system of European aggression upon colored countries. In the formation of the League of Nations was the idea of a world tribunal where the lesser nations could at least be heard. The idea of the mandates was to put certain colonies under the guardianship of the League of Nations, and prevent at least the extremes of exploitation. In Abyssinia there seemed to lie the best chance for a new development. An unhampered tradition went back thousands of years that enabled these black men and brown to be proud of their color, their ancestry, their history. Surely, here was a chance to begin a new world. But if Abyssinia thus represented a beginning of new things, it also represented a continuation of the old, and this fact, too, was clear at the coronation. Representatives of thirteen countries braved the difficulties of travel and were present at Addis Abbaba. There was the Duke of Glouster, son of the King of England; there was the Duke of Udine, son of the King of Italy; there was Marshal Franchet d'Esperey, representing France; and a royal prince of Japan. The British representative stood, ~~of course~~ always, at the emperor's right hand, and the Italian at his left. It looked almost like a foregathering of ~~conquerors~~, watching a feast, where each one was seeing that ~~least should get~~ the largest possible share.

4/7-10-124

Meantime, the new Emperor ~~Haile Selassie II.~~, born in 1891, and much travelled in Europe, was evidently an enlightened man who proposed to make Abyssinia a modern country. He is a little brown man with curly hair, dignified and serious, educated in France, and eager for the advance of his country. As Prince, he had visited England, France and the continent, and wished to come to the United States, but the United States did not invite him. He began sending a few Abyssinians to be educated abroad; he began to reorganise justice, and tried to re-build the state in many ways. There were difficulties. Some were internal. Abyssinia is nearly two thousand years old with an unbroken tradition, strong feudal princes, strong old families, strong and linked customs, opposed to change, and the emperor had to attack evils like domestic slavery slowly and with care. Yet in this case European philanthropy with

(18)

rapacious commercialism fixed upon it, hammered at the reformer & forced him & Abyssinia to fight for his slow changing nation.

The Emperor has succeeded. Against the hatred of England & Italy and with the back of France, his country entered the League of Nations in 1923.

and in 1928 ~~August 2,~~ Italy and Abyssinia signed a treaty of friendship and arbitration for all disputes to remain in force ~~last~~ twenty years.

~~A few leaders did acquire interesting European~~
~~Abyssinia is still deep forest~~

47-10-27

It is quite possible that the new emperor, by his in
policy, has strained dangerously the allegiance of some of his
linked as they are to ancient allegiance and hoary customs.

novations and European
owerful followers.

47-10-238

~~(Insert.)~~ ~~THE AFRICAN ROOTS OF WAR~~

Nevertheless, the international relations of ~~Abyssinia~~ Ethiopia, coupled with old efforts at economic intervention, make the situation of the country difficult. In 1906, the agreement between Great Britain, France and Italy to respect and preserve the integrity of Abyssinia was really designed to prevent industrial concessions made to one from injuring the claims of any of the others. The notes between Great Britain and Italy in 1925 secretly divided Ethiopia into spheres of influence with Great Britain dominant in the regions of Lake Tsana and the headwaters of the Nile, and Italy along its borders in Eritrea and Somaliland. Ethiopia brought this ~~contract~~ treaty to the League of Nations. Mussolini explained, and Mac Donald half apologized, and later, when certain American engineers in 1927 signed a $20,000,000 contract to dam the waters of Lake Tsana, England insisted upon her prior rights, and by quiet ~~and secret~~ diplomacy ~~apparently~~ broke the contract. So far, the ~~Abyssinians~~ Ethiopians have avoided the pitfalls which put Algeria, Tunis and Egypt into debt-servitude to the bankers of Europe. ~~Abyssinia~~ Ethiopia has at present no public debt, and the banking facilities of the country which were for a long time under the domination of Egypt, and thus indirectly of England, have recently been consolidated under the Bank of Ethiopia.

47-10-128

On the other hand, in the matter of communications, Ethiopia has become seriously entangled. The history of this goes back to the concessions which Menelik made in 1894 to a French company for a railroad from Djibuti through Harrar to Addis Abbeba and the White Nile. Construction was hurried directly after the Battle of Adowa, and English commerce was greatly aroused. When the French were unable to raise sufficient capital for the enterprise, they borrowed from ~~the~~ English investors, and then tried to make the railroad a government enterprise. To this Menelik strongly objected. Thereupon, it was proposed that the railroad be internationalized and owned by several European governments, but Menelik would not consent to this. Finally, when the French company was bankrupt in 1907, a new private company was formed under an Ethiopian, whose bonds were backed by the guaranty of the French government, but whose real owners were the French and English, with a few ~~Abyssinians~~ Ethiopians.

Four hundred and eighty-six miles of this railroad have now been built. In addition to this, the Italians own 1,225 miles of telegraph lines, while the Ethiopians

(20)

(Cont...Insert.)

themselves have five thousand miles of telephone. The resources of Abyssinia are almost entirely undeveloped. The population is probably about ten million. The annual value of its trade, imports and exports, is about $10,000,000, and there are undoubtedly large mineral resources in the mountains, not to mention the entire undeveloped water power.

17-10-23

It is clear that the present crisis between Italy & Abyssinia had its immediate cause in two facts: (21)

~~It seems probable that the present crisis has been precipitated by two facts:~~ the discovery of oil in a desert border region where Abyssinia has long had imperfect control, and where Italy, for commercial reasons, has been encroaching upon the ill-defined boundaries. Secondly, ~~that Mussolini has been compelled to do something to make good his saber-rattling before the eyes of the youth of Italy.~~

Mussolini used to wind up his most flamboyant speeches with a fiery exclamation: "E Tunisia?" To this word, pronounced in a questioning tone of voice, the massed blackshirts then replied with a thunderous shout: "A Noi!" which means: "To Us!"

Because the sudden re-alignment of European alliances caused by the murder of Dolfuss, has compelled Mussolini to justify his saber-rattling & the youth of Italy in Ethiopia rather than in Tunis or Africa

The murder of the prime minister of Austria by the German Nazis killed an understanding between France & Italy which might have forced France & England to disgorge the German colonies in Africa and grant Italian African demands in full. But Italy feared Pan Germany more than France, & France feared Hitlerism more than Italianism, and England feared German industrial competition

Laval & Mussolini renewed ~~the~~ ~~pact~~ ~~the Locarno~~ the old alliance & came to understanding

4-7-10-130

., Exactly what their written understanding was has not bee published, but it is pretty clear from subsequent events; Nothing probably was said about the navy. Italy has little money to build ships, even if she wants to. Some concessions were made as to Italians in Tunis, and some territorial concessions in the hinterland of Tripoli, probably not large in actual extent, but important in opening one of the main trade routes from Lake Chad to Tripoli, and involving some 50,000 square miles of territory. ~~But~~ The main concession undoubtedly was in Abyssinia, and that concession consisted, first, in promising to keep hands off if Mussolini should make war upon Abyssinia, and seize any part of her territory. Secondly, to grant Italian capital additional power in Abyssinia. It is rumored

47-10-131

Hitler recently in his Saar speech, intimated that the work of ~~leading~~ redeeming German colonies had not been finished, and he doubtless used the word "colony" advisedly. ~~But~~ The Germany is going to demand the return of ~~Colonial~~ German Africa, ~~be-~~ before she consents to raise the war menace in Europe, is absolutely certain.)

22

The African Roots of War

that three thousand shares of the Djibuti Railroad has been turned over to Italy and that a rectification of frontier between Eritrea and French Somaliland has been so arranged as to give Italy direct access to the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb.

All this means a tighter economic cordon around Ethiopia to make her access to foreign markets more difficult, and to keep out capital from countries other than Italy, Great Britain, and France. Behind this movement, and tending to strengthen the common interests of these imperial powers, are two menaces from Asia: the recent appearance of Japan in Abyssinian industrial development, has alarmed the West. It is rumored that Japan has already captured one-third of the commerce of Abyssinia, and the French charge that the Japanese wish to equip Ethiopia industrially, and furnish technical help for her new machines. If in this way Japan should obtain an economic foothold in Ethiopia, she might lay claim to share in one of the ports of the Red Sea through which Ethiopian commerce must pass. And as a French writer has said recently:

"...on that day Japan will say: 'I want Djibuti. It belongs to me on account of my tremendous interests in Ethiopia.' And who knows whether or not we shall have to concede in order to save Indo-China from civil war or even from a war of aggression? Germany also sees things from this point of view and does not hide her satisfaction, as Heinrich Nebel's recent articles in the Frankfurter Zeitung indicate." (pp. 404, 405, Living Age, Henry De Monfreid in the Nouvelles Littéraires.)

47-10-132

Italy then mobilizes against Ethiopia; no shot of the League of Nations; no shirk of the treaty of arbitration; no shirk of repeated efforts at conciliation or adjustment, her troops are piling soldiers & equipment into Eritrea. She intends to seize Ethiopia covering on one pretext or another, to secure oil and to draw a tighter broad base of economic & military aggression about her. Ethiopia will not attempt complete conquest — the inner citadel is too

~~Moreover, Italy sees another threat to her economic and her African development, small but growing, and that is~~ the new independence of the kingdom of the Arabs opposite Abyssinia across the Red Sea, ~~At best, this new kingdom~~ at best, is going to cut off Italian trade with Eritrea, and at worst, it is going to encourage every Arab in North Africa to remember the trail of blood through which Italy walked to secure the barren victory of Tripoli. Again

(23)

Here, then, is war again. That war which has never ceased since the World War, but comes now nearer the European circle where its sparks are increasingly dangerous. Moreover, let no one think that the demand of Italy in Africa is the end of demands. The reason that Germany refuses to make categorical answers to the handsome overtures of France and England concerning re-arming and debt is because there is still one unmentioned subject, and that is, German colonies, and particularly German colonies in Africa, since the attitude and power of Japan makes colonial aggression in Asia unhealthful just now. The scramble, therefore, in Africa, for cheap labor and cheap war material is not ended. It helped start World War in 1914, and it may easily do it again in our day, and if this international jealousy does not start such a war, the war may be started by the African themselves, for after all, Africa is not held by Europeans. ~~Nine out of ten of the troops, even ninety-nine out of every hundred, who hold Africa for England, France, Belgium and Italy, are black men, and they are black men who are beginning to think. One of these days they are going to take Africa, either of their own volition, or with the help of the wide dominion of sons of Africa the world over.~~ The attempt to throttle Abyssinia as a salve for keeping Italian workers from open revolt may easily be the real cause to set the world aflame.

~~To all this, must be added only one more thing:~~ Africa today is held in subjection to Europe by black armies. Except in the Union of South Africa, nine-tenths of the European armies are composed of natives. Their allegiance has been bought by emphasizing tribal jealousies and encouraging envy, and doling out small amounts of power and prestige. But this is not enough. The unrest in black Africa is widespread. We are told that ~~when~~ the killing of Italians by Abyssinian tribesmen ~~was heard, it~~ quickly spread to every coast of the black continent. One of these days, the very troops by which Europe holds Africa, are going to cease to play the part so long assigned them. It only needs the guiding thought and the great leader. And with all that Europe can do in airplane, tank and war guns, let the world remember that a group of determined black men, armed even partially with modern tehcnique, could take their stand on the snow-swept heights of Ethiopia, within sight of the Equator, and in the midst of the black world, and shake the very centers of European imperialism. The day that the League of Nations lets Italy strangle Ethiopia will begin the low roll of this tom-tom. It may not be today or in one hundred years, but it will come.

(Insert.) THE AFRICAN ROOTS OF WAR

After the Armistice, the French are said to have approached Colonel House with a proposal to scrap all the secret treaties, including the Treaty of London, in order to curb Italy.

47-10-135

Italy

Lit Dig 118-6 - { June 33 / Oct 13, 34 } Mar 15, 30

* LV. Age July 34 Fascism in Africa

* Foreign Affs July 34

News Week Feb 15, 31

\ Amer Mercury May 33

\ Harpers Apr 31

P De Vecchi Italys Civilizing Mission in Africa 1912

DT234.D4

Treaties : France SX1551.27A

4565
247
19
16
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47-10-237

GENEVA
LAVAL + MUSOLINI
1928
1931
PUBLIC OPINION

ETHIOPIA
5000 years.

- KUSH - PUNT
- 750 BC
- PERSIA
- GREECE
- ROME
- ISLAM + CHRIST

1000 years

PORTUGAL
EGYPT

ALGIERS
TUNIS + BERLIN - 1878
EGYPT
ITALY
NILE

The African Roots of War

in the country owned by the Italians, while the Abyssinians themselves own some five thousand miles of telephone lines. In addition to this, it is rumored that in the regions where clashes have occurred between Italy and nomad Abyssinian tribes, oil has been discovered. For sometime oil has been dug and exported from this part of Africa.

ABYSINIA
THEODORE
EGYPT
MAHDI - 1881
OBOCK - DJIBUTI - ZELLA

ADOWA

TRIPOLI
FASHODA

TRIPLE ALLIANCE
1914, 1915
HAILE SILASSIE
1931
OIL + AUSTRIA

U.S.A
SLAVERY
DISFRANCHISEMENT
LYNCHING

47-10-235

P N Milioukov DK 262.M66

M Hindus DK.267.H5

G. Brit DK 265.G75

G. T. Robinson DK 263.R6

D Thompson DK 267.T5

Temperley Peace Conf.
Ref D 644.T4

C. Seymour D511.S5
Diplomatic Background

T.S. Crocker - Secret Treaties
D 610.C55

Kaufmann Ref. D505.G532
British Doc " D505.G68

Statesmans Year Book

47-10-2360

(ITALY..Cont.)

There are 71,000 Frenchmen in Tunis and 90,000 Italians. In 1921, Italian subjects born in Tunis, either of whose parents were born in Tunis, were declared to be French citizens.

Tripolitania and Cyrenaica are together called Lybia, and are worthless desert unless the hinterland can be pushed down to the (mouth) of Lake Chad.

There are 41,000,000 Italians on a peninsula smaller than the state of New Mexico. Millions of Italians have emigrated up to North and South America.

4/7-10-265

There is no information about the history of Abyssinia from the beginning of the 9th Century B.C. to the end of the 1st Century. Egyptians say nothing about it, although they may have traded with Abyssinians. The Ptolemies sought to develop trade and opened up the Caravan Road to the Red Sea, whence he sent expeditions southward to the country of the blacks. Thus, the Ptolemies undoubtedly came in contact with the Abyssinians. Axum especially profited by the new trade and became a halting place for caravans. It probably was not founded until the beginning of the 1st Century and reached the zenith of its power in the 4th Century. Little is known of the history of Axum in the 2nd or 3rd Centuries. The greatest king of the time was Ezana. It was he who proclaimed Christianity.

Greek culture entered Ethiopia fairly early, and later, Roman influence was felt. Meroe was destroyed, however, before the introduction of Christianity.

Ethiopia was destroyed by a king of Axum in Abyssinia in the 5th Century, A.D. The kings of Axum claimed suzerainty of Ethiopia as early as 356 A.D., but did not destroy its capital until a century later.

In the Seventh Century, A.D., the domination of Europe over Northern Africa stopped, and the Arabs of Asia succeeded them.

In 640 A.D., an Arab army conquered Northern Egypt, and took it from the Byzantine governors. This army then entered North Africa.

47-10-215

Five kings reigned between 360 and 480, but of these little is known. In 525, the Abyssinians in sixty ships sent by the Emperor Justinian, landed in Arabia and captured Yemen. Finally, Yemen was recaptured by the Persians about 598.

In the second half of the Fifth and Sixth century, a large number of monks came to Abyssinia and founded monasteries. The conquest of the Arabs, however, gave new life to the Pagans before Christian religion declined. But in the first half of the 10th Century, Judith or Esther, seized the kingdom, massacred the Royal princess and made herself Queen of Abyssinia. She reigned forty years and destroyed Axum and Christianity. Her successors from Lasta were Christians but a different sect from the Axumite Christians. The old line of kings was not restored until 1270.

The line of kings descended from the Queen of Sheba and Solomon was broken off by 950, and for about 300 years the throne was occupied by the Zagwe, who reigned from 950 to 1260. About the middle of the 10th Century, a religious revolution broke out in Abyssinia. The authors were the Falashas, who were of Jewish origin and practiced Judism, and the Zagwe, a native tribe, who were Christians. The leader of the revolution was Judah, or Esther, meaning fire. She put her son on the throne and murdered 400 of the royal princes. One of them, however, was taken to Shoa. Judah reigned forty years and destroyed Christianity and the city of Axum. On her death, the family of Lasta succeeded. There were 11 kings, 5 Jewish, and 6 Christian. The whole period of the Zagwe is involved in darkness.

It seems probable from more careful criticism that Esther was not a Jewish but a Pagan, and belonged to the Zagwe tribe of Agaw.

The last of the Zagwe kings, under the influence of a monk, resigned in favor of Yekueno Amlak, a prince of Shoa, of the Solomon line. Thus, the old line was restored to the throne and a large part of the land of the kingdom given to the Church.

In the second half of the 13th Century, Coptic Monks came from Egypt to Abyssinia and restored the Abyssinian Church. They translated the new Testiment. Meantime, the Mohammendans invaded Abyssinia and destroyed the Church and books, but the Abyssinians called in the Portuguese troops unassisted, and then, in 1546, a Jesuit mission arrived. The Jesuits tried to take the Abyssinian Church into the Catholic Church but were driven out with great cruelty. The head of the Abyssinian Church is the Aboon, who is ordained by the patriarch in Cairo.

47-10-217

Until the close of the 15th Century, Europe knew nothing of the exact history of Ethiopia. It was believed to be ruled over by a Christian Potentate called Prester John. He was identified with the John, Patriarch of the Indians, who visited Rome in the 12th Century. By the middle of the 14th Century, Prester John's kingdom was swept to the Ethiopians. Probably the Abyssinian legend of Prester John went back to the 4th Century and antedated John of India.

Between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Egyptians through Sudan became a center of a large number of Mohammed captains, with Arabs, mulattoes and Negro slave captains. The Portuguese entered Abyssinia from the South, and played a considerable part. Then came the Mohammedans, but they were kept back from Abyssinia by the Sudanese chiefs captains.

Anarchy ensued in Abyssinia after the death of Theodore, and the regional chiefs became independent, while the Egyptians steadily encroached from the North. The anarchy continued, from 1868-1872, but in 1872, Johannes of Tigre proclaimed himself emperor, in spite of the rivalry of Menelik of Shoa, who still maintained his independence. By 1872, the Egyptians had occupied Keren in Northern Abyssinia, and in 1875, seized the whole district of Harar, a border province near the eastern center of Abyssinia, and dominating thetrade to the coast. They also attempted to invade Abyssinia from Zeila, and Johannes was killed in the attempt to oppose them. The Egyptian forces were led by various European officers well-armed. Eventually, however, in 1876, the Egyptians were nearly anniliated at Jura, although they were still in possession of Kassala, Keran, Massowah, the coast, and the province of Harar.

the country in the face of the Rebel chiefs, and England sawmno necessity, then, of seeking to hold it. Practically, however, the British left Abyssinia weakened, and open to the aggressions of the Turks and the Egyptians, who had seized the coast of what is now Italian Eritrea.

The history of Ethiopia in the 19th Century is a part of the history of European imperialism. In 1850, the Emperor John was ruling there. After the rebellion, he was succeeded by an extraordinary man, Theodore, in 1855. European visitors; German, French and English, began to invade Abyssinia, and this rather sudden contact of Africa and Europia led to disputes and misunderstandings. Theodore arrested the British Minister, and as a result, in 1867, the English, under Napier, invaded and defeated Theodore. Theodore surrendered, but this did not satisfy the English. They perpectuated his capture, and Theodore committed suicide, after which his body was shamefully desecrated by the conquerors. Napier was made a Lord, but the English withdrew, leaving anarchy in Abyssinia.

John, VI., succeeded in 1872, and had to beat back the Egyptians. In the meantime, English, French and Italians began to seize the coast of Abyssinia with the idea of claiming the hinterland. By various shadowdy titles, the Italians got Assab, the French Obock, and the English Zeila. But the plans of the English were interfered with by the rebellion under the Mahdi, 1881-1885. This drove the English out of the Sudan, although they established themselves in Egypt in 1882. Finding themselves unable to press upon Abyssinia, they invited the Italians to seize Massowah, a strategic marketplace for Abyssinian trade. The Italians, thus encouraged, began their intrigue. They made alliance with Menelik, one of the subordinate princes, who was rebelling against John. A treaty was signed at Uecilalli in 1889 between Menelik and the Italians, and that year Menelik became emperor of Abyssinia. Immediately, Italy announced that through the treaty they were ministers of Abyssinia, and in England maps were published showing Abyssinia as Italian.

47-10-218

In the Fifteenth Century, the Portuguese began their explorations in Africa. 47-10-216
They reached the Cape of Good Hope in 1488, went up the Coast of East Africa in the early Sixteenth Century, and about 1532 appeared in Abyssinia where they sent 400 horsemen with artillery to help the king repel the attacks of the Mohammedans, who had come South as far as Massowah. Portuguese and Catholic missionaries established themselves in Abyssinia.

In East Africa, Semites from Arabia entered Abyssinia and mixed with the Negro and Negroid populations.

The religion in which Axum was situated was called Habesh, from which the name Abyssinia is derived. The people of Axum preferred to call their country Ethiopia and not Habesh, for to them Ethiopia was Kush and the Kushites had become masters of Northeast Africa. The name Habesh is derived from a Semetic tribe called Habashat. Members of this tribe had crossed the Red Sea from South Arabia and settled in Africa, coming probably from Yemen. The natives did not think much of them.

Axum is one of the oldest towns in Abyssinia.

It was for years a refuge for the Jews driven out of Palestine by the Asyrians. It stood in the midst of the great path of Egypt down to Punt and sent them either by the Red Sea or the Great Lakes.

After the political ~~troops~~ changes in Palestine followed the conquest of Alexander the Great, Jews in small groups migrated to Abyssinia and North Africa.

In Abyssinia, 200 or 300 years before Christ, they settled and formed a tribe called the Falashas. These were much mixed with Negro blood.

Axum, still the ~~secret~~ sacred city of the Abyssinians, flourished from the 1st to the 7th Century, A.D., and was converted to Christianity about 450 A.D. The Amhara Province in the Northern part of Abyssinia, near Lake Tsana, has as its capital, Gondar. This province obtained a sort of predominance, and the emperor had his capital there. Later, Menelik, the II., placed the capital further South at Addis-Abeba. The Amharic language succeeded the ancient Ethiopic language, and is not Semetic.

47-10-214

According to a few ancient ~~descendants~~ documents in Abyssinia, the Abyssinians were descendants from Ham, and the sons of Ham were fathers of the people of Nubia, Egypt, Libra and Phoenicia; that is, Kush, Misraim, Put and Canaan. According to one ~~descendant~~ document, Menelik, the 1st, was the son of Solomon; and the Queen of Sheba made Axum the center of the worship of Israel. Another legend says that Aethiopis, after whom the country was called, was buried at Axum, and that his descendants founded the city.

flourished until after the time of Christ, and gradually changed because of the failure of the Nile (waters) than for any other reason. Finally, Meroe was overthrown by the pressure of the Mohammendans, and culture took one further step back into the African continent. On the highlands of Abyssinia, Semitics from pre-historic times had mingled with the indigenous blacks.

In the meantime, on the highlands bordering the Red Sea, the people of Semetic blood, began to penetrate Abyssinia and amalgamate with the Negroes, so that there arose in Abyssinia, as this part of Ethiopia came to be called, a race of Negroes and Semetic mulattoes, which established a kingdom. This kingdom in the fourth century became Christian, and in the sixth century, it was trading with India and Byzantium, and at the request of the Emperor Justinean, conquered Yemen in 525 and held it fifty years. The Abyssinians were to spread in from Arabia and shut-in from Egypt on the north, so that, as Gibbon says: "Encompassed by the enemies of their

religion, the Ethiopians slept for nearly a thousand years, forgetful of the world by whom they were forgotten." Yet throughout this period, the legend of a Christian kingdom hidden away in Africa persisted, and search for Prester John became one of the world quests.

The Semetic mulattoes formed a kingdom centering around Axum, which became a trading post in the time of the Ptolemis. This kingdom took its name from a Semetic tribe, but afterward, when it had for a time conquered Meroe, it began to claim suzerainty and kinship with ancient Ethiopia, and the Dynasty came to be more and more of distinctly Ethiopian blood. Three hundred years after Christ, the nation was converted to Christianity, and then when the flood of Islam rolled up the Nile, and the Negro tribes impelled perhaps by the drying up of the Sahara, precipitated themselves afterward into the Nile Valley; the Abyssinians retreated to their island fastness, and as Gibbon says: "Encompassed by its enemies, Ethiopia slept one thousand years forgetful of the world by which it was forgotten."

Rumors and legends of the beleagered kingdom reached the world during the Middle Ages in the shape of stories of Prester John, the Christian Presbyter, who ruled in central Africa. He was discovered by the Portuguese in the 15th Century coming up from the Cape-of-Good Hope, and thus Abyssinia was opened to the European world.

Who are the Abyssinians and what is their government? (Halle Salassie) the Second, is by tradition the 316th King to sit upon the throne, and certainly we know of at least 200 kings of Abyssinia in historic times. Abyssinia lies South of Ethiopia. If one starts with Alexandria and goes south 500 miles to the First Cataract, at Assouan, one comes to the confines of ancient Ethiopia, the Southern boundary of old Egypt. There can be no doubt of the mulatto character of the Egyptians, and that the Egyptians themselves were Negroes. Only that refinement of definition is denied the name Negro to most of the black people of the world who deny it to the Ethiopians. Nearly 500 miles south of Assouan is Meroe, and in this stretch of country centering at Napota, grew up a civilization which eventually conquered Egypt and held back Asia, and was for a century and a half, after 750 B.C., the greatest nation in the world. Then the Asyrian flood pushed the Ethiopians back to Meroe, a shield-like island formed by the waters of the Attbara and the Blue Nile. Here, again, civilization

Egypt, between the Mediterranean and the First Cataract of the Nile, and Aswan, had become a country of mulattoes with predominant Semetic blood, seven thousand years ago. Between the First and 2nd Cataracts, the Nile Valley was inhabited by mulattoes who were predominantly Negroes and brown or black, and below these were the Nubian or Ethiopian Negroes.

Egyptian rule ended at Wadi Halfa, south of the Second Cataract, where it reached its climax 3,200 years ago. At this point, Negro-land began. Between Wadi Halfa and the White and Blue Niles, the peoples were predominantly Negro with some ancient and modern mixture of blood.

The Negro races dwelling on the Nile beyond the First and Second Cataract were known as Wa Wa by the dynastic Egyptians.

The Hamites, between Egypt, the Red Sea and Abyssinia, were they are more Negroid than the dynastic Egyptians, are illustrated by Kipling's character, "Fuzzy-Wuzzy" from their bushy, kinky, hair and dark color. They were also known as the "Beja". Hence come the Hykos

After the Hyksos had been repulsed, the Egyptians tried to open up communication with Punt, the land of their ancestors, "where the incense trees grew." Punt was perhaps in Somaliland and perhaps in the region of the Great Lakes. The description of the people given by the Egyptians, 1470 B.C., indicates inhabitants of Uganda, and the Great Lakes Region.

47-10-208

47-10-212

Abyssinia was colonized by settlers from Yemen, probably in a series of movements extending over a considerable time. These immigrants became incorporated into the original black population.

47-10-213 Abyssinians claim that they are descendants of Ham, the son of Noah, and that Ham begot Kush and Kush begot Ethiopies, after whom their country is named. Probably the whole northeast quarter of Africa was originally peopled with Negroes, with a few Semites. The Kushite-Negroids drove back the primitive Negroes and occupied Ethiopian Abyssinia. Many centuries before Christ, Semites and Yemen and South Arabia crossed over into Africa. Among them was the tribe called Habashat, from which is derived the name Abyssinia. Other tribes also migrated. They mixed with the natives, and are today Semetic mulattoes, with a preponderance of Negro blood.

The territory south of Egypt was called by the Egyptians "Cush" and beyond the territories of "Cush" lay "Punt", which the Egyptians regarded as the cradle of their race. The word "Ethiopia" means "The land of the black face," and in ancient Mediterranean literature it was a legend of gods and fairies. Zeus and Poseidon feasted this year among the blameless Ethiopians, and black Memnon, King of Ethiopia, was one of the Homric heroes. Diodorus Siculus says that the Ethiopians conceive themselves to be of greater antiquity than any other nation, and that the Egyptians were one of their colonies. The Egyptians themselves often affirm that their civilization came from the South. As Egypt developed, a separate and independent Ethiopian culture began to arise which centered at Nepata, and Meroe. There was widespread trade in gold, ivory, skins and handicrafts. Later, when outer aggression appeared, Ethiopia became the physical and cultural refuge for conquered Egypt. In the new empire, Egypt began to incorporate Ethiopia, and later, the Ethiopian capital, gathering strength, expanded northward, and about 750 B.C. ruled over Egypt for a century, under Negroid and Negro Kings. Egypt was conquered, first, by the Assyrians and then by the Persians. But the Ethiopian kingdoms kept their independence and were ruled by full-blooded Negroes from 630 down to 500 B.C. From the fifth to the second century, B.D., white tribes from the Sudan began pressing in from the West, while Greek culture was penetrating from the East. The seat of empire began to change from Nepata to Meroe, and ~~at~~ Meroe, the ~~German~~ queen, called Candace reigned ad warred against Rome, at the time of Augustus. The prestige of Ethiopia at this time was considerable throughout the world, and the Romans inorder to check the Ethiopians called in the Nubians, who settled in Northern Ethiopia, which came to be known as Nubia. AP

47-10-209

Meroe is the greatest and fairest island which the Nile makes, and was compared by Herodotus to the shape of a shield. This island is inhabited by Mohammedans, who are in alliance with the Moors against the King of Abyssinia. (Pory)

The mission sent by Nero to discover the sources of the Nile reported that Meroe was 360 Roman miles from Napata. At this time, the town was said to have fallen into decay but once it had supported 200,000 soldiers and 4,000 artisans. It was ruled according to Pliny by a Queen named Candacy, who had 44 predecessors on the throne.

Under the Emperor Clauduis, 41-45 A.D., the Romans tried to develop the trade of Egypt, and Nego, A.D. 54-68, invaded lower Ethiopia; that is, the country beyond Nubia. For the last 200 years, A.D. 60-260, the Romans allowed the Nubians to do about as they pleased. In the reign of Diocletian, 284-305 A.D., the Romans, being attacked by desert tribes from the East, placed the Roman interests in Northern Nubia in the hands of Negroes from the Western desert. They were given lands and a yearly tribute. Thus, by paying off selfish tribes against each other, Diocletian secured peace for Egypt. There was further trouble in the reign of Theodosius, the 2nd, A.D. 408-450; and toward the close of the reign of Justinian, A.D. 527-565, there was further trouble. In 641, the Moslems made Nubia a province of the Mohammedan empire, and sent an army of 20,000 men a gainst them. In return, the Nubians invaded Upper Egypt and were again crushed. The Nubians embraced Christianity under Sileo about 450 A.D., and made Dongola their capital.

Then, for a period of about 600 years, the Nubians paid tribute to the Arabs. In 722, they marched against Egypt with an army of 100,000 men, and again in 1833, they were at war with the Mohammendans, and in 1854, continual war, revolt and conquest between the Arabs and the Nubians took place up until 1174, when Saladin's troops again crushed the Nubians, and in 1275, the Arabs annexed it. Still revolts followed. In 1287, Al-Mensur raided the country, but the Nubians expelled him. He went a second time. Fighting continued between Nubians and Arabs from 1311 to 1412, until the Arabs were compelled to give up, and did not finally conquer Nubia until they united with the Negro tribe of Fungs, whose capital was Sennaar. When Selim conquered Egypt in 1517, the Fungs had control of Nubia, and the Arabs took the rule of Northern Nubia, and the Fungs of Southern Nubia. Here, the Fungs ruled, from 1534 to 1829. In 1820, Muhanmed Ali sent an army of Turks and Arabs to conquer Nubia. He was killed.

and his father massacred Nubians with terrible atrosities. About 1840, Ahmed Pasha united the country, and Mohmed Ali's Sudan thus included all the territories of the ancient kingdom of Napota and Meroe. During the next 40 years, 1840-1880, these province were reduced to a state of ruin and absolute misery by the misrule and oppression of the Egyptians. Mohanmed Amad, known as the Madhi, led a rebellion. He was born in 1843, and declared himself the Messiah in 1881. The Mohammedans, expecting the Messiah to appear in 1882. He defeated the government troops, the Egyptian army, and in January, 1885, captured Khartum and murdered Gordon. The Madhi died June 22, 1885, and the Khalifa began to carry out his plans for the conquest of Egypt. It was not until 1896, after the battle of Adowa, that Kitchener started to recover Khartum. In the battle of Omdurman, Kitchner killed 10,800 and wounded 16,000, while his army lost 48 killed and 382 wounded. It was machine guns against shotguns.

~~Silko, Chieftain of the Nobadae~~

"I am Silko, Chieftain of the Nobadae, and of all the Ethiopia."

Silko converted the Nubians to Christianity in the second half of the Sixth Century.

47-10-202

Germany appeared on the scene with consul and showed that she was ready to take a hand in the Abyssinian game. The struggle for Morroco took place March, 1905, and January, 1906, in the conference at Algeciras and Germany. Three months after this conference, France, Great Britain and Italy signed a ggreement of 1906. "They were to respect the integrity of Abyssinia. The headwaters of the Nile were not to be interfered with while Italy was given the right to extend a railway and telegraph system from her colony of Eritrea. France was confirmed in her right to construct the railway from Djibuti, but the Board of Administration was to include an Abyssinian, an Englishman and an Italian. Abyssinia agreed to this December 13, 1906, but in 1907, the French Company went into bankruptcy, and at the request of the French minister, Menelik granted the railway concessions of Abyssinia to Dr. Vitalien, physician to the court. The new company was to pay the bankrupt company an annuity of 600 ,000 francs a year for ninety-nine years, and this sum was guaranteed by France."

47-10-203

Here, then, is the situation. Practically, Italy has received a part, if not all, of the hinterland of Triopli toward Lake Chad. She has received a larger share of the Abyssinian trade by being made a co-partner in the French railroad, and by her virtual monopoly of telegraph lines. She maintains on the borders of Abyssinia, a military force, including airplanes; and recent clashes on the undefined southeastern border, has led recently to open clashes between Italian and Abyssinian troops, arising, it is rumored, from the Italian discovery of oil.

47-10-204

Meantime, the French had built a railroad from their narrow coast possessions and the harbor of Djibuti, to Addis Ababba, a length of 486 miles, which is the main line for direct trade between Abyssinia and the outer world. Over this railroad and by caravan to the Sudan, go about $6,000,000,000 worth of exports and imports each year, chiefly hides and skins, coffee, wax, ivory, civet, and butter. There are twelve hundred miles of Italian-owned telegraph lines, and five thousand miles of telephone lines controlled apparently by the Abyssinians themselves. In one respect, however, Abyssinia has refused to go the way of Algeria, Tunis and Egypt. She has contracted from foreign debt, and she has recently bought out the Bank of Abyssinia owned by Egyptians, and re-placed it by the Bank of Ethiopia. It would look from this as though Abyssinia was going to have a chance for development, but difficulties have long loomed, and now come to head.

The description of Ethiopa given by Homer, Herodotus, Diodorum, Strabo, and Pliny, show that they meant vast tracts of country in Asia and Africa inhabited by dark-skinned and black-faced people. They divided them into Eastern Ethiopia and Western Ethiopia. The former marched in Arabia, Seria, Mesopotamia and India, and the latter, in the regions West of the Red Sea, Egypt and the Sudan. The translaters of the Bible identified Kush with Ethiopia but knew nothing of Abyssinia. The name Ethiopia was given to Abyssinia by those who translated the Bible from Greek into Ethiopic. To this day, the Abyssinians call their country Ethiopia.

47-10-207

it should be bemembered, of course, that these are non-official views. Some of the claims are undoubtedly exaggerated, and have been criticized by Italians themselves, but there is substantial unanimity on the main points." (pp. 391, 392, 393, African Questions at the Parish Peace Conference. G. L. Beer.)

47-10-206

The Paris Peace Conference gave Italy "a mutilated victory." The country was at the time seethed with disillusion and discontent. The result was that Socialists who had opposed Italy's entrance in the war captured the government in 1919, but strikes and disorders ensued. Workers seized factories in Northern Italy, but could not operate them for lack of technical experts and capital. This weakened the Socialist Party.

The Fascist marched on Rome October 27, 1922, and Mussulini became Premier October 30.

But

Menelik protested. He said that he had never signed any treaty of that sort; that what the treaty said was that Abyssinia might avail themselves of the good offices of Italy and foreign relations. On the other hand, the Italians claimed that Menelik had admitted that he must be represented by Italy in foreign affairs. Italy tried to enforce her interpretation by arms, but was decisively defeated in the battle of Adowa in 1890. This threw imperial plans of Italy, France and England into confusion. The Italians had to give up their idea of aggression in Abyssinia for

4/7-10-205

forty years. The English saw the headquarters of the Nile threatened unless they re-captured the Sudan. Only a few months after the battle of Adowa, they started back to the Sudan, after having been out of it ten years, and in 1898, recaptured Chartoun.

Meantime, the French proposed to anticipate the English, and in conjunction with an Abyssinian army, to occupy a strategic post at Fashoda. The French arrived there in time. The Abyssinians did not, and when the English army came, they found the French flag flying. European war over the Sudan and Abyssinia was immiment, but in 1899, the French and the English made treaty by which the Nile Valley was surrendered to the English, while the Hinterland of Triopli was surrendered to the French. Italy was disinherited.

Impériale des Chemins de Fer Ethiopiens. The capital was supplied by a group of French financial houses and the French Colonial Office worked closely with them. Construction was begun in 1897. This aroused alarm in London but the English went at the matter methodically. They formed one or two investment associations with noblemen and army officers on the Board of Directors. It was tentatively in 1898 that these companies might participate in the Abyssinian railroad. The statement became more explicit in 1900 and 1901. Gradually, British interests put money into the French enterprise in return for shares. This was allowed by the French on condition that they be allowed to break the agreement at any time on forfeiture of 625 thousand francs. By 1901, the British had almost a controlling interest in the French company, and two directors on the board, and they had, also, a monopoly for building further railway extensions in Abyssinia. This aroused French Colonial circles, and the British quietly threatened that unless they were allowed a part they would build a branch of the railroad to the British Port of Zeilah. French Colonial circles were somewhat aroused and the French government offered the company an annual subvention of 500,000 francs for fifty years, which would allow them to terminate their agreement with the British capitalists. In return, the company had to remain a French company and all the members of the Board were to be French, and the government had powers to fix rents and oversea general management. This brought a protest from Menelik since he had not been consulted, and he declared that he had granted the concession to a private company which had now become the government of France. Sir Johnson Harrington, the British representative, emphasized this aspect. French influence in Abyssinia began to fall and Menelik, by refusing to co-operate, made the French proposal impossible, nor could the private company raise further capital. The English, however, proposed a compromise, and that was that the railway be internationalized over its entire length, and Djibuti made a free port. Otherwise, they demanded an English terminus for the railroad. In 1905, Menelik summoned the French, British, Italian and Russian ministers to an audience, and asked for some sort of decision. Both the British and the Italians asked for nationalization. The French representative awaited news from France before he spoke. Meantime, the Entente Cordiale, both French and English, had begun and found solution most from them. The British wanted to furnish funds for the extension of the railroad if the French would agree to the nationalization. Finally, however, the agreement of July 6, 1906, was made before in 1904.

102-01-44

47-10-198

Let us say it is the moved on plane England: a group
of determined men, armed with modern technique without or doubt from the Antarctic or the moon
could take their stand on the snowcapped heights of Cheddar
with right of the Equator + withdraw the weight of the
British Crown + the day the Legion of Honour falls Italy
through Edward will [illegible] key in the roll of the town
Ford. If it be soon or late — a day is Edward is
as a thousand years + a thousand years as 1 day

Italy's grievances were increased, when at the end of the war in the Treaty of Versailles, in spite of the fact that the German colonies were divided between England, France, and Belgium, and Italy, got practically nothing. Her estrangement from France, therefore, continued, and Mussulini insisted upon concessions in Africa. Recently, a treaty has been signed made necessary by the developments of Austria and Germany. France, because of her fear of the re-arming of Germany, had to make concessions to Italy. Exactly what these concessions were in Africa is not yet known, and yet their general outline seems clear. One dispatch defines them as follows:

47-10-199

Until 1885 Italy's footing in the Red Sea hardly extended beyond Assab; but in that year, taking advantage of Egypt's difficulties with the Mahdists, she took possession of Beilul and of the important port of Massawa, the Egyptian garrison of the latter being compelled to quit. These steps were taken with the connivance if not the approval of England. Had Italy not taken and held Massawa, it might have fallen into the hands of the Mahdists. Italian domination rapidly extended all along the coast, so that by 1888 it reached from Cape Kasar, south of Suakim, on the north, to the French colony of Obock in the south, some 650 miles." (pp. 391, 392, The Partition of Africa, F. S. Keltie.)

"The events which took us to the Red Sea are known. On the eve of the Congress of Berlin, England had asked us to come to an agreement with her, offering us Tunis. The refusal of Cairoli, in pursuance of the so-called 'clean hands' policy, led England to come to an agreement with France over Tunis, with the consequence that at the Congress we found ourselves isolated and received no advantages. A second occasion presented itself to us to enter upon colonial expansion, when England, in 1882, preparing to occupy Egypt, asked us to participate in the enterprise. We refused again, Magliani insisting on this refusal from the fear that by accepting the invitation we should irritate France, while he deluded himself that he would be able to win France's financial good-will.

So we ended by going to Massaua, as a consolation prize, in agreement with the other powers, none of whom protested, except indeed Turkey who made a merely formal protest. Mancini, then at the Foreign Office, magnified the affair, pronouncing the famous phrase that the keys of the Mediterranean were in the Red Sea; but we have never found them there." (pp. 119, 120, Memoirs of My Life. Giovanni Giolitti.)

417-10-192

The African Roots of War

They had been cheated out of Tunis, as they regarded it. They were proposing to seize Triopli and thus get the hinterland back to Lake Chad. But as the Mahdi spread disaster to European imperialism in the Sudan, England politely told Italy to take her chestnuts out of the fire. Italy was ~~was~~ eager for the frontier. She helped Menelik and when he rose to be King of Kings of Ethiopia, after the death of Johannes, she immediately notified the world that Abyssinia was Italian territory and England seconded her notification with carefully engraved maps.

After Johannes had repulsed the Italians, Menelik, in 1887, occupied the Harar. In 1888, the Italians and Menelik concluded a treaty which recognized Menelik as King of Abyssinia on condition that he would join it against Johannes. Menelik received money and arms from the Italians. In 1889, Johannes determined upon a decisive campaign against the Madhi. In May, 1889, the Italians signed with Menelik the treaty of Uccialli. The Madhi ~~claimed~~ killed Johannes and Menelik became Emperor of Abyssinia. In return for this, Menelik yielded to the ~~Abyssinians~~ Italians certain territory in the North of Abyssinia bounded by three designated rivers. The Italians occupied this country, and immediately, toward the end of 1889, advanced across the borders and took Adowa, thus violating their treaty, but Menelik was busy subduing rebels and remained friendly with the Italians, who still supplied him with arms. The Italians proceeded to penetrate to Harrar, and France being alarmed, tried to come to understanding with Great Britain. Lord Salisbury was in a difficult place but agreed to a secret clause in the treaty of February, 1888, by which both Great

617-10-183

Britain and France promised each other not to occupy the Harrar, and also the two governments would not promise to "renounce the right of receiving attempts on the part of any other power" to acquire the Harrar. This agreement was kept secret until 1894, but it led to trouble between France and England.

In May, 1889, when Italy signed the treaty with Menelik, the Italian Consul at Zanzibar, took over the Somali Coast from two ruling Sultans. They met rebellion along the natives but by hurrying reinforcements from Massowah, they suddeeded in getting possession of the land and handed it over to an Italian company for exploitation, especially giving them all mining rights and sovereign rights over the soil. No provision was made for rights of ownership on the part of native inhabitants.

In 1894, Menelik placed himself at the head of his armies, declared by proclamation: "Ethiopia has need of no one; she stretches out her hand to ~~no one~~ none but God." The French supplied ~~Menelik~~ him with arms and munitions from Djibuti. The result was that March 1, 1896, Italy suffered a crushing defeat at Adowa. She had to recognize the revocation of the Treaty of Uccialli, and the independence of Abyssinia. Her possessions were restricted to the colony of Eritria and the Somali Coast ~~which she had acquired between 1883-1892.~~

4-19-194

But both ~~imperial powers had~~ England + Italy had reckoned without their host. ~~There is no doubt but what the treaty of Uccialli was made after the fashion of Christian and European treaties with Asiatic and African potentates. It was understood that she was thinking in Africa, and without thinking in Italy,~~ Menelik denounced it. He not only denounced it but he took up arms. He declared Ethiopia had need of no men. "She stretches out her hand to no one but God." Her outstretched hands found willing and modern guns and supplies from France, and at the battle of Adowa, Italy's army of 40,000 was annihiliated.

But the British fleet was too powerful, the British army at Khartum ten times the size of Marchand's handful. So peace was made, and understanding. The hinterland of Triopli was given to France, the Nile Valley was given to England, and Italy had nothing left but defeat and frustration.

47-10-185

Great Britain tried to make a treaty with Abyssinia but only succeeded in rectifying the Eastern boundary between Abyssinia and British Somaliland. France was more successful, and undoubtedly the Abyssinia-French treaty of March 20, 1897, was not simply a treaty of come early and delimitation, although its exact terms were never published. Probably it sought to settle the matter of the Nile Valley by placing Ethiopia on the right side of the Nile and France on the West. At any rate, the railroad from Djibuti to the white Nile, after being untouched from 1894-1896, suddenly, in November, 1896, was begun by a French company; the Imperial Company of the Ethiopia Railroads. In addition to this, certain Russians appeared, and a Russian count was at the head of a heavily armed force known as the French-Russian Mission. This Count Leontief was made Governor-General of the Equatorial Provinces of Ethiopia, which, presumably, must lie in the Nile Valley toward the South and West, and at that time Uganda was still in dispute. If, in 1897, this expedition had been successful, Abyssinia and France would have been established in the rear of Fashoda. In 1897, A French explorer with fifteen thousand men marched southwest to Lake Rudolph. All these schemes were subsidiary to the expedition of Marchand. The second expedition was successful and Abyssinian territory now touched Lake Rudolph. A cousin of the emperor, in 1898, actually reached the white Nile with a force, but was overcome by fever and had to retreat before Marchand arrived.

ITALY

The unification of Italy began with the revolutions of 1821 and 1848. An Italian statesman said in 1861: "We have made Italy. Now, we must make Italians."

In 1912, the number of Italian voters was increased from about 3,000,000 to about 8,500,000.

The Nationalist Party formed in 1910 advocated expansion and imperialism. This resulted in the war between Turkey and Italy, 1911-1912, through which Italy obtained Triopli and Cyrenaica.

Premier Salendra declared that Italy's policy in the World War would be indicated by "sacred egoism."

Italy could only console herself by claiming Triopli, but Triopli was not itself of very little value, but chiefly desert, and supported only by one inhabitant to a square miles. Its value lay almost exclusively in the claim which its

possession would give to the hinterland, reaching back to Lake Chad. After long intrigue, and finally war with Turkey in 1912, Italy seized Triopli, only to find that in the meantime, between 1890 and 1895, the whole of the hinterland had been seized by France, and that this had been a consolation prize granted her by Great Britain for withdrawal from Fashoda.

Meantime, ~~alle~~ this imperialistic intrigue curiously affected the situation in Europe. France and Italy are blood cousins, branches of the Latin race. But the indignation of Italy at having been ~~depriv~~ of spoils in Africa threw her into the triple alliance with Germany and Austria, Austria particularly being the natural enemy of Italy because of her domination over so much Italian territory in Europe.

Notwithstanding this alliance, when world war was threatened, Italy refused to stand by the triple alliance, and ~~gave her~~ sought a chance to get concessions from England and France. These were immediately offered.

47-10-197

They began new intrigue. With the approval of Great Britain, and perhaps at her suggestion, Italy in 1885, seized the Port of Massowah, which the Egyptians had given up. France charges that this was because the British were willing that Italy should recoup herself in Abyssinia from her losses to France in Tunis. Thus, the British, whose hands were tied, would receive Italy as an ally against the Madhi. Italy, then, began to develop her new coast colony of Eritrea and to send scientific and commercial expeditions into the Harar, and she was perhaps secretly encouraged by Britain to seek a new Italian empire in Abyssinia. This would not only hold back the Madhi, but also checkmate France. Whatever happened, the Italians would form a convenient, even if temporary protection, against the Madhi, and if they did not conquer the Abyssinians, Britain would be ready to step in to Abyssinia over the corpse of the Madhi slain by the Italians, and the corpse of the Italians, slain by the Abyssinians, and the corpse of the Abyssinians slain by the Madhi and Italians. All of this foresight may not have been true, but the it certainly fits into the picture.

The Italians have no shadow of claim to Massowah and could not have seized it without the acquiescence of Great Britain, and they were probably invited to seize it. In the Anglo-Italian treaty of 1894, it was agreed that Italy would be allowed

temporarily to occupy Kassalla. In 1886, the Colonial circles of Italy began to agitate for the capture of the trade of Harar. A Society for the Commercial Exploration of Africa was formed in Italy, and started an armed commercial expedition, but were killed.

Meantime, the Englishhadtried to make alliance with the Abyssinians under Johannes, the VI., in 1880, and signed a treaty in 1884 which Johannes kept, and saved in this way five Sudanese stations from the Madhi. Thus, Great Britain's act in allowing the Italians to occupy Massowah, was really a breach of faith on the part of Great Britain against whichhit protested. Meantime, Italy began to expand. In 1886, she occupied several places on the coast, and as she advanced into the interior, Johannes succeeded in shaking her decisively, but he was threatened by the Madhi and by Menelik of Shoa. Menelik was in alliance with the Italians and was receiving arms from Massowah. At the same time, the Eastern Abyssinian tribes were being stirred up to rebellion by the Italians. As an Englishman said, the British behavior to King Johannes from any point of view, "did not show one ray of honesty." The British began propaganda against the King because he would not allow smoking and the taking of snuff. And back of this, went on the part of Britain, "one of the violent bits of treachery that has been perpetuated in Africa." (Woolf, p. 165.)

"A seriesof agreements, three in number, affecting French and Italian colonial possessions in Africa. Under the first, France concedes Italy extensive, though not commercially important territory in Tibesti in the southwest corner of Libva; under the second, she yields Italy territory in French Somaliland, running back from the coast, to be added to Italy's Eritrea, which will give the Rome government control of the Strait of Babelmandeb linking the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, and cedes to Italy 3,000 shares of stock in the Djibuti-Addis Ababa railroad; under the third, France agrees to extend for 10 years the citizenship and special privileges of Italian residents in Tunis, after which period they will be deprived of those special rights for 30 years."

A more detailed dispatch in the NEW YORK TIMES is as follows:

"ROME, Jan. 8.--An official communiqué issued tonight defined as follows France's cession to Italy of 44,500 square miles of territory in Africa:

"The frontiers of Libya (which belongs to Italy) are extended to a line which, leaving Tummo, reaches the western frontier of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan at the intersection of the 24th meridian east longitude with the 18th degree, 45 minutes, north latitude.

"This line leaves Aozou and Guezenti in Italian territory and Bardai and Tecro in French territory. The area thus added to Libya is approximately 44,500 square miles.

"The frontier between Eritrea (belonging to Italy) and French Somaliland is changed by a line drawn between Dereloua to Dadato on the Weima River. This change gives Italy a strip on the coast fronting on the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb. Italy also gets the Island of Doumerrah. Frontier Commissions will work out the details of the new frontiers."

47-16-196

Abyssinia has never had a census. Some writers estimate the population at 2½ millions, and others at 3,000,000. De Castro says that there is 8 millions, while Morie says that there is 10 millions. Budge thinks that the population is under 4 million.

The total annual value of trade, imports and exports in Abyssinia is $10,000,000. The exports and imports by way of Djibuti railroad amounts to about half this. An export duty of 10%, ad valorem, is collected on goods from Abyssinia.

T81-10-44

2. 47-10-182

Aug 2 1928 Italy + Abyssinia treaty of friendship + arbitration for all disputes for 20 years. A granted a free zone at Assab + motor road down to Dessie

1878 Congress of Berlin
1882 England in Egypt
1881 France in Tunis
1912 Tripoli
1890-5 Hinterland
1902 Morocco
1869 Suez Canal

1850 Emperor John
1855 Theodore
visitors
missionaries
& arms the borders
1867-8 English invasion, Kolfus
Rivers of T
1871 ~~Germany~~ Germany - Franco War
1872 John VI
Egypt leaders
1880 Obock + Assab (153)
1884 Somaliland + Zeila 157
1881-5 Mahdi
1883 masters
1885 Khartoum falls
1885 Massowah 159, 163

47-10-184

47-10-189

"At the outbreak of the Great War in August, 1914, Italy had remained neutral, announcing that, since Germany and Austria-Hungary were engaged in an offensive war, the casus foederis did not exist. At the same time the foreign minister, the Germanophile Marquis San Giuliano, had construed Italian neutrality as benevolent toward Germany. As the war progressed, however, and especially after the death of San Giuliano in December, 1914, and the accession to the foreign office of Baron Sidney Sonnino, in whose ancestry were both Jewish and British elements, the spirit of Italy's neutrality became less and less 'benevolent,'..."(p. 90, A Brief History of the Great War. Hayes.)

Abyssinia had always claimed that her dominions extended to the banks of the white Nile and for this reason Menelik had co-operated with France, and in the expedition from Ethiopia, a fort was to be put on the right bank of the Nile and a French fort on the left bank.

47-10-165

Access to this plateau is very difficult. There are some peaks estimated to be nearly 17,000 feet high. In ancient days this rocky plateau was practically inaccessable. The whole of Abyssinia was a huge rock fortress from which the natives could pore down on the coastlines by the thousands and then return to their heights. Ancient writers did not know anything about the Abyssinians. The Ethiopians which they described were not the dwellers on the plateau but the people who live on the flat coast and on the Red Sea, and the deserts to the West of the Nile and the lands to the south. The Abyssinians boast that they are an unconquered people and the British could never have taken Magela if they had not been helped by the Abyssinians themselves. The advantage of the plateau to the Abyssinians is that it gives them immunity from invasion. Its disadvantage is, that it cuts them off from the rest of the world.

47-10-178

The great rivers of Abyssinia flow from the east in the westerly or north westerly direction, and enter the Valley of the Nile. They carry down rich fertilizing mud into Egypt.

1868-74 Gladstone
1874-80 D'Israeli
1880 – Gladstone
1884 S. African Republic
3rd Reform Bill £5000000 est.
1884 Nov 7 7th – Berlin Congress
1885 Khartoum falls (Jan
- Russian war summit Marvel (Mch)
1885 June Salisbury
1886 Jan. Gladstone (3rd)
Home rule defeated
July Salisbury
1890 Parnell commission
Pigott forgeries
1890 T. visits germany
Parnell adultery
1892 Aug 16 Gladstone (4)
Home Rule
1894 Mch 3 Rosebery resigns
1895 June Salisbury
Jameson Raid
1896 Mch Kitchener advances

1898 Sept Khartoum
Sept Nov – Rhodes
1899–1902 S. African War
1901 July Balfour

47-10-1860

Nevertheless, after the recent clashes, Mussulini declared, according to the first dispatches, that under no circumstances would he arbitrate the present dispute.

This morning at the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations, this matter stands among the chief things on the agenda.

47-10-167

(1887 Menelik
1889 Treaty of Uccialli 165,166
1889 Menelik II
gen. Baldissera
1890 Italy in Adowa
1888 Djibouti
Treaty of Comm. & Friendship
Bandar 6
1889. Italy Powers
1893 Treaty denounced
1894 — Hostilities renewed
1896 — Battle of Adowa
Oct 26 Treaty of Addis Ababa
1896-1898 Battle of Omdurman
1898 Marchand

47-10-161

1934
1890
44

For a time, the French were supreme in Abyssinia, but English diplomacy finally re-
47-10-180
established conditions, and in 1902, a treaty was signed which definitely ended the struggle for the Nile Valley which was now recognized by Italy in 1894, France in 1899, and Menelik in 1902. Menelik was bound, himself, not to construct any works on the blue Nile, Lake Tsana, or the river Sobat, which would interfere with the flow of the Nile, unless he received the consent of the British government. Also, since the British could not build the Cape-to-Cairo railway in the Nile Valley, they obtained the right to construct it on the high grounds within the dominions of Menelik. Also, in southwest Abyssinia, a piece of territory at Itang, on the river Bara, was leased to Great Britain as a commercial station.

that
in spite of the assault of Western civilization Abyssinia has kept her original
47-10-179
African culture; that, above all, she has never become subject to Islam; and that the Emperor of Abyssinia, the Negus Negest (King of the Kings), has remained the last surviving Imperial autocrat in the world." (p. 11, The Citadel of Ethiopia". Max Gruhl.)

"The great majority of the inhabitants of the modern Ethiopia belong to the Hamitic Galla, or Oromo, as they designate themselves." (p. 357, The Citadel of Ethiopia", Max Gruhl.)

When the Mahdi rebelled in 1881, the Central African colonies of Egypt were threatened, under the rule of Emin Pasha, a German physician. He was ~~threatened~~ not only by the Madhi, but by the chiefs of Uganda. Emin, by harrassing and threatening before the enemy, managed to stave off defeat. By 1886, he had still maintained himself but was threatened by mutiny among his troops. The death of Gordon in 1885 closed the Nile and isolated the equatorial province. Dr. Junker had joined Emin in 1884, and managed to arrive in Egypt in 1887. Emin made earnest appeals to Europe for assistance, but apparently did not want to leave the country. Beside Junker, the German, Casati, an Italian, in the employment of the Egyptians, resided with Emin for some years. ~~Junker~~ Junker brought word of Emin's heroism and self-denial and in the eyes of ~~Europe~~, he became a hero and martyr, a sort of successor of Gordon.

Although Emin was not employed by the British government, no planter felt responsible for him. A committee to rescue him was organized, and Stanley, just back from six years in the Congo state, urged him to take command. The expedition cost about $145,000. At first, the expedition was to enter from the East Coast, but the opposition of the Germans, and the fear of the French for their missionaries in Uganda, led it to enter from the Valley of the Congo on the West Coast, according to the first plan of Stanley. Tippoo Tib, the Arab slavetrader, was part of the expedition. The expedition left Zanzibar February 25, 1887, with 800 individuals, of which 11 were English officers, and 97 Arabs under Tippoo Tib. By June, 1887, the expedition had finished the trip up the Congo and started the overland journey to the Lakes. Three Hundred and Eighty men took part in this overland journey for five and one-half months, frequently being attacked by savages. The rumor spread in Uganda and even to Egypt that these whites were devastating Central Africa, and the Khalifa dispatched troops to destroy them. The expedition went through the country of the pigmies. They reached the Albert Nyanza December 13, where they had found Emin. April 28, 1888, they met him and Cassati and a number of Egyptian officers. Emin was unwilling to return with Stanley. Many of his officers had Negro wives and children. What he and Cassati wanted was means of defense. They had collected enough ivory to pay their expenses. They argued for three weeks. Stanley's camp on the Congo was distroyed and half of its defenders dead. Stanley went to the camp and returned to the Lake, but there was a mutiny among Emin's troops, and he and Cassati and one of Stanley's officers were held prisoners, while the Derbishes were approaching nearer. The Madhi demanded Emin's surrender, and promised him high rank. Fainlly, Emin left, either by his own free will, or forced by Stanley. They arrived at the South end of Victoria Nyanza August 28. There, they fell in with Dr. Carl Peters of Germany, who was at the head of a German expedition to rescue Emin, and onhis way had been making treaties with the chiefs for German expansion.

Emin Pasha's mulatto daughter was among those rescued, and there were many native women and children belonging to the officers. They finally arrived in Zanzibar. The cost of the expedition in dead and wounded was tremendous. It passed over 1,200 miles and made many geographical discoveries. More than half the Egyptian troops were abandoned in the Interior, and some of them afterward joined Lugard to help subdue Uganda. Emin, after being severely injured by an accident, accepted a post under the German administration in German East Africa.

The English got Uganda in 1894

417-10-177

47-10-174

. The elevated country of Abyssinia, which occupies the highlands of North-east Africa, has an area of 350,000 square miles, and is one of the three independent native territories on the continent. It is divided into several provinces, which were formerly kingdoms more or less dependent upon the central government of Shoa, such as Harar, Tigre, and Gondar (Amhara), and the native population is estimated at over eight millions.

47-10-175

"Between 1881 and 1885 there was rising to power in the Sudan, just west of Ethiopian Africa, the terrible Mahdi. By 1883 the Mahdi and his Dervishes were masters of Kordofan and Darfur, and towards the end of that year the Anglo-Egyptian Army under Hicks was defeated and annihilated. Next year the Mahdi occupied the Bahr-el-Ghazal, and then, moving eastward, took Tokar and Suakim on the Red Sea, just north of Ethiopian Africa. In 1885, the year of the fall of Khartum and the death of Gordon, Kassala, on the borders of Abyssinia, fell to Osman-Digna, the Mahdi's general. These events had in four years profoundly changed the situation in Ethiopian Africa for the three rival European Powers, and particularly for Britain. With the fall of Khartum the whole of the Sudan was lost to Egypt, and the policy of, at least temporarily, acquiescing in that loss was adopted by the British Government. But the withdrawal of the Egyptian garrisons in Harrar was decided upon in 1885 and carried out in 1886. When, therefore, France and Britain settled their quarrel over Dongarita, not only Abyssinia and Harrar, but Dongarita itself and the French, British, and Italian possessions on the coast seemed to be in imminent danger of being overwhelmed by the Mahdi and his Dervishes." (pp. 158, 159. Empire and Commerce in Africa. By Leonard Woolf.)

The Germans hastened up by way of Uganda to retrieve the spoils of the conflict and seize the Equatorial Provinces, which a German was ruling under Egypt. Stanley tried to rescue the German but even Emin did not want to be rescued.

47-10-176

tried to restore defeat the Mahdi and sent an army of ten thousand men under Hicks, an Englishman. The English government refused to take part officially, but Hicks went to Khartum, and there started for El Obeid. His army was set upon by 40,000 of the Mahdists and annihilated. Only 300 wounded were left alive. This

-15-

was November 5, 1883. The result of this battle made the Mahdi practically master of the Sudan. He captured the tropical regions, pushed Emin Pasha down toward the Great Lakes. On the East, his General Osman Digna, pushed almost to the Red Sea. Meantime, Osman

Digna had captured a port on the Red Sea, and defeated the English leader of the

-16-

Egyptian forces. War feeling arose in England. The English attacked the Mahdi and the Red Sea port, and were successful, but eventually withdrew. Immediately the English were aroused but they were busy bombarding Alexandria and occupying Egypt, although declaring repeatedly that their occupation of Egypt was temporary. They were, however, scared concerning the headwaters of the Nile. One British officer declared: "If I were the Mahdi, I would make Egypt pay for every quart of water that runs down the Nile." This reminded the British that a Northern power which should seize Abyssinia and the Great Lake region would dominate Egypt. But, unfortunately, the hands of the British were tied by the successful rebellion of the Mahdi. It became, therefore, a matter of British policy to safeguard the Nile.

417-10-173

when Gladstone and the Little Englanders came into power, they refused to be tempted into the Sudan, even though the black Mahdi swept across it. It eventually held it in its hands from 1881 to 1896. Big Business, back of Chinese

Charles George Gordon was an extraordinary man; a religious fanatic, and evidently not well-balanced, if not actually at times insane. He was born in 1833 of Scotch descent and trained for the army. He early experienced religion, and all his life reflected upon his sins and hopes for salvation, etc. At the same time, he was wont now and then to shut himself up for a spree with a flask of brandy and a bible. He took part in the Cremean War, and then went to China, where his real career began. He became leader of the European armies, and a general by the time he was thirty. He killed his enemies and disciplined men, and alternated be-

...mediately,

the tribes put Gordon up in Khartum, and Baring told England that the problem now was to get Gordon out. Gordon himself began to doubt. "I believe ambition put me here in this ruin." Queen Victoria appealed to Lord Hartington, who represented the highest English aristocracy in the Cabinet. In April, communication between Cairo and Khartum was cut off. In May, all England was alarmed, and began to hold indignation meetings. Special funds for public prayer was suggested. But Gladstone was adament. He made the English withdraw after their victories at Suakim on the Red Sea, and he recognized that the Imperialists were entangling him. He declared that the invasion of the Sudan would be a war of conquest against a people struggling to be free, "and they are rightly struggling to be free." He declared that he believed Gordon could escape from Khartum, and that an army was wanted not to rescue him but to subdue the Sudan. Gordon was thus directed to force the hand of the English government. Gordon threatened that if he was not given aid it would be an indelible disgrace. Gladstone thought he was bluffing, and refused to do anything. Baring was in a very difficult position, and thought of resigning. He had been receiving twenty and thirty telegrams a day from Khartum. He suggested an expedition to rescue Gordon, and at the same time, as quickly as possible, left for England, so that from April to September, he was in London. Meantime, the Mahdi was conquering the whole Sudan, and with an army of 30,000 men, laid seige to Khartum. Meantime, Lord Hartington's conscience was aroused and he demanded that Gordon be relieved, or he would resign. Gladstone had to yield to this. Parliament voted 300,000 pounds sterling to enable England to undertake obligations for the relief of Gordon, if it became necessary. Gladstone still believed that Gordon was bluffing and could get away. Meantime, Gordon tried to send his Chief of Staff, papers, and refugees to Cairo by boat. The expedition was unsuccessful, and the members captured and murdered. The capture of the papers showed the Mahdi the condition of Gordon. Gordon kept a diary and wrote of religion and rescue. The expedition was delayed. Lord Woosley, who had it in charge, made elaborate preparations with a picketed army of 10,000 troops, but the Nile was so low that the boats could not go up the river. It was not until December 30 that 1,000

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British troops began to move across the desert. Finally, the relief expedition arrived January 28, and two days after Khartum had fallen and Gordon had been killed. Gordon's hair had turned white under the strain. Omdurman, the village opposite Khartum, fell January 10. Hundreds died daily of hunger in Khartum, and the dead could not be buried. There were continual rumors that the English were coming. The Mahdi, hearing that the English were approaching, determined to capture Khartum by assault. His army swarmed into the city. Gordon was undecided whether to fight or commit suicide. He met four tall, black dervishes on the staircase, and was hacked to death. Some say that he died fighting, and was only killed after his pistol was exhausted. When the catastrophe reached England, the Queen was beside herself, and the country aroused. Gordon was proclaimed as a national martyr. Services were held in his honor at Westminister and St. Pauls's. Twenty thousand pounds sterling was voted to his family. Gladstone was called a murderer and traitor. It was said that immediately the Mahdi should be punished, and the Sudan conquered, but Gladstone was firm. There was a crisis with Russia on the Afghanstan frontier. European war was imminent. For thirteen years the Mahdi remained chief ruler of the Sudan, and was only conquered after Memelik had repulsed the Italians, and Kitchner came with Maxim-Nordenfeldt guns. Twenty thousand Arabs were killed, and the bones of the Mahdi were disinterred and desecrated, and Baring became a peer.

47-10-169

At the same time, Italy, defeated in Tunis, turned its attention toward Ethiopia. In 1880, there began a sudden scramble for the Abyssinia coast. France claimed to have pushed Obock twenty years before, although she had never occupied it. She occupied it in 1881, and France immediately seized through pretended treaties the whole coast of the Bay of Tajoura, including later in 1888, the Port of Djibouti. The Italians also remembered that they had purchased the Bay of Assab north of Tajoura. In 1869, in behalf of the same railway company who had been bested by the English in Tunis, the purchase was forgotten by ten years, but in 1881, the Italians, with two warships, seized it.

So long ago as 1875 Italian vessels were hovering around Sokotra, and compelled England to step in and place her Imperial stamp upon the island. Tripoli was for a time a sore temptation also to the young kingdom on the other side of the Mediterranean, but fear of complications with France and Turkey induced her to keep her hands off. We have seen that, although in 1870 a spot in Assab Bay, just inside the Red Sea, was purchased as a coaling station, it was not till 1880 that the Italian Government even nominally took it over. From this as a starting-point the Italian possessions in the Red Sea spread northwards. Southwards they could go no farther than Raheita, as the French station of Obock barred the way. It was not until July, 1882 that the Italian Government took actual possession of the territory and bay of Assab. Italian explorers and Italian missionaries had been active in this part of Africa for years.

Although Gladstone did not want to extend British imperial responsibilities in 1884, Great Britain seized British Somaliland , stretching from Zeila along the Gulf of Aden. The French and British nearly came to blows, but in 1887, they made a treaty which defined British Somaliland.

At the same time, revolt under Arabi took place in Egypt against the Turks. Ahmed Arabi was a colonel and mulatto. The revolt was about to be successful when the English interfered and defeated Arabi.

In 1881, Arabi mutinied. In 1882, the British bombarded Alexandria and led an army in Egypt, thus British control of Egypt began.

17-10-168

Many powers know this and have cast envious eyes upon this natural stronghold.

Both the Blue Nile and the Abara, ~~which the Arabs call~~ "the cream of the Nile," have their sources in ~~the~~ Northern ~~district of~~ Abyssinia. Thus, Abyssinia commands a considerable part of the headwaters of the Nile, and dominates the most direct route ~~of access~~ to the Nile Valley. As soon as Egypt, ~~the Nile,~~ and the Nile Valley came within the orbit of European policy, Abyssinia became of stragetic importance. ~~And after 1880, it recurs to complicate European policy in Africa. In addition to that,~~ the seaboard of this bloc of territory, commands the whole of one site of the Gulf of Aden and of the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, amd the Southern ~~quarter~~ of the Red Sea. When the Suez Canal was ~~m~~ , this series of waters became the throat of the British Empire, ~~extending in a sense from Port Said to Socotra, an island at the mout~~ England, or rather English commerce, had its eye on Abyssinia. It had beaten Negus Theodore in battle in 1865, and insulted him so that he committed suicide; but England had only done this with the co-operation of the insurgent tribes. It had not conquered Abyssinia, and it did not try.

The Suez Canal was opened November 17, 1869. In 1875, Disraeli bought the Khedive's share of the Canal for Great Britain and paid four million pounds. In 1876, the dual control of France and England in Egypt was instituted. In 1877, Major Baring, afterward Lord Cromer, went out to Egypt his British ~~Commoner~~ Commissioner of the Public Debt. In 1879, England, Germany and France deposed the Khedive Ismail.

France had seized Algeria as early as 1830. After a time, as European imperialism in Africa increased, she turned her attention toward Tunis. Now Tunis is the seat of ancient Carthage, and is the part of Africa which historically and geographically, should belong to Italy, if to any European power. A struggle between France, Great Britain and Italy began for the possession of Tunis, but France, having been conquered in the Franco-Prussian War in 1871, had to be conciliated ; and Germany and Bismark, and the Congress of Berlin probably offered her free-hand in Tunis. On the other hand, England, having been given full charge of Egypt in 1882 by the withdrawal of France, was perfectly willing that France should have Tunis. Despite that, considerable Italian investments in Tunis, France took possession of the country in 1881, to the great disappointment of Italian imperialists.

47-16-167

THE AFRICAN ROOTS OF WAR

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

I used this title in 1915 and I use it again now as it is just as true. War must be feared today not on the great European front where the world is watching, but in out-of-the-way places where smooth propaganda minimizes and even disguises the reasons, and where valuable private profit may be reaped. There is oil along the eastern highlands of Africa and in Abyssinia, and there is none in Italy; there are valuable metals, including gold. Above all, here from the Blue Nile and the Atbara comes half the water supply of the Nile Valley, including the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Egypt itself.

The great ramparts of Abyssinia, soaring over seas of hills and mountains, form the greatest stronghold of all Africa, and the one part which has natural barriers for defense. It was a German who said that the power which held the Abyssinian highlands could dominate the imperialism of Europe in Africa.

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Abyssinia is a pear-shaped mountain clump, cut into island-like sections which are separated by deep gorges and ravines. It is nearly as large as France and Spain combined, and looms high on the northwest toward the Valley of the Nile, on the southwest toward the Great Lakes, and on the east toward the sea. It rises in three great terraces; a plane of rocky strata; a plateau about eight thousand feet above the sea, and above this snow-capped mountains which sometimes rise nearly another eight thousand feet. "It looks," says the traveller, "like a storm-tossed sea, suddenly solidified."

The highest ramparts of this "citadel of Africa", lying as they do between the fever-infested South and the sun-baked Sudan, form a fortress which would be difficult even for a modern army to storm. It is to her mountains that Abyssinia owes the fact that her population is the only dark race in Africa not yet under European domination.

In these highlands, both the Blue Nile and the Atbara rise, and thus Abyssinia commands a full half of the waters of the Nile, and dominates the most direct route to the Nile Valley. Moreover, its natural seaboard commands the

whole of one side of the Gulf of Aden, and the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb. When the Suez Canal was opened these waters became the throat of the British Empire.

When the canal was opened in 1865, its significance for the British Empire was evident, and in 1876, the dual control of England and France in Egypt was arranged. Modern commercial imperialism began rapidly to assume its essential characteristics. Africa was discussed at the Congress of Berlin in 1878. France had begun her African empire in Algeria in 1830, and now both Bismark and Salisbury were willing for her to aid Tunis, despite the fact that this site of ancient Carthage belonged logically to Italy.

The scramble for Africa began. In 1881, France seized Tunis, and England seized Egypt, while England, France and Italy with one accord turned toward northeast Africa and the coasts of Abyssinia. The Italians on some shadowy claim took what is now Eritrea in 1882, but were blocked by both Great Britain and France from further extension South. Great Britain took British Somaliland in 1884; the French already had Obock and nearly came to blows with the British until a treaty was made in 1887.

Meantime, the situation of the British in Egypt had peculiar repercussions in Abyssinia. Egypt was groaning under the debt which had been deliberately encouraged by France and England. Her rulers, who had squandered the proceeds, sought to keep up the interest by ruinous and exhaustive taxation. Europe intervened to insure payment of interest on her debt. Crushed between Europe and Turkey, Egypt turned to Arabi Pasha, and cried "Egypt for the Egyptians," and rebelled. The English turned their guns upon Alexandria and defeated Arabi at Tel-el-Kebir. This left the former rulers in nominal control, while the English held the real power along the Lower Nile.

47-10-138

But above the First Cataract in ancient Ethiopia, misrule and extortion had long been worse than in Egypt. Before the Arabi rebellion in 1878, the mulatto Rabah had swept through the Bahr-El-Ghazel and the regions south of Lake Chad. Now there arose a greater leader and a vaster motif. Mohammed Ahmed, son of a priest in Dongola, had established headquarters 150 miles above Khartum. He was a tall, broad-shouldered, majestic black man, with great eyes. He had visions. Disciples gathered around him, and eventually he proclaimed himself the Mahdi, the Messiah of the Mohammedan revelation.

The African Roots of War

The country went into the throes of a religious crusade against Egypt. A holy war was proclaimed, and a strong army organized. The Mahdi put down blasphemy, feasting, drinking, smoking and swearing. Thousands followed him. The Egyptians in 1883 sent an army of 10,000 under the Englishman, Hicks Pasha. They were annihiliated, with only 300 left alive. Kordofan, Dafur and the Bahr-El-Ghazel surrendered. Only a German, Emin Pasha, still upheld Egyptian power down in the Equatorial provinces next to Uganda. By the end of 1883, the Mahdi was master of a territory equal to Spain, France and Germany, and his army was closing in on Khartum, the capital of the Sudan.

England hesitated. Gladstone and the Little Englanders had driven Disraeli from power, and ruled from 1880-1885, or at least had as much power as any radical government could have in England so long as the Tory House of Lords held the veto. It was impossible for them to withdraw from Egypt and maintain English dividends, although they declared the English stay there but temporary; but Gladstone preemptorily refused to undertake the conquest of the Sudan.

But the Sudan was a choice morsel, not only for the heads of Egyptian slavery and misrule, but also for English commercial development in the Valley of the Nile and in East Africa. English imperialists were not without resource, and they seized upon Chinese Gordon. This man was a religious fanatic, ill-balanced if not at times insane. He had fits of rage, courage and murder. He had fought in the Crimean War, and played a large role in the Chinese upheaval. He went on sprees with the Bible in one hand and a flask of brandy in the other; he lived among the London poor; and was about to go to the Belgian Congo when English commerce forced Gladstone to send him to the Sudan, ostensibly to "report" on the situation. Gordon reached Khartum in 1884, and was made Governor-General. He proceeded to recognize slavery even though the suppression of the slave trade was one of the ostensible excuses for English interference in the Sudan. The Mahdi swept between him and Cairo, and cut off his communications. England held indignation meetings and public prayers, but Gladstone was determined not to be entangled. Osman Digna, the Mahdi's general, marched to the borders of Abyssinia

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territory at the headwaters of the Nile, and filled in the gap between the Great Lakes.

France was alarmed, Germany protested, and there was talk of war. But the British Empire yielded a little, and Lord Roseberry consented to withdraw the Congo agreement. The French, thereupon, took a forward step, and determined to push from French Africa eastward to the Nile. Menelik of Abyssinia gave aid and comfort, and in 1894, made a concession to the French to build a railway from Djibuti through the Harrar to Addis Abbaba and the White Nile. French officers trained the Abyssinian army. Great Britain warned France of her own and Egypt's claims in the Nile Valley and would consider any attempt to dispute these claims as an "unfriendly act." Paris declared that England accompanied a legally indefensible claim with a threat of war, and insisted that the control of the Sudan in the Nile Valley was an unsettled question.

But the Battle of Adowa changed the whole situation. Italy could no longer pull English chestnuts out of the fire, and French plans were manifest. Salisbury, again at the English helm, moved quickly. March 5, the news of Adowa reached England, and March 12, England suddenly learned that Chinese Gordon was a Christian martyr, who had been murdered by heathen. She ordered the conquest of the Sudan as the first step toward evacuating Egypt. Kitchener, with Maxim-Nordenfeldt guns, moved up the Nile to Dougola. He captured Khartum in September, and ordered the tomb of the dead Mahdi publicly desecrated. The Khalifa committed suicide in 1898. England was not a minute too soon. That very month, Marchand, the Frenchman, was at Fashoda awaiting the French and Abyssinian expeditions from Abyssinia. Indeed, one Abyssinian expedition under a royal prince had already reached the river but had been decimated by fever. The other expedition under a French commander did not materialize. For a moment, the world stood still with world war in the air.

The French had dispatched Captain Marchand to the French Congo April 25, with instructions to march to the White Nile. They arranged an Abyssinian expedition to join him. The idea was that the two expeditions should meet on the Nile and establish a French claim to the Upper Valley of the Nile. When Kitchener arrived, he would find the French and Abyssinians stretched across the Cape-to-Cairo path. The Abyssinian expedition failed through the negligence of the French governor of Djibuti. When Marchand reached Fashoda in 1898, there was no fortress and no expedition of French and Abyssinians from the east to support him. Kitchener proceeded south

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47-10-141

The official list of Kings furnished by the Emperor of Abyssinia names:

21 kings.....B.C. 4530 to B.C. 3244

(An unstated number of kings between)
B.C. 3244 and B.C. 2713

25 kings.....2713 to 1985

52 kings.....1985 to 982

67 kings..... 982 to A.D. 9

35 kings..... A.D. 9 to 306

32 kings..... 306-493

27 kings..... 493-920

11 kings.....920 to 1253

23 kings.....1253-1500

3 kings.....1500-1555

18 kings.....1555-1787

Total..... 314 kings in 6,310 years

35
32
27
34
21
20
169

About 20 kings have reigned over Ethiopia from 1787 to 1916.

Modern Abyssinians prefer to regard themselves as descendants of Shem and not of Ham.

No native king before Yekuno Amalik was able to call himself King of Kings of Ethiopia truthfully. Before that date, the Abyssinia kings were of Asiatic origin.

47-10-142 "The Arabs and Berber historians of North Africa even state that it was the Jews who, in their trading enterprise, first occupied or re-occupied important oases in the Northern Sahara such as Twat. They may possibly have found still living at Twat a Negro or a Negroid race, and unquestionably they were not the first inhabitants of any Sahara oases. But they seem in many directions to have preceded the Berbers in their south-west migrations. Some of these Jews are thought even to have crossed the Sahara, carrying with them a garbled blending of the Jewish and Christian faiths, and to have reached the country of Borgu to the south of the Central Niger, establishing there a form of religious faith which has only recently given way to Islam. Jews, however, early in the Christian era (according to traditions gathered up by Arab historians) made their appearance in the Mandingo kingdoms of Ghanata and Melle and at the capitals of the Songhai empire which followed. On the eastern side of Africa, Jews or Idumoeans had evidently settled in Abyssinia several centuries before the Christian era, and many of the Jews of Arabia migrated to Abyssinia after the establishment of Islam." (p. 398, A Survey of the Ethnography of Africa: And the Former Racial and Tribal Migrations in That Continent". Sir H. H. Johnstom.)

"Toward the end of the eighteenth century the Catholic Church organized an order for the redemption of captives for the purpose of comforting the suffering Christians under the Moslem oppression. Catholic priests had for centuries ventured into the unknown regions of Africa, even to the Christian country of Abyssinia, for Abyssinia was one of the world's first Christian nations. Judaism had also been established here since Solomon's day. It was in Abyssinia that the prophet Mohamet sought refuge among the children of Ethiopia in his first years of preaching.

"This mountainous country of proud black inhabitants holds the source of the Nile River, whose verdant and overflowing banks made civilized history man's greatest asset. Abyssinia lies south of Nubia. The latter was once the colony of Egypt, called Ethippia. The Egyptian city of Thebes is recorded with the world's oldest civilization. These Thebans were Ethiopians (black faced) as termed by the Greeks, who identified them as people with sable skin and kinky hair. The Hebrews knew them as Kous. These black people are credited to be the first to introduce science, art, philosophy and astronomy into the primeval world. Their conception of the constellations as related to god-like mythical chronologies has been accepted down through the ages by all nations." (pp. 2, 3, The Ethiopian, Clarence L. Blakely.)

47-10-143

47-10-144

The Arab geographers usually divided Africa into three regions, Guinea, Karkar, and Abyssinia. Others, divided it into Guinea, Nubia, Abyssinia and Zinj.

"Commencing with Herodotus, whose statements are the more weighty, as they are the result of personal observation, we find that historian asserting the Egyptian origin of the people of Colchis, and supporting his assertion by the argument that they were "black in complexion and woolly-haired." Copying the Halicarnassians in his fourth Pythian ode, Pindar also described the Colchians as being black. And Herodotus in another passage, when relating the fable of the Dodonian Oracle, again alludes to the swarthy colour of the Egyptians, "as if it were exceedingly dark, and even black." Further, in his supplices, Æschylus, mentioning the crew of an Egyptian bark that was seen from the shore, alludes to the person who espied it as having arrived at the conclusion that its members were Egyptians, on account of their black complexion.

"The sailors too I marked
Conspicuous, in white robes, their sable limbs."

(p. 208, Scholes, Glimpses of the Ages.)

47-10-145

East of the Nile, where it approaches nearest the Red Sea, there is the Arabian desert, very mountaineous. Here, Semites dwelt eight or nine thousand years ago. The Hyksos and Arabs reinforced these and at one time they conquered the Delta.

47-10-146

"In the case of Italy, which had the audacity to demand the cession, at the expense of Serbia, not only of all the territory pledged her by the secret treaties but the Adriatic port of Fiume also, President Wilson stood his ground better, but the Italian delegates actually withdrew temporarily from the Conference and subsequently secured a compromise." (p. 371, A Brief History of the Great War. Hayes.)

47-10-147 "At first, the Great Powers maintained a 'Supreme Council,' consisting of the two ranking delegates from the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, to which was subordinated all the machinery of the Conference and before which all conflicting claims were presented. But the Supreme Council of Ten proved too unwieldy, and it gradually gave way to an informal Council of Five, including Japan; then Japan was dropped from the inner circle, and Premiers Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Orlando, and President Wilson, known as the Council of Four, carried on the discussions on the most important issues among themselves; finally, when on the eve of the conclusion of the treaty with the Germans Italy became temporarily alienated by the proposed settlement of Adriatic claims, and Orlando withdrew, the chief responsibility for the Conference devolved upon the 'Big Three'--Wilson, Clemenceau, and Lloyd George." (p. 370, A Brief History of the Great War. Hayes.)

47-10-148 Outside of political boundaries, economic domination of Abyssinia has been progressing. It has not, however, had as easy a path as is usual in the case. First of all, the Abyssinians have stubbornly refused to incur a public debt. Secondly, the banking facilities of the country which were for a long time under the domination of Egypt, and thus indirectly of England, have been consolidated, recently, under a national Abyssinian bank. In the matter of communications, however, Abyssinia has not been so successful ~~in the matter~~. In 1894, Menelik made a concession to a French company for a railroad from Djibuti through Harrar to Addis Abbeba and the Nile. In 1896, the French government tried to hurry up the construction of this railroad for political purposes.

Construction was begun in 1897, and English commerce was aroused. They found their chance when the French were unable to raise enough capital. The French government wished to take over the railroad, but Menelik strongly refused. He had granted the charter to a private company, and not to a government. It was then proposed that the railroad be internationalized and owned by several European governments, but to this Menelik would not consent. Finally, it was agreed that a Board of Administration, including an Abyssinian, an Englishman, and an Italian, as well as the French, should proceed with building the railroad. When in 1907 this company went into bankruptcy, the railroad concession was granted to a colored man, Dr. Vitalien, physician to Menelik. The new company was backed by a government guaranteed by France. Beside this, there are about twelve hundred miles of telegraph lines

In 1925 Eng. & Italy secretly divided E. and others of Ethiopia
E. but Thos & C of Nations
Mussolini Occupied &
Haile Selassie left appeals

In 1927 American got $20 million for dam on Lake Tsana

England had a treaty on this Lake in 1902

"Abyssinia a hodge podge of some 40 races but all above a freedom Beyond Britain"

A's are monotheists

Galla has ruled in 10th cent.

Haile is 384th ruler - his family has + 5000 years stolen from King George

Americans in Ethiopia by Jerrold Rotham
America Mercury May 1932

47-10-179

1

Ethiopia

350000 sq miles

Convento of Addis Ababa, Oct 26 1896 between Menelik & Italy independence recognized

Agreement Dec 13, 1906 G.B. France & Italy agree & respect & undertake & preserve the integrity of A & act so that industrial concessions granted & one may not injure other abstain from intervention in internal affairs. Equal treatment in trade & transit

Notes 1925 Exchange rights of G.V.B & deal over water of Lake Tsana & two offensive of Italians development of R.R. in Eritrea & Somalia

47-10-180

Crown under $500,000

Count de Orsay after dinner
afterwards Honest Instrument
across all the sacred treasures
[To my London] as a la cuisine
I only

I only feel inspired descend
+ dispatched by Comy of Versailles

Duc Grandi
Min Foreign Affairs July 34

47-10-151

Population 5,500,000

Addis Ababa — 60-70000

Trade — exports & imports — £ 1,275,295 in 1931

hides & skins Coffee wax ivory Civet & butter

RR 1917 — 4 46½ miles French

9 Italian telegraph lines — 1229 miles

Telephone 5113 miles

16 hand sets

Bank of Ethiopia (built by Abyssinia in 1931

No debt foreign

4/4-10-63

9 Cabinet Cabinets

Exhaust 621,776

Inlet 4565 9 Cabinets

47-10-152

Combustion

1,010,815

Inlet 16307 Cabinets

Banking Moderate

Cabinets

Tertiary 522,914 machines @ 24700 Cabinets

Cyclonic 165,000 Inlet 19000 Cabinets

687914

on 3 Cabinets 19 Inlet = $1

Income Cab

48 68000 Cabinets

71

23

51 24 2500

Stable

165 500000

165 5011

42 900

23 00 000

396,900,000

$25,000,000

Mobility exchange 18982 490

21 354 080

144 500

1,126,97

$15 Machine — 296 532 490

47-10-154

The African Roots of War

Abyssinia's internal affairs, but they guaranteed each other equal treatment in trade and transit. Later, in 1925, Italy and Great Britain exchanged notes, according to which Great Britain was to have the exclusive right to deal with the waters of Lake Tsana, the headwaters of the blue Nile, while there was to be no opposition to Italian developments of railroads leading from her coast possessions into Abyssinia.

47-10-155

The Emperor of Abyssinia has a hard task. His country of some 350,000 square miles has never had a census, and estimates of its population vary from $4,000,000 to $14,000,000. The annual value of its trade, imports and exports, is about $10,000,000. The independence of the country was formally recognized by Great Britain, France and Italy in 1906. But this agreement illustrates the difficulties and dangers. These countries agreed to respect and "endeavor to preserve" the integrity of Abyssinia, and particularly to act so that industrial concessions granted to one might not injure the others. They agreed to abstain from intervention in

47-10-156

The African Roots of War

tions between the mother country and India and Australia. Japan cannot think of taking any point along the Red Sea coast without arousing the indignation of the Powers already installed. England took Perim, France Obok and Jibuti at a time when Japan was still in the Madame Chrysanthème and samurai stage of development. And what better pretext could Japan have to get nearer her goal than to carry the good word of progress to the young Ethiopians, who are anxious to learn. When Ethiopia has become an affiliate of Japan, when one or two million Japanese will have become essential to keep the machines going, without which the country will be unable to live

out they had no definite plans for re-building the country. Strikes took place in all industrial centers, and in certain cases, workers actually seized the factories and tried to operate them but failed for lack of technical experts and capital. On this defeat and unrest, rose Mussulini, starting with his march on Rome, October 27, 1922. The Fascist state took charge of government and industry, but by giving the capitalists and employers the chief word, organized the state primarily for their benefit. For instance, 71,459 employers in the confederation of Italian industry, have the same representation as 1,300,000 employees.

47-10-157

Mussulini
47-10-158

has declared frankly that these colonies alone "cannot solve our population problem, mark this well." Nevertheless, after the World War, certain forces were working for the betterment of the Colonial system. The idea of the League of Nations was to form a world tribunal where the lesser nations could at least be heard. The idea of the mandates was to put some of the colonies under the guardianship of the League of Nations, and prevent at least the extremes of exploitation. Into the League of Nations came both Liberia and Abyssinia; the latter against the protest of Italy, and by the help of France. But such depended upon how far the League of Nations became an assembly dominated by international commerce, or the ideals of peace. It has swayed both ways, but commerce is gaining daily ground.

47-10-159

The African Roots of War

earlier theory of international trade was a trade between independent countries, but through what was called European enterprise, land after land fell into the hands of people who were powerful inthe use of the newer technique, and was reduced to such a position that they were no longer independent, but became part of imperial systems. If a single nation could not remain with its labor force half-slave and half-free, neither can the world have part of its working area reduced to colonial dependence and the rest left independent. The world had to be pareeled out and annexed. For this purpose, Germany seized German East Africa and Southwest Africa and Togoland, and made desperate efforts to get Uganda and the Equatorial Provinces of the Rhine Valley. France got North and Western Africa, and England got the rest of the world. Italy got practically nothing, except the deserts of Triopli.

~~France was smarting under her con-~~ quest by ~~Germany and jealous of English imperialism.~~ Already, she had Algiers and parts of West Africa. Her scouting scientists were exploring the region of Lake Chad. Under the doctrine of the hinterland, enunciated at the Berlin Conference, if France swept swiftly across Africa to the headwaters of the Nile, she would dominate the Nile Valley. All the more so, if Abyssinia simultaneously moved westward to make good her age-old claims to the right bank of the White Nile as her western boundary.

~~Furthermore,~~ France and Great Britain were face to face with the question of the ~~ownership~~ of the Valley of the Nile ~~at stake~~. By 1896, Great Britain was firmly established in Egypt, but the Mahdi held the Nile Valley. Chamberlain and Cecil Rhodes had conceived the "Cape-to-Cairo ~~railroad~~" idea, opposed the evacuation of Egypt under Gladstone; seized South~~ern~~ and ~~Central Africa,~~ and proposed to have a solid bloc of ~~British~~ empire running from Egypt to the Cape. The French, on the other hand, ~~tried to include a solid~~ bloc ~~of empire~~ running across from North Africa, from West to East, and cutting the line of the Cape Cairo railroad, between the Sudan and Tanganyika. ~~In 1894, therefore, the crucial spot in Africa was the Nile Valley, Abyssinia, Uganda, and the gap between Lakes Albert, Edward, and Tanganyika.~~ In 1894, Italy and Great Britain tried to divide up the Nile Valley and Abyssinia. Great Britain also sought agreement with the Belgian Congo, involving a perpetual lease of a large bloc of territory at the headwaters of the Nile and in the gap between the Lakes. The same year, the British government proclaimed a protectorate over Uganda.

The bad faith of England and France threw Italy into the hands of triple alliance, but only until she could make a better bargain. That chance to make a better bargain came in 1914. She found abundant excuse for not going into the World War on the side of either allies. She practically put the world on notice that she was for sale to the highest bidder. There was brisk bidding, but in London, in 1915, France and England became explicit and promised Italy a fair share of Africa, particularly if Germany was disspoiled of her colonies. Forthwith, Italy went into the war, but at the Treaty of Versailles, she emerged with nothing in Africa, and was deeply dissatisfied, despite her gains at the expense of Austria. She emerged from the war a poor and harassed country, with a laboring force, poverty-strickened, and at the edge of revolt. She turned to Fascism as a way out, and Mussulini became dictator of Italy. It was his job to revive the flagging spirits of the Italians, to make them believe in themselves despite their poverty, to make them give up, at least in part, proposals to redistribute wealth so as to give a greater share to the worker. He substituted, therefore, for attacks upon capitalism and the rich, military parade and the vision of a restored Roman Empire. There was only one thing that could fire the enthusiasm of Italy and that was revenge for Adowa and a colonial empire where private enterprise could make large profits, and afford higher wages to Italian workers. Italy had already invested a good deal in her armies. She had large investments in Tunis, larger than those in France, and a larger Italian population than a French population. She did what she could to exploit the sands of Uriopli. She had seized right after the Congress of Berlin, as part of her design to annex Abyssinia, Somaliland and Eritrea. Either of them valuable, except to choke off Abyssinia from the coast, and to stand as a basis for future aggression. Both France and England intercepted her by seizing small bits of the same coast, and today, not an ounce of merchandise, to or from Abyssinia, can escape the control of Great Britainm France or Italy.

47-10-162

"On May 4, 1915, Italy denounced her treaty of alliance with Austria-Hungary. Already, on April 26, Italy had signed a secret agreement at London with representatives of Great Britain, France, and Russia, whereby she was to receive Trentino, all southern Tyrol to the Brenner Pass, Trieste, Gorizia, and Gradisca, the provinces of Istria and Dalmatia, and all the Austrian islands in the Adriatic. Italy, moreover, was to annex Avlona and its neighborhood although she was not to object if it were later decided to apportion parts of Albania to Montenegro, Serbia, and Greece. Besides, Italy was to strengthen her hold on Libya, and, in the event of an increase of French and British dominion in Africa at the expense of Germany, she was to have the right of enlarging hers." (p. 92. A Brief History of the Great War. Hayes.)

Haile Silassie I (born July 17, 1891) King 1928
Crowned Emperor Nov 2 1930
3 sons + 3 daughters

John IV	1872-1889
Menelik II	1889-1913
4 yrs	1913-16
2 months	1916-1928

League of N - 1923

47-10-163

10 million — 14 million inhab
in E.
13 countries represented at Coronation
Emperors crown of solid gold
$25,000
Duke of Abruzzi — Eng.
" " Udine - Italy
Marechal Franchet -
d'Esperey — France
British representative @ king's right
always + Italy @ left
Treaty of 1906 } England King
" " 1925? } + France

A Coronation in Abyssinia
by E. N. La Motte
Harpers April 31

47-10-164

means that the cordon around Abyssinia is being pulled tight so that not a bit of her exports can reach the outer world without the consent of Europe, and while in the past competition has been kept ~~deliberately~~ taxed down to 10%, understanding between France, Great Britain and Italy may shut out the rest of the world from participating in this raw material. Europe is disposed not to worry concerning this war. After all, there will be one less self-governing colored country in the world. Perhaps, after all, it is as the fire-eaters of Kenya once said: "Africa will become the White Thermophylae to fight off Asia from Europe." But the situation neither is as simple nor as ~~fanatic~~ clear as this. First of all, Asia does come in. It is said that Japan has already captured one-third of the commerce of Abyssinia, and there were rumors last year of some marital alliance between princely houses of the two countries which Italy is said to have objected to. At any rate, a recent French article says:

"Today the Japanese bring money and flattery, for the Abyssinians are more susceptible to the charm of sweet words than any other people. The Japanese have vast plans to make Ethiopia the most modern of nations, and they promise to perform this miracle within a few years, for are they not themselves living examples of a similar wonder?

"The Japanese say that they are equipping Ethiopia industrially in order to make the country independent of Europe. But they do not mention that the industrial organization they plan will change the country's ways of living and will become essential for its existence. But why should Japan want to seize this last free country and colonize a part of the world so remote from Asia? This is the sensitive point, the deeply buried seed that must grow in the shadow, take root, and gather strength to burst forth all at once into irresistible triumph.

"Japan is the England of the Pacific. She must therefore have power over the seas--that is, over the straits. The Red Sea is the bottle-neck of England's vast colonial empire. Free passage through it is essential to maintain connec-

42-10-165

"Gallaland is a southern extension of the Abyssinian plateau, and resembles it in general relief and altitude, but is less rugged. It also has precipitous escarpments on its east side and gentle slopes towards the Nile Valley. Many of the isolated peaks are separated by crevasses or canyons, like those of Colorado or Mexico, sometimes 5,000 feet deep and scarcely 700 feet wide.

"Somaliland, the triangular projection of the continent, or 'Eastern Horn' of Africa, is still less elevated, and takes the character of a plain, varying in its northern section from 4,000 to 5,000 feet, in its southern section from 2,000 to 3,000 feet, and falling below the altitude of 500 feet near the coast.

"Masaliland is a still more southern continuation of the Abyssinian plateau, but much narrowed and much less rugged in general aspect. The altitude in the northern division is from 5,000 to 9,000 feet. Through the line of highest elevation runs a trough which encloses a chain of lakes." (p. 38. The Negro Races, Volume II. Dowd.)

47-10-164

212 659
190 050
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50

W. E. B. Du Bois
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THE TALMADGE-COCKING AFFAIR

In spite of the many straightforward and interesting statements made by various persons concerning the recent dismissal of the Dean of the University of Georgia, I still feel that the logical and basic facts have not yet been sufficiently emphasized.

The Dean of the ~~state~~ University of Georgia apparently stated sometime last year that he would like to see a training school near the University attended by black and white children and taught by black and white professors. If this is what Dean Cocking thought and said, it was in accordance with the best and wisest thought of the nation and of intelligent persons both North and South. Everybody knows that the present separation of children in school by race cannot continue forever; that gradually and in accordance with the development of public opinion the unbearable cost of a double system of schools with all the waste of duplication and with all the danger of separate class training must cease.

36-5-118

The real question is: When can this take place? It goes without saying, and there the Governor of the State, the Dean of the University and you and I are all agreed, that such a development must take place gradually and could not be realized immediately in the present state of public opinion and with the deep and ingrained prejudices of both the white folk and the colored folk of Georgia. But that it is an ideal which could be realized at least in training schools and graduate departments sometime during the next fifty years is certainly true.

If now Dean Cocking stated this as an ideal to be worked toward, he not only had a right to his opinion, but that opinion is shared by every person of intelligence who knows and has studied the South whether Southern or Northern born. Not simply the Rosenwald Fund but the General Education Board and the great educational experts of the country agree in this.

Governor Talmadge, on the other hand, speaking for the rank and file of the white people of Georgia has a right to oppose this ideal and to say that they will never so long as they live consent to any such breaking-down of racial lines. Moreover, the Governor has, in his official capacity, a right to so rearrange the Board of Regents of the University as to enforce his opinion backed as undoubtedly it is by the majority of opinion of the white people of Georgia.

36-5-119

But the real and crucial question comes: Did Dean Cocking state his ideals as a matter of present policy or as a matter to be aimed at in the future? Very unfortunately in his defense of his position, Dean Cocking did not say frankly exactly what his idea was concerning the future of race segregation in education, but simply insisted that he had not advocated any such present program. It would have been much broader educational statemanship on his part if he had said frankly: Yes, I believe that eventually and gradually, race segregation in education must disappear from Southern schools. I do not believe that such a program is practical now and I am not advocating, nor have I advocated, any such immediate change. But Dean Cocking did not admit this. He left those who were sympathetic with such a view entirely in the air and rested his case upon a question of verbal veracity as to exactly what he had said in a certain statement.

The point that must be insisted upon is that those people who believe that race segregation in education as well as in other matters must eventually disappear from the South and from the nation, if we are ever to have democracy, have a right to their opinion and a right to express it in Georgia and out. That, on the other hand, the persons who are backing and supporting Governor Talmadge have an equal right to express their opinions and to follow those opinions by legitimate and lawful action.

What really is happening, however, is the attempt to deny to any person, even a dean of the University of Georgia, any right to express an opinion which he holds, simply because that opinion is opposed to the majority of opinion of white folk of the state. There lies the kernel of intolerance and despotism. The white people of Georgia are not being educated by their leaders in modern social thought. Once the issue was drawn and the scurrying of white Georgia leaders was pitable. Not only did Dean Cocking himself refuse frankly to state his beliefs, but the City Superintendent of Atlanta Schools made the misleading statement that white children were superior to Negro children in intelligence; and friends of Cocking defended him as a man born of a Democratic family in a Republican state of parents who sympathized with the South when it was fighting for slavery! The only clear ringing statement was made by a certain Judge Jo Ben Jackson, member of the Board of Regents, who stated loudly "that the most ignorant white man was superior to the most intelligent Negro"!

36-5-112

The attack upon the Rosenwald Fund which has given over a half million dollars for white and Negro education in Georgia found not a single defender in the open hearing. White Georgians are being deliberately misled along the lines of their prejudices; and just as long as the intelligent social leadership of the South permits this denial of freedom of thought and opinion, just so long the South is going to continue to be the major social problem of this land.

W. E. B. Du Bois

18 July 1941

Second Edition

THE FUTURE OF AFRICA IN AMERICA

BY

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

Of the social problems that must be faced anew, reconsidered and restated there is none of greater importance than that of the presence on the American continent of thirty millions of persons of Negro descent. Of these perhaps ~~fifteen~~ sixty millions have no visible intermixture of white blood, while possibly ~~twenty~~ millions are of mixed European, Negro and American Indian descent. There are many other millions, how many we cannot say, who are in fact of Negro descent but with so large an infiltration of white blood that the Negro blood is not in evidence and often quite unknown.

36-5-90

Two considerations set this body of American immigrants apart: their visibility, - the fact that more easily than in the case of any other body of immigrants they can be recognized; and secondly, and closely aligned with this, the fact that the overwhelming majority were forcibly transported as chattel slaves and consequently are only a generation or two removed from the lowest social status. The union of color and status, therefore, has fixed in the minds of men a psychological reaction which must be taken into account. One could hardly be born in America, North or South and not subconsciously regard color and low social status as inevitably connected. But there would be a difference in rationalizing this fact; in the United States color would assumed to be the cause of the status of blacks; while in South America status would include Negroes and Indians for social and historical causes. In the West Indies white descent largely determines status while caste applies usually to unmixed Negro blood.

It has been the fashion in practically every American nation to attempt to ignore the Negro-American as a problem. Even when this population affects other social problems, the situation is often considered and treated as though the

Negro element were not there and did not greatly modify the conditions of the problem. For instance many books on immigration to the United States ignore entirely the Negro immigrant. When foreign immigrants are considered often the Negro is regarded neither as an immigrant nor as a native American. When restriction of immigration into the United States was debated between 1917 and 1927, the basis gradually was changed from the proportion of the different origins of the foreign-born to consideration of the original racial stocks as the standard for future incomers. But at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century 19 per cent of the inhabitants of America were of Negro descent. It took some adroit working of the law and administration of its provisions to avoid this uncomfortable fact. Visitors to the West Indies, especially if they are from the United States are surprised and intrigued at the fact that the West Indies are predominantly Negroid, but they say little about it. Thereafter they leave the West Indies out of their consideration of democracy and equality; of general progress and development, without the openly stated reason, but with the reserve judgment that such development is either impossible or undesirable in a land of Negroes. Thus the West Indies and Central American tend to become a sort of international slum explorted by foreign capital and tourists.

36-3-97

On the other hand, it is increasingly evident that we must in the future give more notice to this element among the nations of the Americas. When after this second World War we come to consider the pressing social problems before us, the Negro is going to be an element in that problem, not simply because of his actual social conditions, but because of the psychological reaction of his fellow citizens toward him. In the matter of poverty, for instance, which after the war, we are going to face, not as an inevitable curse, but as something which will yield to remedial measures; we will have to remember that the plight of labor in South America and the West Indies makes poverty a pressing and immediate problem and that the

condition of labor there finds its greatest and most convincing excuse in the fact that the labor of these countries is largely Negro and Indian. That Negroes and Indians will always be poor is accepted as both probable and bearable and the only solution will lie in their becoming white by absorption and white immigration. Until that time former philosophy has assumed that poverty, disease and inefficiency must characterize the laboring class. Imported capital will thrive on low wage and servile condition, while labor laws and unions will be few. In the same way in the United States the whole labor movement especially in its attempt to fight poverty by unionization has long been faced and frustrated by the fact that perhaps an eighth of that labor is of Negro descent and unless unionized, can be and has been widely used to break down and keep down the wages of white labor. Skilled labor enclaves, like the locomotive engineers have maintained a purely racial exclusion from these unions, but where mass production has superceded special skills, the Negro worker competes as in the automobile industry. On the other hand, white labor because of inherited cultural patterns and surrouding public opinion is unwilling to recognize Negro laborers as fellow human beings. Often his resentment flares in riot and mob rule.

36-5-98

Out of this situation arise, as children of poverty, disease and crime: a widespread incidence of communicable and dangerous disease, a great loss of time through sickness, the death of millions of people in the prime of life. And also a great amount of crime evidenced as crime always is among the young by stealing and fighting and low sex mores and leading to bitter reprisals and large expense of police and courts; and by the continuous manufacture of a distinct criminal element.

What now is going to be said of a frontal attack on poverty after this war if this attack is to include not only the Southern United States and the Negro slums of New York and Chicago, but also Cuba, Puerto Rico, Honduras and Bahia? Will not the ready reply be: Impossible! Inconceivable! and would not the cost include dearer sugar and cocoa and a lower return on investment? Finally, there would be

the one unanswerable reason against any action: Race. The alternative would be to attack poverty among white workers only and this cannot be done in America today.

Stepping beyond this, we face even greater post-war difficulty, when we come to the problem of applying something of what we have been newly preaching and even screaming about democracy, after two wars to defend democracy have been fought. Long before these wars, there was the deliberate exclusion of the great majority of Negroes from political rights by reason of poverty and ignorance, in the West Indies and South America; the attempt to realize anything that could really be called democracy involves equality; equality of status based at least on approach to equality of income. So far as Negroes are not regarded as equals, there can be no real conception of a democracy which includes them. In the United States most Negroes have been disfranchised no matter what their social and intellectual status might be.

36-5-99

Historically Americans have sought three ways out of this impasse: religious conversion; climatic extinction and biologic inferiority. The conscience of England and New England based excuse for slavery on heathenism, from which the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel proposed wholesale conversion. Invested capital in the colonies resisted this effort first by obstructing the instruction of slaves and finally by declaring openly with Virginia in 1667. "Baptism doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or freedom, in order that diverse masters freed from this doubt may more carefully endeavor the propagation of Christianity."

There is no doubt of the large public opinion which historically turned to one solution of this and that was the question of how to be rid of these people by natural death; how by physical removal or social pressure so to reduce the number of proportion of persons of Negro descent that the residue could be absorbed without noticeable difficulty. It is interesting to reflect how sincerely we have hoped in the past for some such solution. When for instance, the fathers of the American Revolution suppressed the slave trade they believed that they were not only curbing an unholy traffic, but also, by cutting off the artificial increase of the Negro population, they were going to leave the Negroes already in America to a fate in-

evitable extinction. Relying on the evidence of the slave trade in the West Indies and in some parts of the United States, they believed that from climatic reasons and biologic differences, the Negro could not survive, unassisted by foreign immigration. Jamaica, for instance, had in 1690, 40,000 Negroes. Between 1620 and 1820, 800,000 more were imported. Yet in 1820 there were only 340,000 Negroes on the island. The supporters of the colonization movement were of many minds; some wished simply to transport free Negroes. But numbers hoped to assist nature by starting Negro emigration, which would gradually so grow in volume as to reduce the Negro population and leave the residue to self-extinction, through the very hopelessness of their situation.

36-5-100

After the American Civil War this hope was reborn. Governor Sharkey of Mississippi sat before a congressional committee in 1866 and assured them with tears in his eyes that the emancipated Negroes were bound to die out. "My expectation concerning them is that they are destined to extinction, beyond all doubt. We must judge of the future by the past. I could tell you a great many circumstances to that effect; I am sorry I did not come prepared with means to state the percentage of deaths among them. It is alarming, appalling. I think they will gradually die out. Some of them will become thrifty and prosperous; but as a general thing, I think they are destined to extinction. I may be mistaken; I hope I am; but that is my impression." The census of 1870 seemed to confirm this; showing an increase of less than 10 per cent for Negroes in the decade but when in 1880 there came a census more accurately and more scientifically taken, the whole nation was aghast at an apparent Negro increase of 35 per cent. The nation, we might say was bitterly disappointed because the Negro race in America was surviving; and was only partially appeased when these official figures were officially "revised" to increase of 21 per cent and 22 per cent respectively.

In somewhat similar ways, in the West Indies after emancipation there was a more or less tacit thought that England and France and Denmark might profitably wait and let matters go as they would, until the Negroes of those most beautiful

parts of America were so decimated by laziness and disease that they could be replaced by white immigration. The Negro refused to die.

In South America the same problem was faced in a different way: there was no question of letting the chief labor force die out; let it live and work; but let it become a real part of the state only as it was physically absorbed into the white race. Brazil, with eighteen million Negroes and mullatoes out of fifty million inhabitants in 1940 was never particularly worried as to whether the Negro died out or not, so long as he remained a fairly submissive laborer and was gradually absorbed into the nation leaving white culture dominant.

30-5-101

Realising at last more or less clearly and after the lapse of long years, that the Negro physically is a fixture in America, without the slightest hope that he is going to decrease in numbers, we are faced by the question as to how far force, either the social force of caste or actual physical force in other guise, can be used to settle this problem of black folk in America. Of course the greatest hindrance here is the ethical problem. After all, America represents the part of the world where the Christian religion has shown in some respects its highest development and most efficient organization. It was possible so to twist the tenets of that religion as at first to excuse the slave trade and afterward to condone slavery; but it was more difficult for christians to face the problem of caste restriction and social suppression.

Deliberate and planned suppression of a group of human beings could only be defended if it were based on religious dogma or on accepted scientific proof of an inborn and unchangeable inferiority that no wish nor act could change an which put the sacred duty of self defense on white civilization.

The attempt of the Christian church, Catholic and Protestant to build a foundation of religious dogma and biblical sanction beneath Negro slavery is one of the most curious and disreputable incidents of organized religion. As Bishop Hopkins solemnly voiced it: "The Almighty, foreseeing this total degradation of the race, ordained them to servitude or slavery under the descendants of Shem and Japheth,

doubtless because he judged it to be their fittest condition. And all history proves how accurately the prediction has been accomplished, even to the present day."

Gradually appeal was made to science in place of theology. It is astonishing with what bitter almost missionary zeal the attempt to prove the biological inferiority of the Negro was carried on for over a hundred years and still persists in wide circles. It began with the Cotton Kingdom and the attempt to defend its income by proving Negroes were natural and eternal slaves. Religion, and philanthropy were forced into subserviency to this dogma. And even today when when science has rebelled and regained its independence and self respect, the belief in Negro inferiority widely persists.

The argument against Negro equality began with an appeal to history and observable facts; the white race alone was civilized and the inventors and spreaders of civilization; the yellow race had contributed a little; the black race nothing. Then came the Darwinian survival of the fittest; Africa was a land of slavery because Negroes were fit slaves and white men, fit masters; when biology began to question race distinctions, measurements of head form and brain weight were appealed to when the results of such studies yielded further confusion there was widespread appeal to psychological reactions which were supposed at first to measure "native" intelligence.

With this went a serves of historical and social studies designed to disclose the ignorance and inefficiency of emancipated Negroes. The leading universities of the United States united to show that the worst result of the Civil War was the enfranchisement of Negroes and that the emancipated Slaves was worse off than his fathers.

Despite this desperate and ruthless crusade backed by fiction and art, the experience of Brazil, the West Indies and the United States emphasizes the fact that a considerable and growing proportion of Negroes and mulattoes are modern civilized

men, with every prospect of becoming increasingly efficient and creative. The contrast between the white and dark populations of America can no longer for a moment be considered a contrast between cultivated and the uncultivated. The most we can say is that, if one compare, the two groups of white and black; one will find at the bottom a larger proportion of Negroes and Indians than whites; but in both groups these lower classes share the same human characteristics. On the other hand, at the head of both these groups you will find a small but undeniable proportion of Negroes and Indians side by side with the larger proportion of whites but with no essential differences in ability and creativeness.

36-5-1022

The social average of the Negro group is at present considerably lower than that of the white group; but there are Negroes, and many of them, quite as cultivated as the corresponding classes of whites, just as there are whites quite as hopeless as the lowest class of Negroes. It is the unquestioned truth of facts like these that, in spite of all the accumulated race fiction, has swept the foundations away from modern theories of race and especially of race distinctions based on the color line. There is no scientist of repute today who for a moment would declare that biological differences between white folk and black consign any individual of either race inevitably to a lower status. Consequently the whole argument for a different treatment and a different fate to be meted out for Negroes can no longer be based upon the biological or evolutionary argument. We must face the Negro problem as a series of cultural facts.

We have, of course, the right to believe that under other circumstances it would have been wiser, and we would have preferred to keep peoples of different cultural backgrounds and different physical appearance in the parts of the world where they were first developed or at least to make contacts under happier conditions. This may or may not have been advisable; probably not when we consider the cultural values of race and group contact under any conditions. In any case we must remember that it was the greed and adventure of the white race that in modern days disturbed the ancient distribution of mankind and that Europeans did this primarily

for their own selfish purposes. Moreover, we have no right to say that because other generations were guilty of the African slave trade and the domination of Asia, that present peoples have no part in the blame. They are heirs of their success, if success it may be called. They are heirs to the enormous prosperity of the Sugar Empire and the Cotton Kingdom and of the capitalistic methods of production which Negro slavery in America was primarily responsible in upbuilding in England and Europe. America could not have been America, without the African slave trade and African slavery. If, therefore, Americans are the heirs of an ancient error, so long as they insist upon grasping and holding the advantages of that error, they must pay for it.

36-5-103

In the United States we have gone far enough to know that the ability which can be developed among Persons of Negro descent, is of the widest range; that in physical, intellectual and artistic lines, the Negro is not only in evidence but if it were not for deliberate hindrances to his development he would make even better showing. We know that his health and crime can be adequately explained by his poverty, and that increased income and education can without reasonable doubt raise the mass of the Negro people to or above the average level of their white neighbors.

But these very facts disclose a problem which the nation and the white world are unwilling to face. Even with present barriers, if the Negro continues to develop in the United States and Latin America, there is not a single door of human progress and of social recognition at which he is not going to knock in the future with increasingly bitter violence. On the other hand, if the barriers are done away with, the Negro race in America is going to reach within a calculable time a level of efficiency which will challenge the whole assumption of the natural superiority of the white race. It will take more and more deliberate effort on the part of whites to enforce caste restrictions.

What do we propose to do about this after the world war? Are we going to

see that the Negroes of the Southern United States are admitted to the ballot on the same terms as white folk? Are we going to insist that the England which we have rescued at fabulous expenditure of treasure, installs democratic forms of government to control capital and investment in her colonies and especially in the West Indies? Are the states of South America like Venezuela, Brazil and Colombia going to see to it that through education and social uplift, a foundation of real democratic government is built upon this Negro and Indian Labor? Are we going to continue to let North American influence in South American emphasize and even insist on white supremacy and color discrimination, while all South American and Central American countries who wish capital and tourists respond to this pressure?

26-5-104

In answer to these queries we may note today four centers of solution for future relations between black people and white on the American continent: the policy of racial absorption especially in Brazil; the policy of absorption with Negro suppression through the domination of capital as in Jamaica and Cuba; the policy of racial segregation illustrated by Haiti; and the policy of legal caste shown in the Southern states of the United States.

We have grown used to being told the settlement of the Negro problem in Brazil is merely a matter of time and absorption; that if we shut our eyes long enough, a white Brazil and white Venezuela and Colombia will emerge and Africa in South America disappear. The United States has made a wry face at such a process and tried to blame most of the political and social ills of American regions south of us to this miscegenation. Many of our unfortunate relationships with our continent neighbors have arisen because of this racial prejudice. We have established ourselves as missionaries of white supremacy and refused personal relationships with South Americans who show too evidently Negro and Indian blood.

Backed by the tremendous power of our capital and tourist wealth this attitude has unduly influenced race relations and when added to the equally strict but more carefully expressed attitude of England, countries like Brazil, Chile, Peru, Colombia and Venezuela have striven to be "white" nations and make the process of

the absorption of Indians and Negro involve the gradual disappearance of these people.

Biologically such absorption was difficult because of the numbers involved. Fully half of the fifty million population of Brazil today is of acknowledged Negro and Indian descent and the proportion of whites has only been maintained by large Portuguese and Italian immigration. Of the fifteen million people in Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela not more than 20 per cent are white - perhaps only 10 per cent of Peru's six and one-half millions. The means that biological absorption into a "white" race will be difficult without greatly increased white immigration. Such immigration is hard to procure because Indians and Negro form a chief laboring proletariate with whom white labor cannot compete. The result is a noticeable darkening of the white group in most of those countries with a distinct Indian or Negroid mixture.

36-5-105

In addition to this, and of far greater importance is the question of cultural blending. The Negro brought to America strongly developed cultural patterns which even slavery could not entirely efface. With emancipation came frantic efforts to adopt white European culture but the net result has been a cultural blending which has deeply stamped South America in music, dance, art and literature. So much so that in the deeper currents of thought a new race is envisioned in which the strong Negro element is frankly recognized.

On the other hand, the economic trend is away from this. No South American country wishes to be regarded as "colored" in a world organized in industry and politics for white peoples. In diplomatic and social intercourse usually with Europe, always with North America, South America suppresses color, and in this policy the Negroids usually consent and cooperate. A dark Brazilian might occupy a high office of state but he would never be ambassador to St. James. And even domestic industry using English and United States capital would tend to keep the black worker "in his place" and withold authority from mulattoes. There are only occasional signs of revolt against this pattern of action on the part of blacks and mulattoes, although this may increase.

The racial absorption in Brazil therefore is not simple and has not had altogether happy results. With the avoidance of racial friction and the open color bar which Brazil has accomplished, there has come the economic class line, when color combined with poverty has kept a large class of dark laborers in a depressed condition; and which consequently makes it unlikely that a Brazilian would care to boast of his African ancestry as openly as he would assert his descent from white Europeans. Unless, therefore, racial absorption in Brazil is going to be accompained by economic emancipation and a real democracy of equals, the solution of the Brazilian problem of African and American cannot be really accomplished. Moreover such amalgamation, as many see, will not leave Brazil"white". Negro and Indian blood will produce a new race, undeniably "colored."

In the West Indies the pattern again changes. Of the 13 million inhabitants, probably 10 millions are of Negro descent. This means that the so-called whites are largely mulattoes. In Cuba for instance, competent authorities maintain that 60 per cent are of Negro descent although the census admits less than 40 per cent.

36-5-106

Manifestly, the white minority cannot absorb the black majority of West Indies. The partial absorption dating from the sixteenth century has established a powerful class of mulattoes who for the most part are distinctly white in mores and often white in color. Every economic and social incentive drives these folk to escape into the white race. It is this that leads the Domimion Republic to welcome Jews and bar black immigration.

On the other hand, the blacks, both in culture and blood dominate this beautiful, rich and intriguing part of the world and are held by the unyielding color bar especially of England and American. United States capital and English investment in Jamaica, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Haiti and the Domimion Republic, rules like a tyrant, to establish color caste, keep down wages and deny labor the right to organize. Political power is mainly in the hands of the whites and the property holding mulattoes. In Cuba and puerto Rico where the dark proletariat has some power and is trying to exercise it, the whole power of property and foreign investment is holding them in check

In most of these islands, one sees a frantic rush of black folk to be included in the privileged status of the whites. Most Negroes seek to accomplish this not so much by cultural progress as by breeding white at any social sacrifice. The cost of this to family life, normal contacts and political action is too great. Always you have left a poverty-stricken black peasantry who can be deprived of real political power and social advantage because they are a depressed economic class, in addition to being Negroes. American capital comes in to strengthen and perpetuate this class and caste.

In the case of Haiti one has the solution of separation: a black republic with a mulatto elite but with the African cultural background distinctly recognized. Instead of that being solution, it makes Haiti at distinct disadvantage in her whole intercourse with the white world. She not only suffered immense economic injustice in her brave effort to make herself free from France, but she has suffered the same injustice in her intercourse with England, the United States and South America. She has become a sort of parish of the Western Hemisphere excluded largely from cultural contact, from economic cooperation and from recognition in the society of nations.

36-5-107

In her inner social development Haiti occupies a peculiar place. Her land belongs primarily to her illiterate peasants which means that the weapon of land monopoly has been denied to Haitian aristocrats. The Haitian elite, therefore, has not become like the East Indian elite and the white overlords of Cuba, a rich oligarchy. On the other hand, they are, on the whole poor men but educated and cultured. If there can be built up between this leading aristocracy and the peasantry a nexus of leadership and direction without slavery of labor which has in the past and in so many places characterized this leadership, Haiti may give to the world an extraordinary example of economic and social development. There are some signs of this: there is a educational movement among the younger educated people and an interest in Haitian folklore and African cultural survival which are encouraging. Perhaps no other part of the West Indies, or even of South America, has so rare a chance for social experiment.

Haiti's prolonged and determined fight for recognition is one of the finest the modern world has seen. She rigidly claims as her greatest statesman said at the recent American Conference of National Commissions of Intellectual Cooperation at Havanna, to be the center of French culture in America. Haitian art and literature is no small part of French art. But far more than this, Haiti represents Africa. Nearly all the chief African tribes have left their cultural imprints and this is being consciously developed to a degree. Alone of American peoples, Haiti is not ashamed to be black.

36-5-108

In the United States our whole social advance has been continually frustrated and made paradoxical by our attitude toward Negroes. We declared all men free and equal when we owned 750,000 black slaves. We fought for a Union of white men and could get it only after using a half million black soldiers and laborers and emancipating four million slaves as a desperate bid for victory. We cannot today discuss democracy; we cannot carry through a draft for war; we cannot hold an election; we cannot establish hospitals; we cannot raise wages or do any one of the thousand things that social uplift calls for, without running across a discrimination with regard to Negroes that either blocks or weakens our best efforts or convicts us as hypocrites. With all our tumult and shouting and pious rage against Hitler we are perfectly aware that his race philosophy and methods are exactly the same as ours, save that he is drawing his lines in some what different places. It is ridiculous for an intelligent nation to allow this to go on.

In order to preserve our intellectual honesty and ethical pretensions this question must come in for frank discussion and decision. We cannot permit the Southern United States to be a social back-water in order to hold the Negro "in his place". Neither can we allow the West Indies and Central America to be made deliberate slums for the profits and vacation activities of the whites. In South America we have long pretended to see a possible solution in the gradual amalgamation of whites, Indians and blacks. But this amalgamation does not in our mind envisage any decrease of power

and prestige among whites as compared with Indians, Negroes and mixed bloods; but rather an inclusion within the so-called white group of a considerable infiltration of dark blood, while at the same time maintaining the economic exploitation and consequent political disfranchisement of dark blood as such. We have thus the spectacle of the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Puerto Rico and even Jamaica trying desperately and doggedly to be "white" in spite of the fact that the majority of the white group is of Negroaor Indian descent.

36-5-109

Before everything today in our thought must stand the question of the induction of the American Negro in the whole Western Hemisphere into the democratic states. Democracy cannot have a rebirth in the world unless it firmly establishes itself in America. It cannot establish itself in America if the majority of Negroes in the United States are disfranchised despite intelligence and property; if property barriers and administrative oligarchy reduce Negroes to serfs in the West Indies; and if there is in South America no determined attempt through education and social uplift to make the Negro and the Indian and the mixed blood an intelligent, modern citizen. Denial of steps like these is simply conspiracy of industrial exploitation, the rule of political oligarchies and the encouragement of future war.

This problem of the African in America cannot be avoided. He is not dying out; and he is not likely to die out. His sudden physical absorption without planned social effort would result in a distinct lowering of the level of culture over wide areas. His slow absorption if accompained by curbing and extinction of his genius is but worship of white domination. On the other hand, the attempt to raise culture among the whites and lower or even retard it among the Negroes and mulattoes, is a task inexcusable if not impossible.

There is needed, therefore, in the Wester world widespread consultation and planning, backed by united effort, first to decide just how far we are willing to treat Negroes and mulattoes as human beings, and if not, what tenable justification we have for denying it. If we are going to break down the barriers and at great

cost in wealth and effort gradually raise this depressed class to the level of culture of which they are capable, we must frankly understand that this does not involve the continued domination of white world, in the future; in fact, it is the begining of the end of such domination. There is no moral question facing the American of greater and more pressing importance than this question of racial tolerance in the Western Hemisphere.

We are only deceiving ourselves if we try to think that the solution of the problem of these millions of black folk in America is going to cost us nothing. That simply by a polite waving of the hands and judicious propaganda the problem will disappear. No. If we want to realize humanity and world peace, this can only be done at the cost of so thorough and drastic an overturning of our inherited fixations and cultural patterns as will shake the Western World. In the first place it will call for a stern attitude toward Europe and especially the British Empire. The British Empire is predominantly colored: black, brown and yellow people form the overwhelming majority of its folk. It has never been a democratic organization and never proposes to be one, because its white minority is supporting itself in luxury from the depressed wage and cheap raw material which they are extracting from colored folk through their organized and dominant military power and industrial technique.

Not only has this got to be overthrown but the means of its overthrowing is a firm conviction on the part of white America that a change in the present organization of the world is best for the world. And that only by recognition and conviction, and action following such conviction, can the world come to a place where it recognized human being as essentially equal and works toward the actual equality which may be accomplished.

There are many people in the Americas and especially in the United States who would rather die than see any such world of equal white and colored people. They must be made to realize that this is the ultimate price which they are going to pay for the solution of the Negro problem. That otherwise they are setting before the world a vision of continual struggle, of continual reoccurrence of war after war,

the end of which no living man can see.

36-5-111

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

The Julius Rosenwald Fund, founded in 1917, has directed its chief efforts toward the improvement of education, especially in the South, the development of enlarged opportunities for Negroes, and the betterment of race relations.

During the two-year period ending June 30, 1944, the fund expended $1,615,513 on its programs. Of this amount, $336,471 was spent on rural education, $185,417 on fellowships, $226,169 on race relations, $646,948 on Negro universities, and $94,464 on Negro health.

35-2-317

Its chief activities during this two year period were (1) education of teachers for work in the rural schools of the South, both Negro and white; (2) endowment of Dillard University in New Orleans; (3) fellowships for exceptionally promising Negroes and white Southerners; (4) efforts to improve race relations.

A division of race relations was set up in July, 1942. The fund's activities in this field included contributions to the following organizations: American Council on Race Relations, Southern Regional Council, National Council of Negro Women, National Urban League, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Associated Negro Press, and the Nat onal Committee on Housing.

During the two-year period the fund distributed more than 100,000 books and pamphlets to agencies and individuals throughout the country, and granted 74 fellowship awards, of which 43 went to Negroes and the others to white Southerners.

[1945]

W.E.B. DuBois

A REPORT FROM SAN FRANCISCO

We have failed essentially at San Francisco. It is not utter failure but it is failure because we have surrendered the chief fortress without a fight. On this surrendered redoubt, we gallently flew a flag of human rights and racial, religious and sex equality; but we dragged it down to half-mast by denying to the super-state any power to enforce these principles in a particular state except in the unlikely case that the great powers would declare a given area of race hate actually dangerous to world peace. Thus we asserted and contradicted almost in the same breath, the rights of man.

Warned sharply by the Senate of the United States, we established forts through the whole Pacific area with a right flank on white Australia and a left wing on conquered Japan, so that the white race by universal and continuous armament can keep forever the peoples of Asia in thrall. We camouflaged this effort by benevolent talk of "trusteeship" over the handful of Natives on forgotten isles, where eventually the population of guns will be greater than that of human beings. Ostentatiously we omitted all real mention of the more than 700 millions of colonial peoples. They are still left disfranchised, outside the world, without voice in world councils and at the mercy of colonial powers.

Meantime, continuously we dragged the red herring of Poland back and forth across the scene to decry Russia and to conceal the determination of the Western World to preserve the cordon sanitaire against communism by means of a Poland dominated by landlords, capitalists and the reactionary section of the Catholic Church.

Despite all this, out of our effort emerged one statesman and one alone - Molotov. Among the rotten reporters' eggs and columnists' red tomatoes he insisted that the San Francisco Conference should not be presided over solely by the Steel Trust. He talked "turkey" about Argentina, repeating exactly what Roosevelt and Hull had already said. He refused to be distracted by the plight of 16 Poles who may well be the stooges of London; and he was the only leader among the great nations who dared to talk frankly and openly about colonies. What he said was distorted and curtailed by most of the press. He spoke May 7th as follows:

49-9-275

ON RIGHTS

"First. Chapter 'purposes' expressly provides now for the observance of the principles of justice and international law. It also contains a reference to the necessity of respecting the principles of equality and self-determination of nations to which the Soviet Union has always attached first-rate importance. The principles of justice and self-determination of nations proclaimed by the international security organization will draw particular attention of the population of colonies and mandated territories; this will help realize the sooner these great principles which is so vital.

"Besides, Chapter 'purposes' now provides for the encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, language, creed or sex. Such a program is incompatible with the membership of Fascist countries in the organization of international security. .....

RIGHT TO WORK

"The Soviet delegation did not insist on its proposal to the effect that reference should be made to the right to work and the right to education as some of the most important human rights. It has been pointed out that it would be inadvisable to mention any specific rights. But is it not clear that the right to say, work is of vital importance to working men and women in the transitional period from war to peace when the danger of mass unemployment will be particularly grave....

MASS SOLUTION

"Five. Only recently proposals have been put forward concerning territorial trusteeship and now being widely discussed by the press. American and British proposals relative to this question differ and so require study. The Soviet delegation realizes that from the viewpoint of the interests of international security we must first of all see to it that dependent countries are enabled as soon as possible to take the path of national independence."

76-2-276

At San Francisco, we ordered an international army but we did not do nearly as much to curb fascism as we did to curb Russia. China under the Soong trust was dumb. We heard no further whisper of the race equality which she voiced at Dumbarton Oaks. Australia and New Zealand were more liberal toward dependent peoples than the United States. On every great moral question the Western peoples contradicted themselves. Smuts of South Africa talked of human rights and demanded absolute power over the Natives of Southwest Africa without even the advice of a mandates commission. England gave no leadership, expressed no ideas, laid down no goals. With all the traditional charm of the ancient Garden of Eden, she simply stood within the shadows, keeping watch above her own.

46-6-270

N° 1 Defend-Paper sent

I attended yesterday the opening plenary session of the United Nations Conference on International Organization. We sat in a great opera house, built as a memorial to the soldiers who, as the Mayor of San Francisco said, "died in vain" in the first World War.

30-6-125

Before us rose four golden columns against a cerulian blue background with three festoons drooping between, and the massed brilliance of the flags of 46 nations.

Down below was the blue-green podium, with green garlands, and above and at the sides leared the golden masks of tragedy and comedy. On the mezzanine floor was massed the press with its machines, eyes and ears of the world, snapping and grinding. Its engineers ran crouching to and fro, up and down the aisles. In the seats under blazing lights were all types of mankind, all languages and shades of color - Arabia and China, India and Africa were conspicuous, Latin-America and all Europe and America.

Franklin Roosevelt was curiously absent. God lacks a sense of drama, otherwise he would have let the dead President make here his last speech and appearance. There, too, was an absence of music. A military band screeched intermittently but no one listened. It may have been playing national anthems but I could not hear. A great music of organs and trumpets ought to have sounded but there was severe simplicity, perhaps even a little over done. Only one fine note, and that was the minute of silent meditation.

The ceremonies were rather conspicuously American, English; no other tongue was heard, no allusion to other cultures. There came in first 17 young folk in military dress: soldiers, sailors, Wacs, Waves and Spars. I was sorry there was no colored face among them. It would have been a world-wide gesture of significance, if some one had thought of that. But there were a number of things here

unthought of. Four men sat on the platform, and a Voice. The young white-haired Stettinus presided. The President of the United States spoke from Washington in a flat mid-western voice; clear, not altogether logical in sequence, but stressing on the whole what needed to be stressed. We represent here the overwhelming majority of all mankind - do we? Where are the colonies? The Governor of California, that astute politician, made a conventional speech. The best speech of the day in thought and diction was that of the Mayor of San Francisco.

36-9-126

Then Stettinus welcomed the conference, and said two words: "Always the West has meant the future" and "We meet on the ocean named Peace."

The audience in all the short but simple ceremony was tense. It was composed of older people. There were bald heads and gray hair; many women. There were few soldiers and no youth. Outside, the masses craned their necks and stared. They cheered Molotov but no one else. They eagerly sought glimpses of other celebrities.

Naturally I looked for color. It was there, and on the whole conspicuous. To my consternation I came near being photographed with the Indian delegation, three hand-picked stooges of Great Britain, one turbaned; but I escaped. I saw the Vice President of Liberia but did not see the Ethiopians. The Arabians were distinctly Negroid.

American Negroes appeared by magic as I walked down the steps of the opera house. There was the President of Howard University and Rayford Logan. There were the editors of the Chicago Defender and the Pittsburgh Courier, Noble Sissle was there, Mrs. Bethune and Mr. White, and representatives of the National Baptist Association. The city stood with open arms. They transported guests from the Civic Center to the hotels gratis and with smiling courtesy. There was no conspicuous evidence of the color line. Quite the contrary.

And so now we are on our way, and the world is in conference with arrangements near perfection for hearing and listening over all the globe. There remains but the matter of knowing what to do and how to do it.

WORLD PEACE AND THE DARKER PEOPLES

The plan of trusteeship now being considered by the UNCIO has to do with not more than 2 million colonial peoples. If there is added to this number the people in colonies mandated after the first world war they may amount to 10 million people. Certain territories may be internationalized and mandated after this war which would bring the total number of colonial peoples under trusteeship of mandates up to possibly 25 millions. There would still be left 725 million in colonial regions. The British would control 400 millions in Asia, 60 million in Africa, 3 million in the Islands of the Sea. The French would control nearly 30 millions in Asia, 35 millions in Africa and the Netherlands 67 millions in East Asia. Portugal and Spain would have 12 millions.

It is in these colonial peoples that the world should be interested if it wants to maintain peace. Their attitude toward them today is that they are backward, not because of their history but because of their lack of ability. The world believes that in accordance with former race theories they must be ruled for their own good as well as for the profit of Europe and North America. This is a dangerous doctrine, first, because it is not true. There is no scientific proof that any of these colonial peoples are not capable of progress and advancement, but the second reason is even more cogent. So long as these colonial peoples remain poor, ignorant and diseased, their domination by white Europe and America will be profitable and the fight to obtain the profits of their exploitation will cause wars in the future as it has in the past.

And in addition to this, some time and some how these people themselves are going to rebel against domination. We may think that European technique will prevent this, and that European power can keep one-third of the human race in permanent subjugation. This is a false dream. It is going to be the cause, if not of a third World War, certainly of a fourth or fifth.

The UNCIO ought not to adjourn without distinctly providing for the implementing of the following three propositions which have been laid before it by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People:

46-6-187

The main groups of mankind, commonly called races, are essentially equal in capability of progress and deserve equality of treatment, opportunity and respect.

In the eye of both science and religion, all men are brothers, with rights to freedom of thought, belief and expression; freedom of domicile movement and communication; justice before the courts and equal, civil, economic, political and social rights. The first duty of civilization is to see to it that no human being is deprived of these rights because of poverty, disease or ignorance.

The colonial system of government, however deeply rooted in history and custom, is today undemocratic , socially dangerous and a main cause of wars. The United Nations recognizing democracy as the only just way of life for all peoples make it a first statute of international law that at the earliest practical moment no nation nor group shall be deprived of effective voice in its own government. An international colonial commission on which colonial peoples shall have representation should have power to investigate the facts and implement this declaration under the Security Council.

41-6-188

[Fragment]

48

WORLD PEACE AND THE DARKER PEOPLES

The plan of trusteeship now being considered by the UNCIO has to do with not more than 2 million colonial peoples. If there is added to this number the people in colonies mandated after the first world war they may amount to 10 million people. Certain territories may be internationalized and mandated after this war which would bring the total number of colonial peoples under trusteeship of mandates up to possibly 25 millions. There would still be left 725 million in colonial regions. The British would control 400 millions in Asia, 60 million in Africa, 3 million in the Islands of the Sea. The French would control nearly 30 millions in Asia, 35 millions in Africa and the Netherlands 67 millions in East Asia. Portugal and Spain would have 12 millions.

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Make Folder
File DuBois

1946

A CUP OF COCOA AND CHOCOLATE DROPS

W. E. B. DuBois

If coffee is stimulating and tea soothing, cocoa has a certain added satisfaction of comfort and "gratefulness" which appeals widely to mankind. Add to this all the luxury of its derivative, chocolate, and the cocoa crop is a matter of world interest. The West Coast of Africa is the chief centre of this crop.

36-7-132

The British West African Cocoa Crop has averaged since 1932 about 250,000 tons per year, worth, normally, about $40,000,000 dollars. It is raised entirely by natives, on samll farms offrom one to five acres, and has become the mainstay of thousands upon thousands of peasant farmers who employ countless numbers of wage labourers. It is the main provider of external purchasing power for the Colonial Government.

The average production is one ton per farm, annually. The actual peasant producers receive for this crop, nominally 15,000,000 dollars or less, or $40 to $60 per ton. There is, however, to-day a special Government war sur-tax on the export of this cocoa, of $3.75 per ton, which, while paid by the exporters, is immediately deducted from the amount paid to the farmers, making the net income of the producers less than $30 per farm, per year.

The cocoa is taken to Europe and America and processed. Cocoa butter is abstracted and theobromine (a source of caffein) and the pressed cocoa cake is left. From this comes the world's supply of chocolate for candy, cooking and drinking.

The total product thus obtained is sold and reaches a very high figure. It involves for processing, costly machinery and a large body of factory labour, but, even after this is paid, the profits have made millionaires of the promoters and investors in many lands.

Here, now, is a chance to ascertain some of the facts concerning the modern distribution of wealth, and the division of labour and services, involving Colonial labour; and, in the case of this labour, the problem is simplified because foreign capital is not involved in primary production, so far as the raising of cocoa is concerned.

Cocoa raising on the West Coast of Africa is an extraordinary phenomenan; it is a case where the impossible, or should we say, the unexpected has happened. Usually the indictement brought agains Colonial labour is that it is lazy, backward and inefficient. White capital is needed and can only yield reasonable profits if low wages are paid to labour and expensive management and highly-paid white labour are imported.

Quite contrary to this pattern, familiar in South Africa and Rhodesia, on the Gold Coast the natives themselves have developed a product in international world demand. The transplanting of the cocoa industry from Spanish to British Africa was a matter of native ingenuity and resourcefulness, at a time when the British cocoa industry was using the excuse of slavery in St. Thome and Principe to remove the control of the cocoa crop from Spain to Britain. I heard this charge made at a public meeting in Lisbon in 1923. The plantation system in cocoa-raising, which had been the rule in Spanish Africa, still is is British Grenada. There land monopoly prevails, and one or two shillings per day is paid labour, which gets work only two or three days each week. On the Gold Coast the Negroes forged ahead and began raising cocoa on their own peasant holdings, with the result that the problem of private profit for the Europeans became a matter of controlling sales and prices of the products rather than the time-honoured method of conducting plantations with serf labour.

36-7-133

If the Gold Coast had been a white colony the developement would have been swift and direct, following the lines of Australian wool, Rhodesian copper and the South African mines. West Africa would have become a prosperous community, with independant peasant farmers, industry engaged in at least partial processing of raw material, and, eventually, in politics Dominion Status within the British Empire.

But West Africa was black, which means not necessarily conscious discrimination based on race, but rather that because nobody felt any interest in what was going on in West Africa, every device of concealment and exploitation could be used by selfish interests to extract the last penny of profit from the farmers' produce and give them no voice, either in the state or in the industry, to express legally and clearly their wishes and complaints. Creech-Jones, Under Secretary for the Colonies, says:

"It is an odd contradiction in the British people that they effect a pride in Colonial achievement and in the possession of a far-flung, long established Empire but show little disposition to aquire genuine knowledge of its essential facts."

Rita Hinden adds:

"Parliament devoted aproximately one day a year to Colonial debate, during which a few stalwarts harangue the empty benches."

The results make interesting economic history. From the beginning of European trade on the West Coast, the object of the merchants has always been to obtain such monopoly that they could keep the prices paid for the produce down. They, therefore, continually attempted trade agreements amongst themselves to control the price of raw materials and to fix the selling price of imported merchandise.

36-7-134

Against these cartels and restrictive trade agreements, African producers and consumers have made a continuous fight. But, unfortunately, the local Governments, far from being under the control of the farmers, were almost completely under the control of the cocoa-buying firms, partly because the firms themselves were directly represented on the Governor's council; and, more especially, because at home in Great Britain their sponsors had indirect but tremendous influence upon the Colonial Office itself, and over the appointment of officials to the Colonies by that office.

"In fact, for a long time, the cocoa farmers of the Gold Coast and Nigeria had maintained that the local Governments were either in the deal with the European firms or were too weak to keep check on the growing arrogance and unbridled rapacity of the combines. But it was not until shortly before the close of the last Conservative Government that Colonel Oliver Stanley, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, admitted in debate in the House of Commons, that in the Colonies sometimes the European firms had been allowed to grow so strong that on several occassions they had even threatened to challenge and overthrow the authority of the local Governments."

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One result of this situation was violent fluctuations in the local prices paid for cocoa, due to the speculative world produce market and to the success or failure of the local buyers competition. For instance, in 1927, Gold Coast cocoa exports rose to 210,000 tons, valued at more than $47,000,000. In 1934, with a crop of practically the same size, the value sank to $16,000,000. Such fluctuations, of

course, not only spelled ruin for thousands of farmers, but caused intense political and social unrest. At the same time it encouraged the usual system of borrowing by farmers threatened with bankruptcy, so that the farmers fell more and more in debt to moneylenders. In 1933/34 75% of the farmers had pledged their crops to the moneylenders, who were getting sometimes 100% interest ontheir loans.

Repeated attempts to organise boycotts on the part of the farmers against the buyers were organised before the present war, and finally in 1937/38 a succesful boycott was organised, which lasted for eight months, with disastrous effects on the revenue of the local Governments.

36-7-135

The boycott of 1937/38 had been precipated by a so-called Buying Agreement on the part of the cocoa firms. This meant that their efforts, covering many years, to monopolise the market, had now been succesful. The thirteen European firms, of which one firm alone took half the crop, had come into complete agreement and were buying as one organisation, with one fixed price and without competition. As a result of this boycott a Royal Commission, with William Nowell as Chairman, was appointed by the Colonial Office. The Nowell Commission investigated the situation at length and reported in 1938:

> "We have reached the conclusion that the continuance of the Buying Agreement introduced in the Gold Coast and Nigeria is undesirable"..... and....."in the circumstances it is our opinion that the Agreement should be finally withdrawn."

The Commission went on to make recommendations for the future, and laid down these principles:

(1) The strengthening of the economic position and morale of the producers in relation to the buyers, both European and African.

(2) The Recognition of the legitimate interests of both the African community and the shipper.

(3) The maintenance of free competition in the purchase of the cocoa crop.

They finally observed that:

> "After consulting many opinions and after prolonged thought, we see no other way of meeting these conditions than by ..... the association of producers for the collective marketing of their produce, and for the representation of

their joint interests."

Unfortunately, before any steps could be taken, the war intervened, and immediately the situation was changed. The British Government took over the whole production, undertaking to buy and sell the crop and to fix prices. In 1938, the members of the Nowell Commission foresaw the likelihood of a Government monopoly in the future and remarked:

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> "A monopoly backed by statute and dominated by the Agreement firms, whose operations are already suspected of aiming at monopoly, would simply not be acceptable to African opinion. We believe that official participation would do more to weaken the prestige of the Colonial Governments than to allay the suspicions of the Africans."

The purchase of cocoa under Government control was first carried out by the Ministry of Food, then by the West African Cocoa Control Board, and at present, by the West African Produce Control Board. In 1939/40 the local Colonial Governments fixed prices, while the individual firms in the trade did the purchasing and handling, in the same proportion as they had previously carried on business in the trade. The firms were paid their expenses and guaranteed an agreed rate of profit; thus capital could not lose.

The first Control Board consisted of the Under-Secretary of State in London, the head of the West African Department of the Colonial Office, the head of the Economic Department, one of the leading cocoa manufacturers in England, John Cadbury, and various Europeans nominated by the Colonial Government, mostly former Civil Servants. In May, 1942, this Board was enlarged and given power over ground nuts and other produce. There was added to it a representative of the English Wholesale Co-Operative Societies and a member of a leading firm trading in oil seeds and oil. This Board, in consultation with the Colonial Governments, fixes prices.

During the first year of its operation, 1939/40, there was a deficit of some $800,000, practically all of which was due to the purchase of French Cameroon cocoa, as a help to Free France. In 1940/41 the prices paid farmers were reduced by $8 to $12 per ton, and the result was a profit of £800,000.

In the third season, 1941/42, the United States banned shipments because of her need for boats for war purposes, and there was increasing U-Boat danger. The Gold

Coast crop was short, reflecting probably some resentment at the policy of the Board, which was unloading losses upon the farmers. Prices were advanced slightly, and a good deal of the cocoa held over; but a large amount had to be destroyed. The net loss the season was 1,2000,000 dollars.

This matter of destroying the cocoa brought, of course, much controversy; the cocoa held over was eventually sold at a large profit, but there were few facilities for storing cocoa on the Gold Coast. That would have called for careful building, and the material for such building was scarce. But in addition to this, the cocoa operators had never wanted cocoa stored, which would have been a method of stabilising prices, and a temptation to the farmers and black business men to start processing. Nevertheless, some storage was attempted, and considerable cocoa-butter, as the oil from the c ocoa is called, was extracted, used locally and exported. This developement, however, was against the interests of foreign monopolies and traders, and was quickly stopped when ships became available for export. If it had kept up it would have called for modern machinery and the rise of a small class of skilled native labour.

36-7-137

Meantime, the cocoa farmers began to protest; they declared that in 1941/42 the Government was buying cocoa at 60dollars a ton, and selling it at $180 per ton in the United Kingdom, and over #200 per ton in the United States. On this was piled the war export tax of $3.80 per ton.

On the other hand, the price of imported merchandise was not controlled. Cotton print which sold before the war for $2\frac{1}{2}$ was now selling at $18, kakhi had risen from 60c to $3.20, cement from 40c to $1.60, and sheet iron from $1 to $20.

"The result of this situation is that to-day many of the farmers have been completely impoverished and paralysed economically."

In the next season, 1942/43, the Government followed the long neglected advice of the farmers and did away with agents and intermediaries used in the collecting of cocoa. Prices were again lowered but freight payments equalised by applying the prices paid to inland depots and not simply to the sea-side ports. Finally, the United States lifted its ban on shipments, the cocoa held over from the last season, as well as the current crop, was sold at high prices, and the profit amounted to over $8,000,000. (£ 3,676,253)

The war difficulties now over, further destroying of crops was unneccessary and the Colonial Government promised that the prices paid to the cocoa farmers for 1944/45 and 1945/46 would be increased 70% over the prices of the first four years of control, that is to $100 per ton.

The new Labour Government outlined their plan for the future. This plan proposed that, beginning with the 1945/46 cocoa season, the Government would continue its control of the cocoa crop and of the other important crops of British West Africa. This control was to be exercised on the Gold Coast through organisations having an official majority appointed by the Colonial Government, and including Africans and representatives of business interests. It was promised that , eventually, "representatives for the producers will consititute the majority in the proposed organisation." In Nigeria, the Government was to be in control, but there was to be an Advisory Committee with representatives of the farmers and traders. Especially, it was emphasised, that the Co-Operative Movement was to be developed and through that, direct representation of the farmers increased.

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Immediately the farmers protested. They said:

"It is abundantly clear that, with the approval of the Imperial Government, the West African Produce Control Board was put in a priviliged position where it is now exercising a virtual monopoly over all agricultural produce in British West Africa. This official monopoly, which was specifically denounned by the Nowell Commission, could be tolerated by the Africans to some extent only as a war measure - as both the Imperial and local Governments have repeatedly made the farmers understand. But the Imperial Government has now suggested the continuance of the war-time control schem as a future policy for the post-war period."

First they protested against the lack of any real representation on the Control Board. The "Africans" appointed to the Board would be the Chiefs, who, by recent legislation, are Government officials, paid by the Colonial Governments and under their control. They do not and cannot represent the Farmers. They declared that the so-called Co-Operative Movement in West Africa was not co-operative in the British sense of the term. Instead of being democratic organisations, run by the producers and consumers, they were supervised by the Government department of Agriculture, and were under strict Government supervision.

The so-called official Co-operatives handled

They could do nothing that the Government did not oversee and permit. This is flagrant abuse of the elementary principles of co-operation. The so-called official Co-Operatives handle only 3% of the crop, while the farmers who handle 97% of the crop have their own collective organisations, which are unrecognised by the Government.

The farmers protested against the proposal to continue to recognise the monopoly of the present cocoa firms. The Government first arranged that the purchase and export of cocoa should be shared by firms already in the business, in proportion to the amount of business that they had previousely been carrying on. Some small shippers were admitted in the first year, and in the second year the quota of the Government Co-Operatives was increased. But new entrants into the business were barred.

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The farmers protested: "The Africans view with growing apprehension the action of the local Governments, by which the entire merchant trade of West Africa had been placed exclusively in the charge of certain particular firms. Such an action is always a measure of restraint of legitimate trade, and the local Governments should be expected to discountenance, instead of encouraging and sponsoring, this evil practice."

The farmers were especially apprehensive concerning the future of the cocoa market: "The position of the international cocoa market in the future seems to show a tendency towards concentration of the buying interests so that the circle of potential cocoa buyers would probably be narrowed to a very small number, say four big manufacturers in the United States, two existing, and perhaps one extra in this country, one huge buyer on the continent of Europe - the Federated Soviet Buying Commission - which would probably cover the requirements of most European countries (as predicted long ago by Field Marshal Smuts) etc. etc. Such huge and important buyers could be easily dealt with by the Farmers Committee of West Africa Limited, eventually under Government supervision, without the so-called "other interests" mentioned in the Report, viz. traders, shippers etc., for the simple reason that in the light of the coming economic and political relations the necessity for the continuation of their services, at least in the cocoa trade, is evidently disappearing."

These farmers, who are the majority of the population of the Gold Coast and Nigeria, and certainly the bulk of the cocoa growers in Nigeria, are not mentioned at all, except that they would be obliged to submit themselves to the proposed Government Selling Organisation. Such discrimination in favour of Co-Operative Societies which are

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of no economic importance, for the Gold Coast and Nigeria cocoa industry, is entirely incomprehensible. Seeing that the non-co-operative cocoa producers were almost entirely for the West African Cocoa delivered so far at self-sacrificing prices to the Cocoa Control, and that furthermofe, they are the majority of the population of West Africa and, as such, have been helping the Empire's war effort in every way possible, such as man-power, money contributions, augmented deliveries, etc., the discrimination in favour of the Co-Operative Societies against the non-co-operative producers is entirely unjustifiable.

But the farmers protested especially concerning the money which represents the profit on Government control of West African cocoa since 1939, this amounts at present to $15,00,000, and may amount to 20/25,000,000 when the results of the season of 1943/44 are known. The British Government has treated the question of these profits rather queerly; at first, it talked of operating "with the British tax-payers money". This, of course, was not true and could never have been true, except in the contingency of loss in the operation. It then proceeded to treat the surplus as funds belonging to the British Government, promising, however, that Parliament would appropriate a similar sum "to be returned to the cocoa producers, or used for their benefit". When the Labour Government came in, this plan was expanded into using the money partly for research and partly as a revolving fund to finance price fluctuations in the cocoa industry.* Thus the farmers, and not the traders and investors, are going to be asked to bear the cost of research and the furnishing of finance capital, an extra-ordinary proposal.

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* the profits made 1939/43, now amounting to £3,676.253, and now added to the profits of the 1943/44 season, which will be substantial, will be used as the finance capital of this cocoa scheme; since these profits cannot be returned to each producer because there are so many producers and no detailed records. A Research staff will be set up, for which £1,250,000 will be allocated. This capital sum may eventually be returned and become a part of the capital of the marketing organisation.

Against this the cocoa farmers protested bitterly:

"We earnestly point out that this money does not belong in any way either to the British Government, or the local Governments of the Gold Coast and Nigeria. It belongs to the cocoa farmers, and they are the only people who have a right to the ultimate disposal of the outstanding credit; The cocoa industry in both countries is the result of the initiative and labour of the Africans themselves, and there is no evidence on record that the local Governments had ever assisted or subsidised the developement of the cocoa industry in British West Africa."

36-7-141

The funds for this scientific undertaking should either come from the Imperial funds or provision should be made for such sums as are needed in the annual estimates. This has been the practice hitherto, and the research should not be undertaken at the expense of the cocoa producers, who are already impoverished and over-taxed, simply because they have realised some profit on their own labour under the strenuous circumstances of war-time economy.

Research institutes in both the Gold Coast and Nigeria have not been able to save the cocoa industry from deterioration. The only remedy is, and will be, a better price for the producer, to enable him to keep pace with the rising cost of labour, otherwise more farms will be neglected, which means a further spread of the swollen shoot menace.

The Governments of the Gold Coast and Nigeria have persistently refused to give any sympathetic consideration to the legitimate demands of the producers - a state of affairs which, we earnestly remark, has considerably shaken whatever confidence the farmers have in the local Governments of British West Africa.

These deplorable conditions have been tolerated by the African producers because of their desire to win the war. But now the war is over, the farmers do not consider the existence of the West African Produce Control Board as necessary any longer, and are in no way inclined to subject themselves to the continuance of the hardships and unfair treatment which the Board had imposed upon the farmers while the war was still in progress.

It is a breach of faith to continue to operate these various oppressive economic devices which were introduced under disguise as war measures, since the African producers aquiesced in them, but not without organised protests, only after the local Governments

had given repeated assurances that the new measures would be removed as soon as hostilities ceased.

The Farmers Committee of British West Africa Limited would be quite fit to manage the whole affair of the proposed Centralized Sales in all its aspects. However, if it is insisted upon, they would be agfeeable to accept eventually Government supervision. They have their plans to meet every emergency and, in this connection, they are of the opinion that first of all a special international Cocoa Council should be formed, which would consist of representatives of cocoa producers and consumers all over the world. They furthermore consider that such a Council would greatly simplify the task of Centralized Sales of the West African cocoa, and that it would also safeguard West Africa's future in the world cocoa trade.

36-7-142

West Africa is especially sensitive on this matter of research. They know quite well that the land needs guidance and knowledge of modern technique. But it often happens that instead of this being imparted to the Africans, it is held as the monopoly of Englishmen sent out to the Colonial Service. This is one of the great rewards of Imperialism. It opens a field to vast number of young Englishmen who find well paid service in the Colonies, with special caste privileges, high salaries, large allowances, long vacations, and a liberal pension system. Whether they are specially trained or not, they do not impart their knowledge willingly to the natives, nor are they permitted to do so by the regulations. On the other hand, they themselves often lack the special and local knowledge which the native has. There is an apposite story from Sierra Leone; the large and valuable fish crop was not being properly preserved; the Government took the matter in charge and brought highly-paid experts from England. They bought special ships with refrigerating apparatus and other machinery. At the end of the year, the budget showed an expenditure of £10,000 and an income of £300. Protest and inquiry brought the explanation that while the experts knew what to do with the fish after they were caught, they did not know where to find them.

At the Pan-African Conference, recently held in Manchester, a Committee representing the West African Cocoa Farmers was present. They brought with them a petition to the Colonial Office. The chairman who explained it had a face like the

Man of Sorrows, black and deeply carven. He was in desperate earnest and shouted repeatedly, "We must be free, we will be free".

I did not quite understand his emotion until I read the petition and learned that the new Secretary of State for the Colonies had refused to receive the Committee or listen to its message. He declared that the Committee was not official, which meant that it was not appointed in accordance with the procedure of the Colonial Governments, and was not composed of the representatives which these Governments had officially chosen.

36-7-143

The Committee finally secured a hearing before the Colonial Section of the Fabian Society, which acts as a sort of Brain Trust to advise the Labour Government on Colonial Affairs. On the committee were many people of importance; Mr. Creech-Jones, the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Miss Rita Hinden, Lord Farringdon, the Secretary of the Aboriginees Protection Society, and others. The committee listened for a while, but several left before the hearing was over. The representatives of the farmers, therefore, brought their case to us and laid it before us. They had been sent to London at the expense of the farmers, and had established a permanent office in Arundel Street. They were prepared for a long, hard fight and the Pan-African Congress pledged help.

The cocoa farmers make the following demands:

(1) That since the war is over, the recommendations of the Nowell Commission be implemented, and that the Imperial Government now make good the promises made to the African farmers.

(2) That the price of $160 per ton should be paid farmers, and should be set for the 1945/46 season.

(3) That the profits from cocoa control since 1939, amounting as it probably will to $25,000,000, be turned over to the farmers' own existing organisations as capital for the establishment of co-operative agricultural banks in British West Africa.

(4) That the operations of the West African Produce Control Board should cease and a new system of centralized marketing should be installed, and effective co-operation, under the controlof the farmers' own organisations, be established.

(5) That the present quota allocation of the crop to special buyers be abolished, and that the farmers be free to market their crop collectively to

their own accredited agencies.

(6) That the present restrictions of exports and imports be removed in order to allow the West African farmers to trade with the United Kingdom and other countries through their own agencies.

(7) That an International Council on cocoa should be planned, in order to adopt a comprehensive approadh to all problems of cocoa as an important world commodity.

(8) That the Ordinances of British West Africa with regard to Co-Operation be changed so as to correspond to practices in the United Kingdom.

And the farmers concluded:

"This delegation of Gold Coast and Nigerian farmers are of the opinion that there are enough men and women of goodwill in the Imperial Government of Britain who might bring economic justice to bear on these pressing problems, and thus might prevent the occurrence of a tragic economic upheaval, the consequences of which, unfortunately, might effect the peaceful life of innocent people in all parts of the world and not only in West Africa and Britain."

If this is not statesmanship, which eventually must be listened to, I am greatly mistaken. It seems to me to point a path towards the emancipation of the world's colonial populations and the beginning of democracy among the majority of the people of the world, for which we have recently fought two devestating world wars, without yet seeing the light.

36-7-141

1946

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If coffee is stimulating and tea soothing, cocoa has a certain added satisfaction of comfort and "gratefulness" which appeals widely to mankind. Add to this all the luxury of its derivative, chocolate, and the cocoa crop is a matter of world interest. The West Coast of Africa is the chief centre of this crop.

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The cocoa is taken to Europe and America and processed. Cocoa butter is abstracted and theobromine (a source of caffein) and the pressed cocoa cake is left. From this comes the world's supply of chocolate for candy, cooking and drinking.

The total product thus obtained is sold and reaches a very high figure. It involves for processing, costly machinery and a large body of factory labour, but, even after this is paid, the profits have made millionaires of the promoters and investors in many lands.

Here, now, is a chance to ascertain some of the facts concerning the modern distribution of wealth, and the division of labour and services, involving Colonial labour; and, in the case of this labour, the problem is simplified because foreign capital is not involved in primary production, so far as the raising of cocoa is concerned.

46-7-12

Cocoa raising on the West Coast of Africa is an extraordinary phenomenan; it is a case where the impossible, or should we say, the unexpected has happened. Usually the indictement brought agains Colonial labour is that it is lazy, backward and inefficient. White capital is needed and can only yield reasonable profits if low wages are paid to labour and expensive management and highly-paid white labour are imported.

TETTAH QUARSIE

Quite contrary to this pattern, familiar in South Africa and Rhodesia, on the Gold Coast the natives themselves have developed a product in international world demand. The transplanting of the cocoa industry from Spanish to British Africa was a matter of native ingenuity and resourcefulness, at a time when the British cocoa industry was using the excuse of slavery in St. Thomé and Principe to remove the control of the cocoa crop from Spain to Britain. I heard this charge made at a public meeting in Lisbon in 1923. The plantation system in cocoa-raising, which had been the rule in Spanish Africa, still is is British Grenada. There land monopoly prevails, and one or two shillings per day is paid labour, which gets work only two or three days each week. On the Gold Coast the Negroes forged ahead and began raising cocoa on their own peasant holdings, with the result that the problem of private profit for the Europeans became a matter of controlling sales and prices of the products rather than the time-honoured method of conducting plantations with serf labour.

If the Gold Coast had been a white colony the developement would have been swift and direct, following the lines of Australian wool, Rhodesian copper and the South African mines. West Africa would have become a prosperous community, with independant peasant farmers, industry engaged in at least partial processing of raw material, and, eventually, in polities Dominion Status within the British Empire.

But West Africa was black, which means not necessarily conscious discrimination based on race, but rather that because nobody felt any interest in what was going on in West Africa, every device of concealment and exploitation could be used by selfish interests to extract the last penny of profit from the farmers' produce and give them no voice, either in the state or in the industry, to express legally and clearly their wishes and complaints. Creech-Jones, Under Secretary for the Colonies, says:

"It is an odd contradiction in the British people that they effect a pride in Colonial achievement and in the possession of a far-flung, long established Empire but show little disposition to aquire genuine knowledge of its essential facts."

Rita Hinden adds:

"Parliament devoted aproximately one day a year to Colonial debate, during which a few stalwarts harangue the empty benches."

The results make interesting economic history. From the beginning of European trade on the West Coast, the object of the merchants has always been to obtain such monopoly that they could keep the prices paid for the produce down. They, therefore, continually attempted trade agreements amongst themselves to control the price of raw materials and to fix the selling price of imported merchandise.

Against these cartels and restrictive trade agreements, African producers and consumers have made a continuous fight. But, unfortunately, the local Governments, far from being under the control of the farmers, were almost completely under the contr of the cocoa-buying firms, partly because the firms themselves were directly represented on the Governor's council; and, more especially, because at home in Great Britain their sponsors had indirect but tremendous influence upon the Colonial Office itself, and over the appointment of officials to the Colonies by that office.

"In fact, for a long time, the cocoa farmers of the Gold Coast and Nigeria had maintained that the local Governments were either in the deal with the European firms or were too weak to keep check on the growing arrogance and unbridled rapacity of the combines. But it was not until shortly before the close of the last Conservative Government that Colonel Oliver Stanley, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, admitted in debate in the House of Commons, that in the Colonies sometimes the European firms had been allowed to grow so strong that on several occassions they had even threatenad to challenge and overthrow the authority of the local Governments."

One result of this situation was violent fluctuations in the local prices (FR) paid for cocoa, due to the speculative world produce market and to the success or failure of the local buyers competition. For instance, in 1927, Gold Coast cocoa exports rose to 210,000 tons, valued at more than $47,000,000. In 1934, with a crop of practically the same size, the value sank to $16,000,000. Such fluctuations, of

46-7-14

course, not only spelled ruin for thousands of farmers, but caused intense political and social unrest. At the same time it encouraged the usual system of borrowing by farmers threatened with bankruptcy, so that the farmers fell more and more in debt to moneylenders. In 1933/34 75% of the farmers had pledged their crops to the moneylenders, who were getting sometimes 100% interest ontheir loans.

Repeated attempts to organise boycotts on the part of the farmers against the buyers were organised before the present war, and finally in 1937/38 a succesful boycott was organised, which lasted for eight months, with disastrous effects on the revenue of the local Governments.

The boycott of 1937/38 had been precipated by a so-called Buying Agreement on the part of the cocoa firms. This meant that their efforts, covering many years, to monopolise the market, had now been succesful. The thirteen European firms, of which one firm alone took half the crop, had come into complete agreement and were buying as one organisation, with one fixed price and without competition. As a result of this boycott a Royal Commission, with William Nowell as Chairman, was appointed by the Colonial Office. The Nowell Commission investigated the situation at length and reported in 1938:

> "We have reached the conclusion that the continuance of the Buying Agreement introduced in the Gold Coast and Nigeria is undesirable"..... and....."in the circumstances it is our opinion that the Agreement should be finally withdrawn."

The Commission went on to make recommendations for the future, and laid down these principles:

(1) The strengthening of the economic position and morale of the producers in relation to the buyers, both European and African.

(2) The Recognition of the legitimate interests of both the African community and the shipper.

(3) The maintenance of free competition in the purchase of the cocoa crop.

They finally observed.that:

> "After consulting many opinions and after prolonged thought, we see no other way of meeting these conditions than by ..... the association of producers for the collective marketing of their produce, and for the representation of

their joint interests."

Unfortunately, before any steps could be taken, the war intervened, and immediately the situation was changed. The British Government took over the whole production, undertaking to buy and sell the crop and to fix prices. In 1938, the members of the Nowell Commission foresaw the likelihood of a Government monopoly in the future and remarked:

> "A monopoly backed by statute and dominated by the Agreement firms, whose operations are already suspected of aiming at monopoly, would simply not be acceptable to African opinion. We believe that official participation would do more to weaken the prestige of the Colonial Governments than to allay the suspicions of the Africans."

The purchase of cocoa under Government control was first carried out by the Ministry of Food, then by the West African Cocoa Control Board, and at present, by the West African Produce Control Board. In 1939/40 the local Colonial Governments fixed prices, while the individual firms in the trade did the purchasing and handling, in the same proportion as they had previously carried on business in the trade. The firms were paid their expenses and guaranteed an agreed rate of profit; thus capital could not lose.

The first Control Board consisted of the Under-Secretary of State in London, the head of the West African Department of the Colonial Office, the head of the Economic Department, one of the leading cocoa manufacturers in England, John Cadbury, and various Europeans nominated by the Colonial Government, mostly former Civil Servants. In May, 1942, this Board was enlarged and given power over ground nuts and other produce There was added to it a representative of the English Wholesale Co-Operative Societies and a member of a leading firm trading in oil seeds and oil. This Board, in consultation with the Colonial Governments, fixes prices.

During the first year of its operation, 1939/40, there was a deficit of some $800,000, practically all of which was due to the purchase of French Cameroon cocoa, as a help to Free France. In 1940/41 the prices paid farmers were reduced by $8 to $12 per ton, and the result was a profit of [illegible] & more

In the third season, 1941/42, the United States banned shipments because of her need for boats for war purposes, and there was increasing U-Boat danger. The Gold

91-7-16

Coast crop was short, reflecting probably some resentment at the policy of the Board, which was unloading losses upon the farmers. Prices were advanced slightly, and a good deal of the cocoa held over; but a large amount had to be destroyed. The net loss the season was 1,2000,000 dollars.

This matter of destroying the cocoa brought, of course, much controversy; the cocoa held over was eventually sold at a large profit, but there were few facilities for storing cocoa on the Gold Coast. That would have called for careful building, and the material for such building was scarce. But in addition to this, the cocoa operators had never wanted cocoa stored, which would have been a method of stabilisi prices, and a temptation to the farmers and black business men to start processing. Nevertheless, some storage was attempted, and considerable cocoa-butter, as the oil from the c ocoa is called, was extracted, used locally and exported. This develppement however, was against the interests of foreign monopolies and traders, and was quickly stopped when ships became available for export. If it had kept up it would have walled for modern machinery and the rise of a small class of skilled native labour.

Meantime, the cocoa farmers began to protest; they declared that in 1941/42 the Governmentx was buying cocoa at 60dollars a ton, and selling it at $180 per ton in the United Kingdom, and over #200 per ton in the United States. On this was piled the war export tax of $3.80 per ton.

On the other hand, the price of imported merchandise was not controlled. Cotton print which sold before the war for $2½ was now selling at $18, kakhi had risen from 60c to $3.20, cement from 40c to $1.60, and sheet iron from $1 to $20.

"The result of this situation is that to-day many of the farmers have been completely impoverished and paralysed economically."

In the next season, 1942/43, the Government followed the long neglected advice of the farmers and did away with agents and intermediaries used in the collecting of cocoa. Prices were again lowered but freight payments equalised by applying the price paid to inland depots and not simply to the sea-side ports. Finally, the United States lifted its ban on shipments, the cocoa held over from the last season, as well as the current crop, was sold at high prices, and the profit amounted to over $8,000,000. (£ 3,676,253)

The war difficulties now over, further destroying of crops was unnecessary and the Colonial Government promised that the prices paid to the cocoa farmers for 1944/45 and 1945/46 would be increased 70% over the prices of the first four years of control, that is to $100 per ton.

The new Labour Government outlined their plan for the future. This plan proposed that, beginning with the 1945/46 cocoa season, the Government would continue its control of the cocoa crop and of the other important crops of British West Africa. This contro was to be exercised on the Gold Coast through organisations having an official majority appointed by the Colonial Government, and including Africans and representatives of business interests. It was promised that , eventually, "representatives for the producer will consititute the majority in the proposed organisation." In Nigeria, the Government was to be in control, but there was to be an Advisory Committee with representatives of the farmers and traders. Especially, it was emphasised, that the Co-Operative Movement was to be developed and through that, direct representation of the farmers increased.

Immediately the farmers protested. They said:

"It is abundantly clear that, with the approval of the Imperial Government, the West African Produce Control Board was put in a priviliged position where it is now exercising a virtual monopoly over all agricultural produce in British West Africa. This official monopoly, which was specifically denounned by the Nowell Commission, could be tolerated by the Africans to some extent only as a war measure - as both the Imperial and local Governments have repeatedly made the farmers understan But the Imperial Government has now suggested the continuance of the war-time control schem as a future policy for the post-war period."

81-7-18

First they protested against the lack of any real representation on the Control Board. The "Africans" appointed to the Board would be the Chiefs, who, by recent legislation, are Government officials, paid by the Colonial Governments and under their control. They do not and cannot represent the Farmers. They declared that the so-called Co-Operative Movement in West Africa was not co-operative in the British sense of th term. Instead of being democratic organisations, run by the producers and consumers, they were supervised by the Government department of Agriculture, and were under strict Government supervision. The so-called official Co-Operatives handled

They could do nothing that the Government did not oversee and permit. This is flagrant abuse of the elementary principles of co-operation. The so-called off: Co-Operatives handle only 3% of the crop, while the farmers who handle 97% of th crop have their own collective organisations, which are unrecognised by the Gover

The farmers protested against the proposal to continue to recognise the mono of the present cocoa firms. The Government first arranged that the purchase and export of cocoa should be shared by firms already in the business, in proportion to the amount of business that they had previousely been carrying on. Some small shi were admitted in the first year, and in the second year the quota of the Government Co-Operatives was increased. But new entrants into the business were barred.

The farmers protested: "The Africans view with growing apprehension the action of the local Governments, by which the entire merchant trade of West Africa had been placed exclusively in the charge of certain particular firms. Such an action is always a measure of restraint of legitimate trade, and the local Governments should be expected to discountenance, instead of encouraging and sponsoring, this evil practic

The farmers were especially apprehensive concerning the future of the cocoa marke "The position of the international cocoa market in the future seems to show a tendency towards concentration of the buying interests so that the circle of potential cocoa buyers would probably be narrowed to a very small number, say four big manufacturers in the United States, two existing, and perhaps one extra in this country, one huge buyer on the continent of Europe - the Federated Soviet Buying Commission - which would probably cover the requirements of most European countries (as predicted long ago by Field Marshal Smuts) etc. etc. Such huge and important buyers could be easily dealt with by the Farmers Committee of West Africa Limited, eventually under Government supervision, without the so-called "other interests" mentioned in the Report, viz. traders, shippers etc., for the simple reason that in the light of the coming economic and political relations the necessity for the continuation of their services, at least in the cocoa trade, is evidently disappearing."

These farmers, who are the majority of the population of the Gold Coast and Nigeria, and certainly the bulk of the cocoa growers in Nigeria, are not mentioned at all, except that they would be obliged to submit themselves to the proposed Government Selling Organisation. Such discrimination in favour of Co-Operative Societies which are

of no economic importance, for the Gold Coast and Nigeria cocoa industry, is entirely incomprehensible. Seeing that the non-co-operative cocoa producers were almost entirely for the West African Cocoa delivered so far at self-sacrificing prices to the Cocoa Control, and that furthermore, they are the majority of the population of West Africa and, as such, have been helping the Empire's war effort in every way possible, such as man-power, money contributions, augmented deliveries, etc., the discrimination in favour of the Co-Operative Societies against the non-co-operative producers is entirely unjustifiable.

But the farmers protested especially concerning the money which represents the profit on Government control of West African cocoa since 1939, this amounts at present to $15,00,000, and may amount to 20/25,000,000 when the results of the season of 1943/44 are known. The British Government has treated the question of these profits rather queerly; at first, it talked of operating "with the British tax-payers money". This, of course, was not true and could never have been true, except in the contingency of loss in the operation. It then proceeded to treat the surplus as funds belonging to the British Government, promising, however, that Parliament would appropriate a similar sum "to be returned to the cocoa producers, or used for their benefit". When the Labour Government came in, this plan was expanded into using the money partly for research and partly as a revolving fund to finance price fluctuations in the cocoa industry.* Thus the farmers, and not the traders and investors, are going to be asked to bear the cost of research and the furnishing of finance capital, an extraordinary proposal.

46-7-20

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* the profits made 1939/43, now amounting to £3,676.253, and now added to the profits of the 1943/44 season, which will be substantial, will be used as the finance capital of this cocoa scheme; since these profits cannot be returned to each producer because there are so many producers and no detailed records. A Research staff will be set up' for which £1,250,000 will be allocated. This capital sum may eventually be returned and become a part of the capital of the marketing organisation.

Against this the cocoa farmers protested bitterly:

"We earnestly point out that hhis money does not belong in any way either to the British Government, or the local Governments of the Gold Coast and Nigeria. It belongs to the cocoa farmers, and they are the only people who have a right to the ultimate disposal of the outstanding credit; The cocoa industry in both countries is the result of the initiative and labour of the Africans themselves, and there is no evidence on record that the local Governments had ever assisted or subsidised the developement of the cocoa industry in British West Africa."

The funds for this scientific undertaking should either come from the Imperial funds or provision should be made for such sums as are needed in the annual estimates. This has been the practice hitherto, and the research should not be undertaken at the expense of the cocoa producers, who are already impoverished and over-taxed, simply because they have realised some profit on their own labour under the strenuous circumstances of war-time economy.

Research institutes in both the Gold Coast and Nigeria have not been able to save the cocoa industry from deterioration. The only remedy is, and will be, a better price for the producer, to enable him to keep pace with the rising cost of labour, otherwise more farms will be neglected, which means a further spread of the swollen shoot menace.

The Governments of the Gold Coast and Nigeria have persistently refused to give any sympathetic consideration to the legitimate demands of the producers - a state of affairs which, we earnestly remark, has considerably shaken whatever confidence the farmers have in the local Governments of British West Africa.

These deplorable conditions have been tolerated by the African producers because of their desire to win the war. But now the war is over, the farmers do not consider the existence of the West African Produce Control Board as necessary any longer, and are in no way inclined to subject themselves to the continuance of the hardships and unfair treatment which the Board had imposed upon the farmers while the war was still in progress.

It is a breach of faith to continue to operate these various oppressive economic devices which were introduced under disguise as war measures, since the African producers aquiesced in them, but not without organised protests, only after the local Governments

had given repeated assurances that the new measures would be removed as soon as hostilities ceased.

The Farmers Committee of British West Africa Limited would be quite fit to manage the whole affair of the proposed Centralized Sales in all its aspects. However if it is insisted upon, they would be agreeable to accept eventually Government supervision. They have their plans to meet every emergency and, in this connection, they are of the opinion that first of all a special international Cocoa Council should be formed, which would consist of representatives of cocoa producers and consumers all ove the world. They furthermore consider that such a Council would greatly simplify the task of Centralized Sales of the West African cocoa, and that it would also safeguard West Africa's future in the world cocoa trade.

West Africa is especially sensitive on this matter of research. They know quite well that the land needs guidance and knowledge of modern technique. But it often happens that instead of this being imparted to the Africans, it is held as the monopoly of Englishmen sent out to the Colonial Service. This is one of the great rewards of Imperialism. It opens a field to vast number of young Englishmen who find well paid service in the Colonies, with special caste privileges, high salaries, large allowances, long vacations, and a liberal pension system. Whether they are specially trained or not, they do not impart their knowledge willingly to the natives, nor are they permitted to do so by the regulations. On the other hand, they themselves often lack the special and local knowledge which the native has. There is an apposite story from Sierra Leone; the large and valuable fish crop was not being properly preserved; the Government took the matter in charge and brought highly-paid experts from England. They bought special ships with refrigerating apparatus and other machinery. At the end of the year, the budget showed an expenditure of £10,000 and an income of £300. Protest and inquiry brought the explanation that while the experts knew what to do with the fish after they were caught, they did not know where to find them.

46-7-22

At the Pan-African Conference, recently held in Manchester, a Committee representing the West African Cocoa Farmers was present. They brought with them a petition to the Colonial Office. The chairman who explained it had a face like the

(PREVIOUS PAGE MISSING)

Britain who might bring economic justice to bear on these pressing problems, and thus prevent the occurrence of a tragic economic upheaval, the consequences of which, unfortunately, might effect the peaceful life of innocent people in all parts of the world and not only in West Africa and Britain."

If this is not statesmanship, which eventually must be listened to, I am greatly mistaken. It seems to me to point a path towards the emancipation of the world's colonial populations and the beginning, among the majority of the people of the world, for which we have recently fought two devestating world wars, without yet seeing the light.

LC-1-97

1879

1891 — 80 LBS.

1895 — 77 000 T

1932 — 720000 T — $72 MIL

$200 MIL

GOLD COAST

92-6 — 12

1917-21 — 118000

1732-6 — 256000

	Gain	Loss
39 —		$800,000
40 —	$8,000,000	
41 —		1,200,000
42 —	$8,600,000	
GAIN —	15,000,000	
43	10	

$25,000,000

4-7-23

(1

COCOA CONSUMPTION

1895 - 77000 T (73% SA+WS)
1926 - 455,000 T
1936 - 693,000
NOW 700,000-T
U.S. 300000-T.
G+B 100,000-T.

~~FARMER~~-
GOLD COAST
TETTEH QUARSIE - 1879

1891 - 80 LBS
1931-6 - 250000 T — 42%
W.A. — 66%

Farms 2½ A. — #20 per Person

PRICE
'27 — #188 per Ton
33 — 41
35 — 60

Paid farmers — #15,000,000

CONSUMERS
Pay #500,000,000

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3 ~~¢~~ cents of each dollar

Market Changes #30

Gambling — 1937 — U.S. Cons = 232000 T
" Sold = 779000

Tax — Export
#4.38 + ~~3~~ 3.75 = #8.35 a T.

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13 BUYERS. — ROYAL NIGER
LEVER
CADBURY - FRY
LYONS

BUYING AGREEMENT — 1937
8 months BOYCOTT
500000 T. vs. 250000 T.

COMMISSION — TRUCE - 1938

GOVERNMENT

WAR. — COOPERATION

46-7-25

39 — LOSS - $800 800

40 — GAIN - $8,100,000

41 — LOSS - $1 200,000

42 — GAIN - 8,600,000

Total GAIN $14,700 00
10 00000

43-44

25,000,000

SHOULD THE NEGRO RETURN TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY?

W. E. B. Du BOIS c 1946

In the days of my youth---say from 1890 to 1910-- a subject such as this, would have been simply inexplicable to Americans of any color; Negroes of that day did not return to the republican party: They never left it. The very suggestion of leaving savored of sacrilege. I remember well, when in 1912, following the lead of Bishop Alexander Walters of the African Zion Church I proposed that in that election Negro voters should support Woodrow Wilson. We were met not so much by argument as by shocked astonishment that any Negro American in his right mind, could so far forget the party of Abraham Lincoln as ever to dream of supporting the party that drove this land into Civil War by defending human slavery.

36-7-1

It was indeed a curious series of events that induced us to advocate so radical a step. From enfranchisement in 1868 to the inauguration of Theodore Roosevelt, the Republican party had owned the Negro voter, body and soul, as Frederick Douglass himself said, "The Republican Party is the Ship, all elese is the Sea." Our consternation at Cleveland's election in ~~1880~~ 1884 and his re-election in 1892 was only partially allayed by his following northern business rather than Southern Bourbons and by appointments like that of William Trotter as Recorder of Deeds.

The Republicans still depended on Negro Delegates to the National Nominating Conventions, over one ~~xx~~ of which ~~xx~~ John R. Lynch of Mississippi ~~xxxx~~ had presided. Few Democrats had dared oppose Negro disfranchisement or even publicily to decry lynching. Then Theodore Rooveselt came to power, appointed Crum and had Booker Washington to Lunch. The Democrats raged and Roosevelt began to retreat before the resurgent South while his Successor Taft promised

no appoints which the White South did not approve.

The Negroes turned against Taft, and when Teddy Roosevelt also turned and accepted leadership of the Bull Moose Progressives, intelligent Negroes prepared to follow him out of the republican party into a Third Party Movement. With NAACP leaders I wrote a proposed plank appealing to Negro support, and sent it to that revival meeting in Chicago. But Teddy Roosevelt whould have none of it. He flatly repudiated my plank, Negro delegates and Negro support, pinning his hope of election on a Progressive White South as represented by Parker of Louisiana. Slapped thus on both cheeks we Negro Progressives turned to Woodrow Wilson: A man of letters, Southerner, but as we hoped, reconstructed: And he to our satisfaction openly promised us "Justice and not mere grudging Justice."

36-7-2

In the ensuing campaign, more Negroes voted the democr tic ticket than ever before in history. The total number was not large and was confined to the few Northern states where Negroes at that time formed an appreciable number of voters. Undoubltedly they were infulential in certain pivotal states. At any rate Wilson ~~x~~ was elected. Then came the pay-off. The South had for the first time since the Civil War, a Southerner as President: A man who from birth regarded race segregation as so normal as never to have considered it seriously. Southerners with planned collusion intorduced a mass of anti-Negro legislation both in congress and in state legislatures. The largest number of such bills ever before attempted sought to fasten color caste on the nation. North and west came forth with bills to prohibit race intermarriage, to segregate Negroes in residence, schools and travel. The recent incorporation of the NAACP and its political and anti-lynching activity and court actions, re-enforced this bitter animosity. Wilson and liberal democrats, taken by sur-

prise, side-tracked most of the proposed national legislation, but yielded in segregating federal employees in Washington and in accepting residential segregation in many states and cities. Only by most desperate appeals was wilson finally induced to denounce race riots and lynching. Naturally in the election of 1916 Negroes returned in large numbers to the republican party although Hughes was reluctant to make them specific promises. Due largely to his anti-war stand wilson was re-elected by narrow margin, almost immediately we went into the First World War.

36-7-3

The whole status of Negroes assumed a new aspect:

(1). Negroes migrated North by hundreds of thousands to fill the gap made by suspended immigration of foreign labor, and thus began to compete with Northern labor and also to increase their own political power.

(2). After a moment of hesitation, Negroes became a substantial part of the armed forces of the nation, and their continued loyalty was a matter of grave concern. A spy scare developed and frantic witch-hunting.

(3). The whole color caste system was put on trial in the draft and a democratic administration had reluctantly to face it. It was after desperate resistance and wild appeal to phony intelligence tests compelled to send Negro Divisions to the front as fighters and to commission 700 Negro officers.

(4). The trade unions after riot and opposition began to lower the color line and admit Negroes.

(5). The NAACP increased its systematic and intelligent campaign to eliminate color caste and put political parties on record. In 1920 and 1924 Harding and Coolidge held most of the Negro vote because of war reaction, the blundering foreign policy of the

Democrats and the revival of the K.K.K. Taking advantage of this --Republicans disfranchised Southern Negro delegates in the councils of the party, and were so successful that Hoover thought he could ignore the Negro after he had carried a part of the Solid South on the anti-Catholic issue. The crash of 1929 sent him and his philosophy headlong and the reign of Roosevelt began.

Roosevelt won the Negro vote not simply as has been widely charged by alms-giving, poverty-stricken and unemployed Negroes certainly voted for the hand that fed them in 1932 and 1936. But Roosevelt was not simply a Santa Claus. He was a statesman: He recognized for the first time in American history that Negroes were Americans and not simply problems: He saw the need of the Negro for a decent wage: for necessary housing: for relief when unemployed; hw saw his suitability for public work projects: he finally dared a national directive against ~~first~~ color discrimination in Federal employment: He defended participation in collective bargaining. He broke down the color line in officer training and commissioned 2,000 Negro officers, and sent mixed fighting units to the front. Without fanfare, he received Negroes socially when their position or rank warranted it and entertained black foreign diplomats at state dinners. He did this, not as an exceptional effort, but by insisting that Negroes in law and administration be treated as human beings, and that t is was just as advantageous for white as for black Americans.

More than this, Roosevelt carried this program through with the aid of the Solid South and union labor --an astonighing feat. The Southern South was the most rectionary political group in the nation. From time to time it rebelled: it put every conceivable sort of pressure on Roosevelt. From time to time he yielded--sometimes laughingly, in matters too petty to notice: as when he delayed the first public housingproject for Balck Atlanta so as to let the later

white project open first, and thus prove their "race superiority." In many more important matters he compromised to allay stupid prejudice: But he put pressure on labor unions to repudiate color discrimination and on the whole, and to an extent never before attempted he treated Negroes as men and they flocked to his support.

36.7-5

But today he is dead and his party has begun to disintegrate into warring factions. The reactionary Bourbon South has formed an frequesnt alliance with certain republicans and Mr. Taft, loyal son of his Father, has lately been South to assure the Southerners of the willingness of his party to cooperate. Its record in the last and present congress proves this. There is still a liberal South, as the clean record of Claude Pepper and the fair record of Hill of Alabama show. Four other Southern Senators and ten representatives voted right on the Poll tax and FEPC; but fully three-fourths of the Southern democrats in Senate and House have deserted the Roosevelt program on the Negro and are fellow-travelers with Bilbo, Rankin of Mississippi, Pappy O'Daniel of Texas, Cox of Georgia and Smith of Virginia.

Northern Democrats today stand hesitating etween the necessity of holding the Southern vote if they want to win, and a continued progressive program toward Negroes and labor. With Truman, they have found themselves trying at once to hold the South and the Negro vote without being able to carry the South with them in any Negro program. Thus a majority of the democratic senators and republicans voted so that the South smashed the F.E.P.C, held on th the poll tax, bitterly attacked labor, seized federal employment offices and refused to raise minimum wage. Only in a couple of major appointments did the Roosevelt policy survive.

The South did this of course by the aid of republicans, as well as Northern democrats. The repbulican party today is, as in the day

of Hanna and McKinley, preeminently the party which represents the Large corporations and big business. It opposes labor unions as far as it dares and it is back of the capitalists now investing huge sums in Southern industry. The reactionary wing of these republicans has openly allied itself with the South--seven republican senators and 31 representatives voting against poll tax abolition and the FEPC The liberal Northern republicans while avoiding Southern dictation are not prepared to go far with the Negro: Like Dewey of New York they put through an FEPC for the state, but only after delay and postponement, and hard pressure from m nority groups.

36-7-6

The progressives who theoretically might here step into the breach and lead a third party movement, are divided in two by professed fear of the communists, but in reality they are confused because so many of the objects of the communists must logically be their own objects: Like abolition of poverty: control of corporate wealth: more equitable distribution of income: and Planned industrial economy, with Communists they must oppose the myth of a self-regulating world market or even national market; they must fight high finance and restoration of the gold standard, and refuse to regard land or labor as commudities.

But wehn Progressives find themselves st nding on the same platform with Communists in these matters, many of them incontinently desert their guns for fear that if they agree with Communists, in any thing they will be accused of accepting the complete Communist Dogma. No such fear restrains them when they are found to be fellow-travellors with republicans in support of the United Nations but not in war with Russia, or with Democrats in ~~raf~~ relief, but not in inciting Civil War in Poland or Greece.

Thus the progressive and liberal sentiment in this Nation, which might easily have been Marshalled behind a man like Henry Wallace has

been deliberately led to neutralize itself and dissipate its time and energy in internal strife and witch-hunting, leaving the field open to small town Missouri politicians and fascist-minded industrialists. But the tragedy does not end there: even if the liberal elements of the nation were intelligently united, a third party could not win, as all students of national politics should know. The exaggerated political power of the South precludes ~~the~~ this, and this power is not perpetuated by sectional hate nor Civil War memories, but by present urge to economic power and private profit. It is at bottom not a political but an economic phenomenon.

36-7-7

Let us examine the facts: If we take the census of 1940, and the vote cast in 1946 for congressmen, we have a fair picture of how democracy is working in America. The picture is not accurate because the census figures are 6 years earlier than the vote; but this fact reduces rather than exaggerates the discrepancies.

The total voting population of the United States (i.e. citizens 21 years of age and over in 1940) was 80 million; of this number, 43% or 34½ million voted in 1946. This percent varied: in Minnesota 73% voted; in Illinois 64%; in New York 50.4%, in Kansas 48%. But in the South, only 17 % voted. Or to put it another way in the South over 83% of the potential voting population was disfranchised in 1946; either deliberately or by physical disability, illiteracy, poll tax non-payment, or carelessness! Is this democracy? Is that what we are exporting to Greece, Poland , or Turkey?

The voting record of the nation as a whole is bad: But that of the South is disgraceful and threatining.

(Charts)

In ~~mrk~~ other words, while we are trying to carry on the government of the United States by democratic methods, we are not succeeding because of the premium which we put on the disfranchisement of voters, especially in the South. Voters allow themselves to be disfranchised all over the land, in the West and North. But in the South, the disfranchisement is in the main deliberate and based on the planned disfranchisement of the Negro and poor white. Yet on the political power of this disfranchised vote, the rulers of the nation are chosen and the policy determined.

36-7-8

Who is interested in this disfranchisement, and who gains power by it? It must be remembered that the characteristic of our age is the growth of industry, especially in processing, manufacturing and transport. The control of this industrail organization is increasing in the hands of huge corporations, and even international cartels. In these industries the control was formerly in the hands of one man or a few parteners, who owned materials, machines and product, and hired labor. The laborers as such had no vioce in the object or conduct of the business and but small voice in in wages paid or conditions of work. The rise of Democracy in the 19th century, gave the worker some power in choosing officials of government, who exercised some control over industry, but secured little voice in the conduct of industry, until the so-called labor movement arose about the middle of the century. The Labor movement meant the intrusion of Democratic methods into the conduct of industry and was bitterly fought but this movement has spread until today it is widely recognized that the workers have at least the right to bargain with the owners as to wages and conditions of work, and to strike if they are dissatisfied. It was the great service of Franklin Roosevelt to bring the government of the United States into wide acceptance of this industrial democracy.

For this he incurred the bitterest opposition particularly from the forces of monopoly who opposed labor organization and collective bargaining, and who are still fighting.

Let all men remember today that the ~~fi~~ fiercest and most successful fight against democracy in industry is centering in the South; in just that region where ~~mediae~~ mediaeval caste conditions based mainly on color and partly on poverty and ignorance are more prevalent and most successful. And just because the labor is so completely deprived of political and industrial power in the South, investors and monopolists are today being attracted there in greater number and more intensive organization than anywhere else in the United States.

36-7-9

Climate attracts industry to the South , but not simply climate. There is sunshine, outdoor life, the ease of home-gardening; the smaller need of clothes or shoes; but more import nt than these to industry is the fact that the laborer on this account can live on less, laborers have been so used to lower standards that they reluctantly demand more. This leads to early marriage, a large birth-rate and fear for security for old age. There is thus in the South a reservoir of labor, more laborers than jobs and competing groups eager for the jobs. Industry encourages the culture-patterns which make then hate and fear each other. Company towns arise with control over education and religion. Machines like the cotton picker displace thousands and increase the demandfor jobs at any wages, and these laborers for the most part have few unions and cast few votes, for what is there to vote about?

Dominant Characteristics of the South's labor force as summarized by the United States Government economists are:

1. Greatest potential rate of labor force growth in nation.

2. Relatively large proportion of non-white workers.

3. Predominance of rural workers

4. Greater working-year-span: Southern ~~xxx~~ workmen take jobs earlier in life, retire later. (6-60)

5. Relatively fewer women in industrial empolyment.

36-7-10

Specifically, Business Week, reports that Southern industrialization has increased faster than the national average. In 1880 the South had less than 8% of total national manufacturing population: in 1939 it had 17.2% of total or 1,362,027 manufacturing wage earners.

Texas, for instance, bids fair to become a center of the chemical industry. It has petroleum, natural Gas, potash, sulphur, limestone, salt, cotton and ~~xxxx~~ pulp timber in large quantities. Thus it has all the materials for exploiting the latest

undated

Steps Toward a Science of How Men Act

1. The only direct knowledge we have of what is true in this world is knowledge of our own emotions or feelings. In fact before the Cartesian "I think, therefore, I am", should stand "I feel, therefore, I am".

2. Feeling is the primary and the only direct knowledge of Truth which mankind has. Pleasant feelings are what we call pleasure or joy, and unpleasant ones what we call pain. We also know that we think about our emotions; but we cannot be certain of the relation of Thought and Emotion: are they one or separate? In other words, how far is thinking part of emotion or how far is it an aura accompanying it? Or is it a force that plans and guides? As our feelings change; as pleasure is succeeded by pain or pain by pleasure, there usually comes a sense of Effort, of deliberate application of force to change things.

38-13-93

3. But here we have no such direct knowledge as we have in feeling. If thinking is a sort of emotion, it is a differentiated sort, and all we can say is that this thinking seems to be done by an entity which we call the Self; and it seems to have some control of force. But this is assumption, not direct knowledge.

4. We have then one source of direct knowledge: feeling, accompanied often by thought and a sense of effort to change feelings and guide action; and this action has to do with our own bodies, the thoughts of others and the outside world.

But what is this Self and its Body? and what are other selves and what is the Outside World? Of all these things again, we have no direct knowledge. We have usually a sense that our thoughts belong to us, to an Ego, which seems to us unified and eternal; but naturally we cannot know it, except indirectly through our feeling. We attribute our thinking to it. But Thought after all can have no provable unity or single source.

We assume quite naturally that as we feel and think and act so other people do the same the world over and have for long ages of time. And that they act in an Outside World.

5. Yet of this outer world; of everything except our own emotions there is and probably never can be any direct knowledge. Everything concerning that outer world must be assumption upon our part. But it is natural assumption and for the most part makes our feelings and thoughts seem reasonable: the existence of other people is a perfectly natural assumption, but it cannot be directly perceived; it must be inferred from our emotions and thoughts.

No sooner than one realizes this, than there comes the Shadow of Doubt; if we cannot know, if we cannot prove even an outer world, how can we be sure of anything? Are we not left helpless wanderers in an unknown world of black Fear and Frustfation.

6. No. What cannot be proven may yet exist; may be real and usable and capable of being known at least in part and sufficiently for our education and progress. We assume the existence of an outer world. We know, of course, that in this assumption and other assumptions about people and things there are contradictions which we cannot resolve: What is the Self? How can there be a difference between selves? What is the real substance of this outer world? and so on to endless puzzling questions.

38-13-94

Nevertheless what we do in practice is to assume that these conceptions are true and this assumption is the Hypothesis upon which we base all knowledge and all science. In so far as the Hypothesis of what is true works, it is what we call True; if it does not work in any particular we have got to change our concept in accordance with the new found facts.

7. The doubt, the paradox of the possibility of knowledge beyond our own feeling and thought, remains forever. Everything may be fanastic mirage, beyond what we now feel. But the very statement of this is contradictory, since I must assume that you exist; and whatever your

emotion is, you assume that I also feel; and our assumptions in the main work, they click, they correspond with our thinking. It is possible to go so far in this search for reality that language that tool of thought, fails us; its words lose and shift meaning and we fail in logic and precision.

8. Here the great scientific tool of the Hypothesis is discovered; we assume that certain things are true; we act as though this assumption is Truth. The ensuing facts of our experience arrange themselves in accord with our assumption. Therefore our assumption is True; or the facts agree except in certain particulars; we rearrange our assumptions to fit the new experience or more fully to explain the old. The new Hypothesis becomes accepted Truth. But all Truth, save our own feeling, we hold tentatively and watchfully, ready to change our conception, once a new explanation or phenomena fits the facts more perfectly.

To illustrate this abstract statement: we look out from our window and see a flat world with curving dome of heaven; ergo, the world is flat and the sky bends above it. That is obvious truth. But on a voyage to Europe, we see an approaching ship "rise" from the ocean; we descry its smoke, then its funnels, then its hull; manifestly the earth curves too; it is not flat. The ship is coming up over a vast curving surface. We alter our concept of the shape of the Earth. It is not flat. Often we do not surrender our conception of what is true. We refuse to face the newly discovered facts. We declare that they are false and we will not allow persons to talk about them or advocate them. Why do we do this? It is because of fear. We fear the ghosts of our fathers. These fathers said this and we always follow what they said. What they said must be true - we dare not alter it, even if we know it is false. Or again we fear for the future of our children. We are asked by these children to tell them what is true; can we dare tell them that we do not know? That we think that this or that is true, but that is possible that we are

38-13-95

misled? That we can only be certain as we continue to search for facts and as those facts confirm what we have called the truth?

Soon, because of this fear and care for our children, the system of education becomes dogma it becomes absolute assertion of perfect knowlege, of eternal truth. This is of course plain contradiction of the facts. Yet we enforce our assertion by sanctions: we burn and kill. We ostracize and condemn. We almost appear at times to be afraid of the Truth. Yet slowly but surely, the scientific spirit prevails. And it prevails particularly regard to the outer world. Because of our discovery of Law, in the outer world, in our search for facts; tremendous and compelling law, like the law of gravitation; the laws of the combination of chemical elements; laws of force and reaction in physics. To study particularly in the outher world, of its phenomena, and the rhythm of its changes, we have ventured to turn because of the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century.

38-13-96

Steps toward ~~of~~ Science ? How man acts

1. Direct knowledge
2. The surrounding world
3. The construction ? doubt.
4. measurement + law
5. The working hypothesis
6. Fear of truth

31-2-12

A – From Curiosity & Science

B. " Natural Science & Social Research

C " S. Research & Social Progress

D " Ethics & Art

31 - 2 - 11

PROLEGOMENA TO A SCIENCE OF HUMAN ACTION

(Semantics)

I Knowing and being certain of what we know

2. The illogic of doubt

3. Measuring facts

4. The working hypothesis

5. The assumed truth

6. Welcoming error and rearrangig hypotheses atom

7. The present field of truth

8. The hypothesi of natural law

9. The limits of chance Science & Sociology

IO. The assumption of creative force art

II. Measurments of human action

I2 The yearning for certainty and help (Dogma & God.)

I3 The need of time Art & Science (immortality & Children)

31-2-9

X ~~ACT~~ FEELING AS TRUTH — ART as REALIZATION

Substance of things hoped
The Unforgivable Sin
Belief in God

The rational life
Prayer & The Indispensable Bread
Free will
Force - in evolution - Fabeh
in some things = gods
in one creator = God
in certain acts of Personal Power { Prayer, Right, Education, Ideals — Religion — Art

An island of Workable Hypothesis in a vast sea of uncertainty
As a System — No god has helped the world 1900 - 1946
one hope — Faith & work until 5000 AD

1947

THE PROBLEMS OF THE HIGH SCHOOL AND THE JUNIOR COLLEGE

By
W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

I know of no more difficult problem than that which the High School and Junior College face. Whether it is North or South and whether it has to do with white or black students.

The raw material which comes to such institution is a mass of human beings who are passing through a critical time in their lives; in their physical lives, in their mental training, in their spiritual outlook. In some countries, Germany particularly before the Two World Wars, the student at this time of his education was put in what was called the "Gymnasium." This was a course of study which covered the last two years of the High School and the first tow years of college. During that time he was under strict and careful discipline. His whole life in school or out was under the eye and control of his teachers and the requirements were rigorous; the course difficult; after that when he went into what was called the University, he was given full freedom of choice with few rules as to conduct or study. It was assumed that by that time he was a full grown human being able to guide himself.

35-1-110

We have not yet come to that concentration of study and method of teaching in the United States. Perhaps we never will. But we must look with care upon the kind of student who comes into the high school and junior college. In the first place, we are living in a day when family controls are weakened. When the influence which the parents have over their children is far less than in former generations, so that the experience of the past is handed on with more difficulty. There are broken families; there is the peculiar phenomena of a rising group: That is, of the family whose children are trying to occupy a higher social position than their parents occupied. This means that they despise not only the disadvantages which their parents had, but also the experience and wisdom which their parents accumulated. They make of their own accord experiments, ventures, which the whole history of mank nd show have been dangerous and will continue to be dangerous. For instance:

The drinking of alcohol is dangerous to the yound and one of the causes of the death 60,000 persons a year from Tuberculosis. Because of this danger the German High School student was not permitted to drink. Sleep is absolutely essential to the young. In high school I went to bed at ten and arose at seven. In college no ball or party lasted after midnight. Today among us boys and girls drink and seldom go to bed before midnight.

First comes the problem of what students should study. WhenI was in high school there was a choice between two courses: one course led to college; the other course was for those who must go to work. The matter of going to college was settled very largely, although not entirely, by the financial position of the parents. This made the choice of studies comparatively simple. If one went to college, one must study latin, greek and mathematics with a little english and science. If he was not going to college, the latin and greek were left out.

Today the curriculum in both high schools and colleges is more flexible. This is supposed to give students wider choice according to their wishes and the objects for which they are studying. But as a matter of fact, it makes the choosing of courses for students in high school and college exceedingly complicated. First of all, and especially among us, it is only a few of the parents who are capable of making the choice for the student. And so far as the student himself is concerned, in nine cases out of ten he has not the slightest idea of what the different courses mean and where they will land him and what kind of education they will give him. We should therefore, first put before him a general idea of what education can and must do, and this is what I want to bring to your attention now.

There face the young student, first and foremost, two problems: that of knowing

what the world is; and secondly that of earning a living. These are not the same thing and we must not pretend that they are: A man may know a great deal and not be able to earn a living; he may earn a good living and be ignorant. What we want is both knowledge and ability to earn a living and this is difficult to teach in one school. There is no question but that if civilization continues and if we as American Negroes are going to raise ourselves so as to take part in it, we must know what the world is. How is it made? What are the laws of its development? In order to know these things, the student must first of all, be able to read and write well and for a large number of students in college this is not a afct because of their poor elementary training.

Knowing how to read and write the student must learn the history of the world and of the various countries which compose it; He must know what men have thought of the world what they have done. This he learns through literature of all sorts: Essays, bibgraphys, letter, plays and novels. He must study what is in general, called science: that is, the systematic knowledge which we have of the forces in this world and how they develop under various laws; like that of gravity, of atomic weights, and of geological ages.

35-1-111

In order to follow straight reasoning, he must know mathematics: How to add, substract and divide; how to use symbols as in algebra, how to compare line and direction as in geometry; and how to think in abstract conceptions of quantity, as in higher mathmatics. The path thus laid out is long. A man could spend not only the whole of his life but many lives trying to master the immense accumulation of knowledge which today is the possession of the world. This only a few can attempt. But something of the knowledge of the world, everybody who lives in it successfully, must have.

Facing this is the problem of earning a living. If men will live they must work. There can be no life without effort, and what we call "Earning a living" is learning what efforts best and most economically bring us food, clothing and shelter. Moreover, men do not work separately and alone each for his own living. They strive together in groups and this mutual cooperation must be carefully and continuously learned.

The work of the world is exceedingly complicated. Some parts of it require long training and experience. Here again a man might spend his whole life in mastering certain intricate trades and problems of technique in engineering. Educating a child calls for sacrifice on the part of parents; or for his own hard exertions. He seeks to prepare himself for earning a better living than his father earned. So that the matter of earning a living is important. Beyond that there is the whole question of attitude toward work whether work is merely a method of earning a living or whether in itself, it is of importance.

Beyond all that, is the fact that this young man or young woman is a citizen of a state and has certain duties andprivileges inherentto that status of citizenship. There has been an attempt in the past to try to make it appear as though all these objects: Knowing theworld, earning a living, taking the right attitude toward work and becoming a citizen--That all thiscould easily be achieved in one course of study taken by any person for a limited time. This is of course tragically untrue.

There are differences and wide differences in value andpurpose between different lines of academic work. First of all, foremost and more fundamental than others must come this matter of knowing. If we were living in an ideal world where there was plenty of time to prepare a young person for life, wewould spend a alarger part of the high school and college curriculum in teaching that knowledge of the world which we call science, that which we know as history and social studies; that which we class as art and literature. We would do this because it is fundamental that before we attempt to play our part in the world, we should know what the world is. We know quite well that the greatest difficulty with human beings today is their ignorance. Their ignorance of thephysical facts ans laws of life, of the natural history of the earth and in addition to that, of knowledge of what the world is today, what kind of people are in it, and what the past has been.

The past, especially is of importance because the number of people who are now dead is infinitely greater than those who are living. There is not a single problem of those living which has not been faced in some way by people long dead who have left record of what their experience was and what their efforts at living resulted in. If we could teach all this then we would start the young man in his career of lining with a rounded knowledge of what life is and what the world means.

After that would come the problem as to what part ~~of~~ he is going to take in the world in order, on the one hand, to earn a living and on the other hand, to develop himself as a human being so as to satisfy his aspirations and wishes.

35-1-112

This is not a perfect world. We cannot know all or do all. We must choose some part of the vast treasure of knowledge and try to do well some part of the world's work. Thus education like life must be a compromise and in choosing what you will know and what you will do, you need advice of the highest quality. The number of people who can spare the time while in school for knowledge of life is comparatively small. Therefore at the very beginning of a high school course a student is faced with a choice of taking a course of general knowledge including science, history, mathematics and literature; or of taking some particular courses which will help him to earn a living. If he takes the first sort of course, it does not mean that later he will not have to earn a living, but it dees mean that he will start at earning that living as a better educated man; as a man who knows somethign about the world and its laws; about the thought and experience of the vast majority of people who have lived and died.

If, on the other hand, he devotes his time in high school and college largely to vocational courses; it means that most of his time is going to be taken in learning the techniques of industry. They are important, some of them must be learned sometime. But if they compose the bulk of his school course, it means that the student isgoing into life essentially as an ignorant man; that he will not know the world in which he is going to work as a farmer, a carpenter, a cook or a typist. Farming, building, and preparing food and writing are of first class importance but they are not in themselves knowledge, as I have said, he is going into the world as an ignorant worker. Of course it may happen that after high school and college; after he has learned his trade he may, if he can and will--read, ~~if will~~ if he will listen to the lectures andto some of the information that comes on the radio; if he will travel and observe human beings, he can eventually learn much of that knowledge which he did not have a chance to accumulate in college. But sooner or later in the school or out that knowledge must be learned, if we are not to have the world's work attempted by people who are ignorant.

On the other hand, even if the student takes the course which leads to a broader knowledge of theworld, he can only do a small part of this in school. He will make a great mistake if he thinks his education is finished with commemcement either the high school commencement or the junior college or thecollege commencement. He may be able to read and write; he may have some small knowledge of the world and its laws gotten from thin text books, but in general his real mastery of knowledge of this world will still be lamentably small.

At any rate there must be no slurring over of the real decision that the student must make. No student can, at one and the same time, learn to earn a living and learn knowledge of the world. He has gotto make decision as to which object he is going to devote the major part of his high school and college course. Usually today we do not divide these two kinds of high school curricula absolutely . The course wich teaches science, mathematics, languages and literature has some vocational studies, and the vocational course of study teaches some knowledge of the world.

It is a mistake however to think that there can be a complete marger of these two lines of study which have different objects. If you are goingto sutudy science and literature, you cannot learn at the same time to be a carpenter; if you are going to learn how to cook, you will not have time to learn enough ~~xxxxxxx~~ physics to understand the Atom Bomb.

35-1-113

Usually the student even in vocational courses devotes some part of his time to this world knowledge. But the major part of his time has to be given to that part of knowledge which will enable him to earn a living. And that brings further problems. Sometimes a person can learn to earn a living in certain ways in the high school; he may be able to take carpentry or study the building trades. She may be able to study sewing and cooking. However, for the most part these so-called vocational courses are not and cannot be well or thoroughly given in a high school. They are more or less tentative. They try to give you an idea of the work involved rather than real knowledge.

The real knowledge of how a living is earned through a trade or a vocation, must eventually be learned in the trade itself which the person enters as an assistant or an apprentice. There again, the Germans developed the apprentice idea to a high degree. Their system of apprenticing young men in the electircal idusutry and many similar lines of work was czrerully thought-out; so that boys of twleve after learning to read, write and cipher entered the factory directly, were paid regularly and continued their study as apprentices to the trade, doing the actual work of the trade, but doing it under careful supervision and guidance and earning as they worked. Devoting sometime to general knowledge, there is something of that sort of development in the United States, but not very much, and very little among American Negroes in their training for life.

Unless therefore much care is exercised, the knowledge of the world which the student gets ins school is limited by his attempts to learn how to earn a living and the study of vocational work is poorly done because of the absence of tooiss and machines and limitations of time. Moreover there is apt to be great contradiction in methods, in the way in which the studies are carried out betseen these two

35-1-114

sorts of training. There is apt to be a certain difference of attitude. Sometimes the vocational student looks down upon those who are studying science and lieterature, with the more or less clearly conceived idea that they are not studying the real world in the way that counts; and more often on the other side there is the idea that those who are studying science; history, and art are a superior kind of person to those who are studying cooking and sewing and mechanics.

As a matter of fact as I have tried to point out, the things that these people are doing are quite different but both of them are of great importance. There is no logical reason, whoever, why men should seek to combine them in the same course. Each would be bettwr carried out if they were separately purusued and certainly it should be made clear to the students, and be clear in the teacher's mind the diffeertnt objects are which are in view. In one case the object is know ing what the world is in which we live; in the ot er case, knowing what a man can do in order to earn a w e in this world . In addition to this there comes at the very beginning of the student's life a mental confusion because of the lack of clearness as to the meaning of work and wage. People groe up assuming that work is for the wage earned and not for the service rendered. They think that the wages are an expression of the work.

In truth work and wage have nothing logically to do with each other. A person works because this is a world where a certain amount of work must be done by everyone, otherwise we will not have enough to eat and drink; we will not be clot ed and sheltered and protected. The full result of the work is divided among the people of the world, but it is not and cannot be divided according to what each person does. People do not work individually and separately and the results of work belong to no one man. It is not today as it might have been ten thousand years ago when the individual himself prepared and raised his own food and made his clothes and built his own house.

Even that situation is theoretical. Probably there never was a x time when any considerable number of prople worked in that way. They worked together for a common cause and received out of the result of the work, what they needed or what the group thought they ought to have. The object of work is production and service and this is accomplished if the work is well done, if it serves its ultimate object. On the other hand, what the man receives as a wage, is a social gift; it is what he himself the group and the world think he ought to enjoy for his own survival, to satisfy his own wants. Some connection, there must be, of course, between work and wage, but no absolute mechanical connection. The attitude toward work then is not simply an attitude toward income. It is or should be an attitude toward accomplishment; an attitude toward the spiritual return which one gets through exercise of his knowledge and ability; of his muscular strength and mental genius. On the other hand, it happens and too often, that although a man does excellent work, the income which he gets is small and inadequate for his support. But there again you have an ethical and social problem, which is not in itself a problem of work, but a problem of human attitudes; of people's regard for each other.

35-1-145

Then too in this knowledge of the world which we must have, whether we get it in school or afterwards, we have got to have more than simple knowledge; we have got to go further than that. Every human being by the time he is fifty, ought to be a scholar; not in all lines but in some line of knowledge he ought to have complete and far-reaching understanding: A knowledge of such kind that he becomes, in that particular field, an authority. And he is interested in it because of the attraction which it has for him and the satisfaction which knowledge gives him. This is the realm of scholarship and art.

Beyond this comes the duty of men and women as citizens. A citizen is more or less, a part of an intricate system of control which begins with the family, extands to various organizations like the c urch, the lodge, the club and then further into the government: the ward, the city, the county, the state, the United States.

As American Negroes we have been handicapped in our development for taking part in this system of social control. I have said that the family organization, not simply among us but among all the proples of the modern world, has been rapidly and disastrously changing in the last few generations,, so that the family today is not the closed group for education work, religion, and social guidance that it used to be. These functions have gone to other organizations. It does not mean that the functions have disappeared; it is still necessary that the child sho ld be taught that he must restrain his actions for the public good; that his independence must ve curtainled so that others may also act and not be hurt; that laws and rules must be made not only for guiding his pleasures and satisfactions but for guiding the state and making political life serve the people of the Nation.

Just because the things which the family used to do, have been dispersed among social agencies, it is not alwys clear as to just what agency is guiding and controlling the individual. The school is compelled bery often, to exercise functions which really ought to belong to parents and brothers and sisters. The police take over the guidance of recreation, when this should be done by persons trained for this end; and that state often actually discourages it citizens from learning methods of its own political life, instead of giving them the training and experience which they sorely need.

Particularly in the case of American Negroes, for generations since

emancipation they have had it dinned in their ears that politics, that is, taking part in the governing of the nation, is not altogether a sensible or respectable vocation. Recently we are beginning to change our minds; we are beginning to see that a disfranc ised people is not simply a people deprived of something which they can enjoy but they are depriving the nation of forces which the nation needs and cannot function without.

35-1-1161

It is impossible that fourteen million American citizens should be deprived of a voice in American government, and still have that government able and functioning by Democratic processes. So that toda the high school and college has to add to its many burdens, the duty of insisting on the fact that students are citizens and will be voters; and for this reason should know what a Governmental processes are control ed. They should especially have a clear conception of what democracy is. They sho ld know that democracy is not simply a privilege; a way of getting one's own ideas over; but on the contrary, it is a method of sharing in the experience and the opinions of others, so that out of this combined pool of knowledge, invaluable as it is, we can come to those conclusions which are for the best interests of the mass of men. This means something more than simply voting; it means voting with intelligence, with knowledge, with realization of what the country has been before; what mistakes the lawmakers and administrators have made; and what it is possible to do by intelligent use of the ballot.

All this, I am sure, emphasizes in your minds the peculiarly complicated and contradictory character of the high school and junior college curriculum today. It needs simplification, more careful arrangement of object and effort and in that rearrangement of emphasis, certain things must be clear: First: The student must be able to read and write and count. He should not be allowed to proceed on his course until that is clearly established. Entering the high school with this ability, and continuing in college, he should be certain that his first and fundamental duty is knowledge of the world, natural forces, science, history and social development.

Then afterwards, and as far afterward as possible there should be taken up the question of earning a living. This can if it must be begun in high school in courses running parallel to the knowledge curriculum probably it can be done most efficiently in a separate school; the school should keep this clearly in mind. It should not try to tell a student that he can be can be prepared sufficiently for earning a living in a school. In the long run, and usually, the best place to learn how to earn a living is by actual work in a factory, in a house, in the field.

But it is quite possible that the beginnng of this practical training can be made in school. Certainly the school can emphasize the attitude which the student should have toward: Thinking of work as a social accomplishment and as a measure not simply by the wages which it earns. There should always be emphasis on scholarship both in the courses which make for knowledge and in the knowledge which comes through technical accomplishment and professional training. Above all, no student of a high school or college should finish without having impressed upon him the importance and value of his citizenship in making him a part of a great modern state which in the long run insures to its citizens the kind of life which human beings ought to live.

1947

W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

THE PROBLEM OF A THIRD PARTY IN 1948

by

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

It seems to me that Henry Wallace, Fiorello La Guardia and Adolf Berle are all curiously unrealistic when they argue about the possibility of a third party in the next presidential election. They all omit to mention the influence of widespread and continued disfranchisement in the South, particularly the disfranchisement of American Negroes.

They do not seem to see the implications of this disfranchisement. There are six states in the United States: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina, with ~~fifty~~ fifty-nine electoral votes, which have never once since Reconstruction voted anything but the straight Democratic ticket. With continued exclusion of Negroes, they will continue so to cast their vote.

35-1-195

In addition to this there are four states: Florida, North Carolina, Texas and Virginia, with fifty-six electoral votes which have never failed to vote the Democratic ticket, except under the influence of intense anti-Catholic hysteria in 1928. There are two other states, Oklahoma and Kentucky, with twenty-one electoral votes, which on a few occasions have voted Republican. Both went Republican in 1928 on the Catholic issue. Both went Republican in 1920 on economic issues and Kentucky in 1896 split its vote on the Free Silver issue. But for twenty years these ~~three~~ two states have not failed to vote democratic in presidential elections and can in all probability be counted in the democratic column as long as the present system of disfranchisement prevails.

This means that in 1948, of the five hundred and thirty-one electoral votes which will be cast for president, 136 can be almost certainly counted for the Democr tic ticket; and that in all probability,

this will happen, no matter who is nominated, no matter what the foreign or domestic political questions in dispute are, or what the economic situation may be. ~~The 18 electoral votes of Tennessee are almost as~~

In addition to this, no Third Party advocating re-birth of the New Deal, socialization of economic power and friendship with Russia, can hope in 1948 to carry Missouri, Tenneessee and West Virginia, ~~who tipify~~ which typify not only manipulation of the Negro vote, but powerful monopoly of capitalistic power,. These 35 votes can, judging by recent elections, be added then to the handicap of 136, making 171 votes practicallly certain for reaction, or 32%. The Third Party must therefore to succeed carry two-thirds of the 531 electoral votes of the nation.

35-1-196

The number of persons of vating age who do not vote in the United States is large. This is due partly to indifference; women particularly are not used to exercising the right to vote in large numbers. In addition to this, there is a dangerously large number of American citizens who have lost faith in voting as a means of social reform. To these must be added the incompetent and those who for various reasons cannot reach the polls. This explains why only 43% of the population of voting age actually voted in I946. Notwithstanding all this, in New England, the Middle Atlantic States and the Middle and Far West about I00,000 voters usually go to the polls to elect a congres man; in the more sparsly settled mountain states, this falls to 90,000. But where the Negro lives in the Border states les than 50,000 vote to elect a congressman, while in the deep South men are sent to Congress by only 22,000 votes cast; and in South Carolina by an average of 4,000 total votes.

This record of the South shows something more than indifference, incompetence and discouragement. We see here the result of deliberate efforts not only to disfranchise the Negro but to discourage large numbers of whites from voting. In the South as a whole, eighty-two per cent of the persons of voting age did not vote in I946 and in the west south central states this percentage reached nearly eighty-six per

Tables follow which show the respective votes in three pairs of states where the same number of members of Congress were elected but the difference in number of votes cast is enormous. In the second table the number of votes cast for a single Congressman is contrasted for a series of states, showing a hundred and thirty-eight thousand votes cast to elect a Congressman from Illinois and four thousand votes to elect a Congressman in South Carolina.

Table I: ELECTION OF I946

VOTE FOR 8 MEMBERS OF CONGRESS	
Louisiana	I06,009
Iowa	593,076
VOTE FOR 9 MEMBERS OF CONGRESS	
Alabama	I79,488
Minnesota	875,005
VOTE FOR I0 MEMBERS OF CONGRESS	
Georgia	I6I,578
Wisconsin	983,9I8

NEGRO CONGRESSMEN

Powell, New York,	32,573 in total of 53,087
Dawson, Illinois,	38,040 in total of 66,885

SOUTHERN WHITE CONGRESSMEN

Dorn, South Carolina	3,527 in total of 3,530
Rankin, Mississippi	5,429 in total of 5,429

Table II: HOW MANY VOTERS DID IT TA?E IN I946 TO ELECT A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS IN-

ILLINOIS	I37,877 Total votes cast	NORTH AND WEST
RHODE ISLAND	I36,I97 Total votes cast	
NEW YORK	I04,720 Total votes cast	
CALIFORNIA	I0I,533 Total votes cast	
Iowa	74,I35 Total votes cast	
VIRGINIA	28,207 Total votes cast	UPPER SOUTH
ARKANSAS	2I,6I9 Total votes cast	
ALABAMA	I9, 943 Total votes cast	LOWER SOUTH
TEXAS	I6,542 Total votes cast	
GEORGIA	I6,I58 Total votes cast	
LOUISIANA	I3,25I Total votes cast	
MISSISSIPPI	7,I48 Total votes cast	
SOUTH CAROLINA	4,393 Total votes cast	

[Some or all of these figures may be omitted]

In other words while this nation is trying to carry on the government of the United States by democratic methods it is not succeeding because of the premium which we put on the disfranchisement of the voters of the South. The number of congressmen is determined by the total population of a state. The larger the number of that population which is disfranchised the greater the power for the few who cast the vote. Thus the political power of this disfranchised vote the rulers of this nation are chosen and policies of the country determined.

Not only this but who is interested in this disfranchisement and who gains power by it? It must be remembered that the South is the nation's number one "economic problem" as the late President Roosevelt declared. It has the largest percentage of ignorance, of poverty, of disease, in the nation. At the same time, and partly on account of this, it is the place where the labor movement has made the least progress; there are fewer unions and the unions are less effectively organized than in the North. Besides this, the fiercest and most successful fight against democracy in industry is centering in the South, in just that region where medieval caste conditions based mainly on color, and partly on poverty and ignorance, are more prevalent and most successful. And just because labor is so completely deprived of political and industrial power, investors and monopolists are today being attracted there in greater number and with more intensive organization than anywhere else in the United States. As one national Republican committeeman from Illinois declared "The Southern states can block any amendment to the United States Constitution and nullify the desires of double their total of northern and western states."

35-1-198

All this means that any third party in a presidential election must start out with a handicap of ~~149~~ 171 votes. They can make their appeal only to the balance of ~~382~~ 361 votes. It will not do to carry even a majority of these votes, they must carry ~~over~~ two thirds of these votes. ~~Indeed, if they win, they must poll seventy per cent.~~

This is the real reason why there is small chance for a third party in the United States, until the question of the disfranchisement of the Negro in the South is frankly faced. To be sure, with a Franklin Roosevelt, not only can a third party with a distinct socialistic program sweep the North, but even in the South all but the Bourbon die-hards could be forced to stand behind the program. But this was exceptional. Today we face the fact that the Solid South is about to fasten reaction on the nation.

35-1-194

To avoid facing this situation spells disaster. It means that if the free vote of the United States divides evenly or with a small majority for liberalism, Southern fascism with 149 certain votes will gain the presidency, control congressional committees and make our laws. Southerners like Cox of Georgia, Smith of Virginia, Ellender of Louisiana and the impossible Rankin of Mississippi, will dominate Congress. The only other result of a third party movement would be to put into power, Northern predatory industry led by men like Taft and Wherry. The National Association of Manufacturers and the Military will proceed to regiment youth, curtail the rights of labor and drive liberals under cover.

Most students of American politics know this, but they hesitate to take any steps, because of the alleged insolubility of the Negro problem. This is all nonsense. Solution to be sure cannot be found in one campaign or by one law; but the difficulties can be settled. The decision of the Supreme Court in the White Primary cases can be gradually enforced. The vague precedent in the Bilbo case can be carried into definite action, so as to exclude from Congress persons elected by intimidation, bribery or discrimination; and above all the people of the South can be educated out of their present stupidity and witchcraft, so as to set them on the path to eliminate poverty, disease and crime.

National aid for education as an emergency stands even above the need of aid for health and old age security. It can be given by

the federal government with the distinct and unequivocal provision that the money is to be spent without discrimination as to race, creed or color. We can reduce the illiteracy of the South among both Negroes and whites to a neglible figure in a generation, if we want to, as Russia and Scandinavia have taught us.

35-1-200

When we have an intelligent voting population in the South and federal law and administration which stands back of the right to vote, then we can turn to our main problem of democracy in the United States and found and bring to triumph a Third Party to replace the two rotten organizations which today stand for the same sort of exploitation, profiteering and fascism.

LABOR AND WEALTH

AN ESSAY ON CAPITAL AND TRADE, MONEY AND CREDIT

by

W.E.B.Du BOIS

Feeling and response, effort and satisfaction, are the essense of Life. Life begins withe group, out of which the consciousness of the individual gradually emerges. Gradually actions and things come to be valued in accord with the effort they entail and then different values are put on individuals. Paents natur~~e~~nts and relatives naturally call for love and respect; but as inter-tribal war aries from strife for food or defense form attack, there grows a a class of prisoners and slaves who are deemed of less worth than the members of the clan and their feelings , even their lives are regarded as of less account or no account at all. Labor then or unpleas

Effort as it involves labor and sacrifice becomes a measure of value and things found or made are habit or custom more and more used material of labor & yield satisfaction A knoll not helps catch more fish ~~not the labor~~ but involves labor for town & tenants. The real thus becomes Capital, a form of wealth devoted to producing wealth & a result of labor. Capital thus ~~the~~ belongs from it land & the ground and becomes wealth for indirect Consumption only after it is saved

Gradually however come changes. calamities & failures ~~Fear of attack~~, fear of attack & injury & wars bring war. War brings prisoners. Prisoners are killed or used for labor & industry for the most unpleasant jobs. Labor and accumulated Capital, the hard wrest and conquest the product and broadens mine wealth. Thus ~~Then~~ Slavery arises & slaves ~~produce Capital~~ become a part of the Community ~~destroyed~~ & without the rights of born Clansmen. Rich and poor arise. The rich not only have wealth & right, but own the Capital which the Poor ~~must~~ by producing wealth which they also must own

(over)

27-30-5B

The cashed by social changes; before slavery there are
poor hard folk and ~~a~~ more richer than the rest, some
that the parents get noble homage & the best of food &
clothes. It may happen that in this way selfish
dictators arise but their life is limited when however
the proportion of the rich was their ownership of capital
and the number of poor increases through slavery & serfdom
a different society emerges. Men differ in value & esteem
the rich despise the poor & the poor hate the rich. The
old common method of classification

In this world many changes of this sort
have appeared but of these the rise of capitalism in
Western Europe between 1200 and 1900 has become most
formidable. We have been taught & come to believe that all
men are divided into a few superior race & a mass of inferior
folk. By way the labor of ~~the~~ inferiors, a few white
superiors have built modern civilization & can maintain
it only by continuous exploitation of the labor of the inferior. But
~~recently even the white superiors themselves suffer as~~
these inferiors began to protest and to gain power until they gained
rights & education, a voice in government & higher wage. But this was
compensated for by increase of the capital owned by the rich and
founded by slavery in Asia and African labor when home labor
helped conquer. At last in the 20th century world war broke out
and yellow brown and black labor demanded equal rights and mean
while whites. This is still the disturbance of the rich and
the threat of revolution

Since because some people were & thrifty & worked themselves
- because other lost wealth & because of accident & sickness,
& because still killed others · used force & murder, the
rich & poor in communities ; individual & international
war added & the inequality & Blacks unkill most
felt they regard it as natural that some & rich &
others poor, indeed that the wagonly have nearly eaten
& slaves for those who have more than they need

27-30-62

LABOR AND WEALTH

An Essay on Capital, Trade, Money & Credit

by W.E.B. Du Bois

—

Feeling and response, effort and satisfaction, is the ~~ultimate~~ essence of living. Gradually the the actions and things which we want & get & be valued accord & the effort they call for, Most goods and ~~efforts~~ are ~~but~~ the result of conscious effort and Most effort from the beginning is ~~to get rather than~~ ~~indeed work~~ And In time we come to value Things by the effort which then ~~attainment~~ involves. Things ~~too~~ which are ~~scarce~~ furnished by nature come to be valuable if they are useful and ~~so~~ this becomes scarce. Then thus early arises in the life of civilized man, wealth a Things ~~so~~ that can be used only by ~~by~~ a few or for a limited time since they wear out & other things which become more valuable if they are saved & used by human labor to make other more intimate goods for the satisfaction of human wants. Such ~~goods~~ capital & saved to process ~~goods are called capital~~ & the question arises to whom do they belong? If the saved & used goods belong & the community, the processed results belong to the Community & thus ~~to~~ the primitive custom; the fresh meats were used by all, & Long Hause shelter all but gradually a custom arose of allowing by chance & force the owning group ~~to~~ enjoy the results of labor before its results were sold & changed hands ~~or~~ ~~ownership~~ of the processed goods

27-30-60

I have seen the slum roads of Old D.C. and I see the black young hoodlums of Ghana. I have on my side many many good nights; a German Emperor and a King of Belgium & Colonels the renowned Teddy Roosevelt, Dr. American citizens rich, down Pennsylvania Ave & Leonard Presidents of the U.S., a King of England riding to his Coronation; a Secretary of the Con. daily riding through the gates of the Kremlin. But none of these nights were more exciting than Election Eve Election, Nov 1960 with Kennedy & while all Ghana - perhaps 200,000 people - faced Accra Rock & Victory Av

It [illegible] on the thing which I would this morning & that was the determination of the Negroes of the U.S. - 1/3 & the about it, & determined, & would do [illegible] truth & stand for three nights. I did not see a single Negro, I did not see a single [illegible], I did not see a beer on 4 days of Celebration & single taboo night & yet the whole whole world & they believe the Negro was in power & the Negro in Ghana. What only, what a wonderful

27-20-59

LABOR AND SATISFACTION,

Wealth & Capital, Goods & Trade
Money & Capital

~~It is to the experience of human beings~~
Life begins with ~~effort~~ action ~~& satisfaction labor~~
~~& enjoyment & completion~~

Feeling and reasoning, contemplation and calculation, effort and control gradually a correlation arises between labor and satisfaction and goods become valued as they represent work, while work becomes the source of satisfaction. All wealth is not the result of work and as Brown became wealthy & gathered more & more as only all things are valued in terms of labor.

27-30-61

[Mass]

1948

[APRIL-MAY 1948]

A SERMON FOR THE CHURCHMAN

By W. E. B. Du Bois

Back of all our discussion of present problems, of war and communism; of wages, prices and housing; of political power and law and order, stands one pressing question which we fear to touch; and that is the ethics of property, wealth and income. How far it is right or wrong for us to receive the income which we are receiving or to support the methods by which wealth today is accumulated and distributed.

35-2-454

Most of the time most of the effort and thought of most human beings is given to earning a living. There for the facts surrounding this activity must be of primary importance in determining our culture, our religion and our life. No amount of refusal to face these problems of wealth and poverty is going to avail. We have got to face them. We have got to begin to ask: Can money be "tainted?" Are profits always right? Is income a matter of natural law or of human decision? Or to put the question that confronts us more in detail: Is property merely a question of Law, or is it primarily a question of Right and Wrong?

Is a man's income his personal secret or is it rightfully a matter of public knowledge?

Is the object of industry private profit or public welfare?

Should the production of goods be a matter of free enterprise or of public planning?

Should the State permit private ownership of natural resourses?

Should natural monopolies like transportation, communication, water power, electricity and atomic energy be under State control or in the hands of private companies?

Is it right for a man to spend what he does not earn?

If wealth and property have been gained by slavery, murder, cheating or fraud, is its legal owner free to use it as he will without inquiry or personal guilt?

Is the function of banking and credit a public or private matter?

Is poverty necessary and should anyone own more wealth or receive more income than he can use for his legitimate personal needs?

If democracy in political action is right and proper, why is not democracy right and proper in work and wage?

We started in early days with a suspicion of wealth; ~~Christianity~~ Sears have declared that the love of money was the root of all evil. Jesus Christ doubted if rich men could get into Heaven. We had during the days of early Christianity a glorification of poverty as such; a high and holy regard for those persons who measured themselves and the rightness of their action, not by the income which they received, but rather by the sort of people that they were.

35-2-455

Then with the spread of slave-grown products and the increase of our power over nature and technical machinery and trade with less powerful peoples we began to talk about Thrift as opposed to Laziness and Work as contrasted with Ease. We began to rationalize our treatment of laborers and heathen by declaring that men must work or starve. We glorified property, savings, and income and despised the poor, and before we knew it we had made Greed our God. We began to excuse cruelty and dishonesty. We celebrated the ruthlessness that built up great income on the basis of monopoly of natural resources.

We used physical force to get hold of wealth and sources of wealth. We honored those people who got and controlled wealth no matter by what methods. We emerged into another era where we sold opinions, screened truth, and manufactured lies. We hired men to write what they did not believe.

We gave lying a place among excusable methods of sociable progress and called it propaganda; and finally in our day we permit such a monopoly of news-gathering and news-interpretation in papers and magazines which makes it almost impossible for an honest person to know what is the truth and to guide his action and his thought thereby.

Under this widening ignorance and misinformation, we see wealth and monopoly taking increasing charge of government. We see the legislatures of states and the congress of the United States under wide control of great aggregations of capital.

35-2-456

This gradual persistent descent into hell is known to everybody and yet when it is questioned, there comes an avalanche of bitter accusation which makes the man who stands up for truth, social reform and peace look like a conspirator and a scoundrel. This is the kind of civilization which not only kills culture but kills the human soul. It is not simply a question as to whether we are going to do this or that about our present plight, the fact is we have got to to something or lose our religion, our democracy, and our own self-respect. The accumulation, monopoly and present use of wealth is about to destroy the world through total war, and for decent men to sit still and silent under such circumstances is increasing indication that this is a world not worth saving.

Of the facts, there can be absolutely no question. The profits that have been made through World War is a sacrifice of blood and decency which would appall any people who realized what was going on; and at the same time the persistent poverty, ignorance, disease and distress in this world lingers among us, not because they cannot be eradicated, but because we will not undertake to stop them. The atom bomb could stop preventable disease, if the billions that we

are spending upon it were not spent principally for murder and destruction. The money which we have spent upon two World Wars could make the mass of the world's people intelligent and reasonable beings instead of stupid victims. With the magnificent technique which the world has at its disposal today, there is no reason that there should be in the world people hungry, ignorant, unclothed and unsheltered. We know this, and yet despite it all we seem determined to use wealth for individual and family power, for vulgar display and for mass murder. Just as soon as any person dares challenge this situation, dares question the methods of wealth and industry, dares suggest that war is for selfish aggrandisement and not for defense, he is not answered, he is not faced with truth, he is simply shut up or put in jail, or slandered and made to suffer, not only in himself but in the case of his family and relatives and friends. We have today in the United States, thousands of people still in jail because they would not go to war. We have democracy in the United States stifled, by the use of money in elections, by the deliberate buying of votes, by the way in which law makers are coerced and the judiciary frightened.

35-2-457

We have seen in recent years fifty millions of dollars spent in a presidential campaign and we know that the power to rule this country today rests in the hands of less than a thousand individuals. We are being pushed, bulldozed and lied into war today by greedy men who see millions for murder and not one cent for the ignorant, diseased poor.

There is no need of our trying further to evade the issue, the question before the people of the United States and of the World today is that curbing of the power of wealth, the compulsory distribution of income in accordance with need and social plan, the vesting of natural resources in the ownership of the people, the practice of democracy in industry as well as government.

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35-2-88

RIGHTS FOR NEGROES

by

W.E.B. Du Bois

NEW YORK TIMES
SUNDAY MAGAZINE, 8-2-48
(Copy cut - not used)

RIGHTS FOR NEGROES

by W.E.B. Du Bois

The recent prominence of the question of civil rights for Negroes in general discussion, court action, and political platforms, has brought the attention of the nation back to one of its oldest social problems; the place of the Negroes in our national life. The shape of this problem today differs so strikingly from that of a generation ago, that interest increases both as to its history, and as a study in social processes.

35-2-89

At the beginning of this century, it was widely asserted that Negroes and whites were congenitally so different that the two races could never live together in peace except under caste conditions; that, therefore, a rigid segregation of the races must forever be maintained whereever practical; that amalgamation must be made illegal; that crime, especially rape, was characteristic of Negroes and could only be curbed by lynching, which was going on at the rate of one victim a month in 1900. The Negro physique was weak and the race would probably die out under white competition. Social discrimination went so far that even a prize fighter need not accept a challenge from a Negro.

Today the change in national attitude is so fundamental that it calls for study of what has taken place and how it has been brought about. Manifestly, it involved hard, concentrated, and purposeful effort and was not merely undirected evolution, nor did it depend wholly on philanthropic gift nor on enacted law.

There have been working in the last generation four types of effort to solve the Negro Problem. First, have come the foundations; corporate efforts of rich and influential folk for social betterment; second, the so-called "interracial" efforts of whites; third, the organized efforts of

Negroes; and finally, the influence of science.

It was at the closing exercises of one of the most successful of the foundations, the Rosenwald Fund, which concluded thirty years work in 1947, that the writer made a survey which covered a generation, and I, myself, was astonished at the results. Today few Americans question that Negroes have brains and ability, and are capable in individual cases of high achievement. Negro crime is judged not unexpectedly high; Negro disease is yielding to sanitation, and unless race segregation and discrimination yield to common-sense, democracy in the United States is impossible, and American world leadership fatally handicapped.

35-2-40

This fundamental change in public opinion has been the result of continued and tireless effort, without revolution or violence, but through appeal to human reason. The work for Negroes of the foundation began with the Capon Springs conferences and there then evolved the Southern Education Board, and finally, the General Education Board. The first attitudes were conservative, but the educability of the Negro was admitted. The General Education Board espoused Negro industrial education, until under young Southern leadership, a plan for Negro college education completely covering the South emerged in 1937.

The Rosenwald Fund, starting from Mr. Rosenwald's colored Y.M.C.A. homes, began to build Negro schoolhouses in the South and aid health projects. It encouraged Negro and white students in graduate study, and emphasized race relations efforts.

Organized efforts toward bettering race relations have been widespread in the United States. In 1919, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was formed in the South. It had national offices in Atlanta, Georgia, and several branch offices. It published pamphlets and held conferences. The

Southern Regional Council, formed in 1944, has taken over the work of the Commission. The Commission on Race Relations, of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, was organized in 1921. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was started in 1939, and it has become a strong organization for civil rights, political action, and equalization of educational opportunity. The American Council on Race Relations, formed in 1944, has sought to federate many of the race relations activities in the nation.

Rachel Davis DuBois started a movement for interracial education which was later known as intercultural education. A Bureau for Intercultural Education was started in 1939. Local interracial movements are illustrated by the Springfield Plan, started in 1939, with a committee to teach democratic citizenship by the practice of democracy on all levels of school and community life.

35-2-911

It was the organization of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1910, which began the organized effort of Negroes themselves to fight for civil rights, and effort which has increased and widened for thirty-eight years and has spearheaded the struggle in the nation. This organization started with the Niagara Movement in 1906, when a handful of Negroes declared for a fight, without evasion or compromise, for the full manhood rights of Negroes as American citizens. Four years later this movement merged with a group of whites, led by Mary Ovington, William English Walling, Oswald Garrison Villard and Charles Edward Russell, to "finish the work of Abraham Lincoln" and make the American Negro "physically free from peonage; mentally free from ignorance; politically free from disfranchisement; and socially free from insult". This was a radical program for 1910, and it was regarded widely as so dangerous that it could hope for little support from the rich, and little countenance from the respectable.

From the beginning, while open to all and with a considerable white membership, this organization was predominantly Negro in membership, and directed primarily by Negro officials, and supported up to ninety per cent of its funds by poor Negro workers. In this respect it is one of the most unique of mass movements in the world.

Working contemporaneously with the NAACP have been other organizations without which it would have been impotent-- the Negro Church with its 35,000 congregations owning $175,000,000 in real estate and spending $28,000,000 a year, helped publicize and support the Association. The Negro Press, with at present nearly 150 weekly papers, grew to a circulation that reached every literate Negro and achieved a news coverage of interracial happenings that made Negroes independent of the white press for knowledge of the facts of their situation in America. Other organizations not simply supplemented the main work of the NAACP, but provided an outlet for those who could not go the radical way but wanted to help in some practical effort.

35-2-92

What now has been accomplished in the last generation? First we must note a general improvement in public opinion, not perhaps measurable in figures, but clear and decisive. The nation is no longer pessimestic on the Negro problem. Far from believing that the peaceful living together of black and white in America is impossible, we have come to conceive of a "One World" where all people must live together in equality or die. Science has attacked the concept of race itself and of inborn and ineradicable race differences, with devastating success. Many of the old cliches have disappeared. The changing of "human nature" is admitted to be possible and it is accepted that few prejudices are ineradicable. Law can help and hasten human change and intermarriage of persons of different races may be good, bad, or indifferent, depending mainly on the circumstances, which have

nothing to do with race.

Many facts show the basis of this change in public opinion. The first edition of "Who's Who in America" did not, so far as I can find, list a single person of Negro descent; the fiftieth edition in 1948 had the names of 91. In American Men of Science are today the names of 77 Negroes. Negro health has improved. The expectation of life of a Negro male at birth was 32 years in 1900; in 1947 it was 57.

35-2-93

Negroes for a long time have been decreasing in illiteracy. Nine-tenths of them were illiterate at the time of Emancipation. According to the Census of 1940 it is ten per cent today; but the experience of the draft shows that today probably a fourth of the adult Negro population is by any thorough standard illiterate. Figures show us that in 1910, forty-five per cent of all Negroes from six to twenty-five years of age were in school, and in 1940, sixty-four per cent, or in round number in 1910, there were 1,600,000, and in 1940, the number was 4,188,000.

In 1900, Charles Dudley Warner said Negroes could not assimilate higher education. In 1910, not more than 5,000 Negroes were enrolled in college. In 1948, over 88,000 were enrolled. In 1918, 324 bachelors of arts received their degrees; in 1948, 5,635 received degrees. No white college in the North today refuses a student because he is a Negro, and 1,274 Negro students are enrolled in such institutions. There have been 279 Negroes who have received the Ph. D. from the chief northern colleges.

Much of this change rested on fundamental social and economic development. The Negro population of the United States increased from 9,000,000 to 13,000,000 between 1900 and 1940. In the South this increase was twenty-five per cent, while in the North and West the increase was two hundred per cent. The rural Negro population has remained stationary, but the urban population has

increased three hundred and fifty per cent.

The way in which the Negro population earns a living has changed fundamentally. Unable to achieve freedom and social advance on the plantation, a million Negroes have left them. They have changed from domestic and personal service on the plantation and in the South, to similar but higher paid service in cities, and in the North. The Negro has entered industry, increasing his workers from 7 to 12 per cent, and he is rising slowly from unskilled to skilled labor. He is entering trade and business, first as cooperative self-service to hiw own people, then into general business increasing from five to eight per cent. Another third of all Negro workers have made their way into the professions, the arts, and numbers of miscellaneous occupations.

35-2-94

During these thirty years the number of ministers has greatly decreased, but with the result of weeding out the casual and untrained, and replacing them with men with larger professional training. The physicians and surgeons have increased a little; the number of nurses has doubled. The lawyers have increased considerably, the dentists proportionately more than the physicians, and the teachers have greatly increased.

A further method of estimating the change in race relations is to refer to the number of Negroes holding office, especially elective offices. There were in 1947 six members of city councils throughout the United States. There

Against this general background of change, the NAACP began its phenomenal campaign, attacking race prejudice not by violence nor attempted violence. The NAACP has appealed to reason by writing, talking, investigation, and recourse to the courts. Its programme of fighting race discrimination looked hopeless at first from the multiplicity of the calls. But wisely, as early as 1911, it concentrated on lynching, that most barbarous manifestation of race hate in America.

It began investigation and publicity in 1910, but in 1919 it started a real campaign. In that year it communicated with 25 governors and seven Chambers of Commerce. It sent 32 stories to the press, and paid for page advertisements in daily papers throughout the country. Members of the staff made personal investigations of 12 lynchings on the spot, and race riots and in May a national conference was held in New York which sent out an address to the nation signed by an ex-president, the Attorney-General, seven governors, and a score of heads of universities.

35-2-95

In its anti-lynching campaign the NAACP did not work alone, nor does it deserve exclusive credit for the final success attained. But without doubt, the NAACP spearheaded the attack, dramatized it, revealed the facts and hammered them home. Without its intelligent leadership the work would not have triumphed as soon nor as fully. Southern white women, at no little risk in a sex conscious South, publicly fought lynching and denied that white women were chiefly engaged in outrunning "big, black brutes". Southern liberals who did not believe in the NAACP, began to attack lynching, until even in Lousiana a man could repudiate lynching and stand for "white supremacy". The result of this work reduced lynching in the land from one a month in 1900 to one a year in 1947. Figures for selected periods show the decreasing trend

in lynchings. 1900-1909, whites 94, and 791 Negroes; 1910-1919, whites 53, and 563 Negroes; 1920-1929, whites 34, and 281 Negroes; 1930-1939, whites 11, and 119 Negroes; 1940-1947, whites 1, and 26 Negroes. The total shows 193 whites and 1,780 Negroes, for a grand total of 1,973.

The most remarkable work of the NAACP was its establishment of the legal foundation of the Negro's rights. In 1915, the Negro had been, in plain defiance of law, reduced to an inferior caste. Redress was not easy with white lawyers, white juries, and white courts. Up until 1915, political campaigns in the South had been fought questioning the validity of the Civil War amendments, and in the case of the 14th, the clear letter of the law had been changed by the Supreme Court to defend wealth instead of human liberty. Negroes had lost faith in court action. The courts upheld disfranchisement on flimsy points, and when the colored folk of Augusta, Georgia brought suit to retain their right to a high school, the Supreme Court, to the astonishment of white Augusta, gave the school board the right, out of public funds, to train white children for college and Negroes for servants. Judge Emory Speer of Georgia warned the South in 1900, that one day Negroes would gather funds, "hire first class white lawyers," and attack and overthrow discriminatory legislation. It did not occur to Judge Speer that Negroes would not only get the services of lawyers like Clarence Darrow and Moorfield Storey, but with black counsel like Charles Houston and Thurgood Marshall wring favorable decisions from judges even in Texas.

The attitude toward the Negro voter has undergone great change. Reconstruction was justified in the minds of the North by the charges of ignorance and venality. The offer of the South to base suffrace on literacy and property was accepted by nullified by injustice in administration and court decision. From 1900 to the first World War American Negroes almost ceased

the attempt to establish legal Negro ghettoes. Many were handled by the NAACP, some by other individuals and groups. The first case was in Baltimore, and attempted by city ordinance to restrict Negroes to reside in certain sections. It was invalidated by NAACP attorneys in 1913. Other cases followed in Louisville, New Orleans, and Richmond. All were nullified in the United States Supreme Court in 1917, 1927, and 1930. Then tactics were changed and the restrictive covenants came into use, limiting Negro occupancy of homes by private contract.

35-2-92

Another series of cases and demonstrations sought to attack mob violence and denial of due process of law. In 1917, on Fifth Avenue New York, 15,000 Negroes marched silently with banners to protest against race riots in Waco, Texas, Memphis, and East St. Louis. In 1923, after the riots in Elaine, Arkansas, the cases of twelve Negroes sentenced to death and 67 to prison terms were carried to the Supreme court and all the prisoners were finally released in 1925. Systematic exclusion of Negroes from jury duty, was brought to the Supreme Court in 1935, 1938 and 1942. All cases were won. The "Third Degree" against Negro prisoners to induce confession by torture was condemned by the Supreme Court in three cases, 1936 and 1940, 1944 and 1948.

35-2-98

The Scottsboro cases brought widespread effort on the part of the NAACP and other organizations and was partially successful. Other cases have been defended with more or less success down to the extraordinary outrage recently perpetrated in Georgia, in the case of half-grown sons defending their mother. Further cases come before the courts in the matter of extradition or alleged criminals who have escaped from the South into northern states. This has led to a number of investigations and refusal to extradite.

One small indication of change in the social structure is the number of Negro policemen. The presence of Negro police means that arrests are no longer purely a matter of race. To consider the South alone in 1917, there was not a single Negro acting as a policeman so far as I can ascertain. In 1947, at least twelve states employ Negro policemen in more than fifty cities. Of course, even in these cases Negroes in theory, if not in actual law, exercise no power of arrest over whites.

The fight for equal educational opportunities has been long, and discrimination in expenditure on Negro elementary training even today is disgraceful. In 1939-1940, nine Southern states spent on each white pupil 212 per

cent more than on each Negro pupil, or $58.69 and $18.82 respectively. The NAACP centered its legal attack on this discrimination in the matter of salaries paid teachers. The average annual salaries of teachers were, for selected states in 1940, Louisiana: white, $1,193, Negro, $504; South Carolina: white, $953, Negro, $391; Mississippi: white, $821, Negro, $235. In 32 cases brought (1936 to 1945) to stop discrimination in salaries on account of race, six cases were won by court decision, 17 by consent decrees, 4 cases lost, one dropped, and 4 are pending. In 1935, a Negro won a suit to enter the law school of the University of Maryland.

35-2-99

The NAACP began in 1938 to fight for equal opportunities for Negroes in state schools for higher education. Loyd Gaines sued for admission to the University of Missouri Law School. The state offered to send him to school in another state. The Supreme Court ordered the State to furnish Gaines facilities to study law within the State. A similar case in Oklahoma confirmed this decision, with the addition that the law course demanded must be furnished immediately. Finally, in Texas, a similar case turned on the point as to whether segregation in school facilities could ever give equal facilities. The final disposition of the case is pending.

Probably no phase of discrimination has irked the American Negro more than the so-called Jim Crow cars for travel because of its publicly insulting character. These have been attacked, usually by individuals, in the matter of interstate travel and dining car service. The United States Supreme Court has decided that railroads must provide accommodations for Negroes equal to those for whites, and damages have been paid colored people in several cases for being refused service. In one case it was decided that segregation in interstate travel according to state law was permissible, but in 1946 the United States Supreme Court decided that the

Virginia law segregating passengers in buses in interstate travel was unconstitutional.

These are but part of the legal cases brought to the United States Supreme Court in the last thirty years. They not only have resulted in a number of victories, but what is more important have given Negroes faith in law, and in the sense of justice among large numbers of white people. In addition, these cases have shown what Negroes themselves can do by pooling funds, supporting organizations, and persisting in the fight, year after year, and decade after decade.

25-2-100

This has brought also certain patterns of action. Personal violence against Negroes is common in the South and difficult to stop. For instance, in a small town in Tennessee, in 1945, a colored woman and her son were having a radio examined for repairs in a local store. The woman complained of the service she was receiving from the clerk and he slapped her. The son probably knocked him through a plate glass window. The two were arrested and released on bail. Policemen entered the Negro section and four of them were wounded. A mob of about 500 persons from the surrounding country gathered, wrecked and looted Negro homes and shops, and 100 Negroes were arrested. Eventually 31 Negroes were indicted, 28 for attempted murder. Thus far the oft-repeated Southern race pattern prevailed: an insult, a fight, a mob, and Negroes arrested and charged with felony.

But here the pattern changed. The NAACP moved in. Negroes from all over the nation sent in $15,000 in cash. Lawyers appeared who refused to be intimidated by lack of hotel accommodations or threats. The cases went to court. One defendant died; 23 of the accused were aquitted; five noll-prossed, and three cases are pending. One man was convicted and given five years in prison.

Occurrences like this have built the NAACP so deep into the consciousness

of the American Negro and the Southern white as to make it an institution. It survives because it deserves to, and because it is a heartening example for white and black of what poor, disadvantaged persons can accomplish by faith, small contributions and union. It has never in its career misused the funds entrusted to it, but has handled for the purposes for which they were given. It has shown a kind of cooperation between white and black folk which is an example for the world. If the NAACP will serve the future as it has the past, it must naturally expand from an organization of protest to one of constructive guidance, with increased democratic method and broad leadership for creative ability in industry and art. But the past is secure; the NAACP has led the fight for civil rights and won.

35-2-101

Probably the most effective effort toward interracial understanding among the working masses has come about through the trade unions. The organization of the CIO in 1935 was an attempt to bring the mass of workers into the union movement, as contrasted with the AFL effort to unionize only the skilled workers of industry. As a result, numbers of men like those in the steel and automobile industries have been thrown together, black and white, as fellow workers striving for the same objectives. There has been on this account an astonishing spread of interracial tolerance and understanding. Probably no movement in the last thirty years has been so successful in softening race prejudice among the masses.

Leading up to this has been the work of the Urban League, an organization with white and colored members but a colored executive staff. Beginning in 1910 it voluntarily divided fields with the NAACP and undertook the task of securing work for Negroes. It appealed to employers and conferred with labor leaders and succeeded in placing thousands of Negro workers in jobs where Negroes had never been hired before. It facilitated the entrance of Negroes into

public social work and gave scholarships for training; it emphasized vocational guidance. Resulting from these agencies and the success of A. Philip Randolph's Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters Union, membership of Negroes in trade unions has risen from 30,000 in 1900 to 100,000 in 1930 and an estimated total of over 1,000,000 at the height of war industry. The President's Fair Employment Practices Committee orders in 1941 and 1943 did much to open work opportunities, and five states have since passed fair employment statutes.

35-2-102

In science, there is a larger willingness to consider the scientific achievements of Negroes, as has been instanced in the universal acclaim of Carver and the election of E. Franklin Frazier as President of the American Sociological Society. And what is more fundamental, the admission, since 1941, of Negroes to fellowships as laboratory assistants and teaching positions in several universities and many northern public schools. The freedom of Negroes in fields of art and literature has grown decidedly, and now depends upon opportunity and ability more largely than ever before.

There has been increase in normal social intermingling between Negroes and whites, and today it is much more common to meet Negroes in social gatherings, at dinners, and celebrations than it used to be. There is some increase in intermarriage but no change in the intermarriage laws, which are clearly unconstitutional, and certainly silly.

In religion, the advance, while important, has not been great. The churches still form the most segregated part of our social organization. The efforts of the Methodists to bring all Methodism together has been so far as the Negroes are concerned only partly successful. There were three Negro Catholic priests in the United States in 1917, now there are twenty-two.

In many national organizations there has been notable cooperation between white and colored groups and a strong tendency of general organizations to

pay attention to the Negro part of our community. It is striking to see today colored boy and girl scouts, photographed along with their fellows; and to have appeals for summer outings for children emphasize and include colored children. This was not the case thirty years ago.

In the larger efforts of social uplift, throughout the North, the color line has been pretty successfully attacked. In the South this, of course, is not so, though even here there is certainly greater awareness of the necessity for some action. It is indicative of the new attitude that a great many national organizations refuse to meet in parts of the country where hotel and other accommodations cannot be furnished to their Negro members.

35-2-103

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CIVIL RIGHTS FOR NEGROES

by

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois

Sent to New York Times for Sunday Magazine - by request Jan 27, 1947 mailed August 2, 1948

On the ~~afternoon of October~~ 1947, a small committee visited the office of the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations, to present a petition setting forth the denial by the United States government of political and civil rights to its citizens of Negro descent. The Director ~~doubted~~ his authority to receive such a petition but finally consented to put it on file. ~~A year~~ later the Commission ~~consented~~ publicly to receive this petition and the committee asked that the subject be put on the agenda of the Assembly for public discussion. The situation was embarrassing until rather suddenly the Civil Rights committee, appointed by President Truman, published its report on civil rights and the President laid it before Congress.

In the Summer of 1948, at the conventions of the three political parties, strong planks favoring legislation to secure civil rights for Negroes and other minorities were adopted ~~and at the special session of Congress the matter was debated at length.~~

Why now has this question of the full emancipation of our Negro population become suddenly a burning political issue? There are two reasons: first the condition of Negroes after two world wars has changed so much, that it is difficult longer to ignore the caste conditions under which they live; second, an organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has for 38 years spear-headed an intelligent, persistent mass drive against lynching, mob violence, disfranchisement and the wide denial of civil liberties to Negroes.

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cent. Another third of all Negro workers have made their way
fessions, the arts, and numbers of miscellaneous occupations.

in 1900; in 1947 it was 57.

Negroes for a long time have been decreasing in illiteracy. Nine-tenths of them were illiterate at the time of Emancipation. According to the Census of 1940 it is ten per cent today; but the experience of the draft shows that this today probably a fourth of the adult Negro population is by any thorough standard illiterate. Figures show us that in 1910, forty-five per cent of all Negroes from six to twenty-five years of age were in school, and in 1940, sixty-four per cent, or in round number in 1910, there were 1,600,000, and in 1940, the number was 4,155,000.

In 1900, Charles Dudley Warner said Negroes could not assimilate higher education. In 1910, not more than 5,000 Negroes were enrolled in college. In 1948, over 88,000 were enrolled. In 1918, 324 bachelors of arts received their degrees; in 1948, 5,635 received degrees. No white college in the North today refuses a student because he is a Negro, and [illegible] Negro students are enrolled in such institutions. There have been 279 Negroes who have received the Ph. D. from the chief northern colleges.

Much of this change rested on fundamental social and economic development. were only two Negro members of state legislatures in 1917 but thirty-three in 1947, including at least two senators. In the Federal Congress there are two Negro members today as compared with none in 1917. Some thirteen judges and magistrates of Negro descent are presiding over courts as compared with none in 1917, and one American Negro is Governor of a territory. In both New York and Cleveland Negroes have for years been prominent members of the city civil service commission.

Many facts show the basis of this change in public opinion. The first edition of "Who's Who in America" did not, so far as I can find, list a single person of Negro descent; the fiftieth edition in 1948 had the names of 91. In American Men of Science are today the names of 77 Negroes.

The causes of these changes were many: individual initiative, war incentive; growth of tolerance, north and south. But the great moving force was organized purposive effort by Negroes themselves and by whites. Among whites came the foundations, the inter-racial [illegible] and the Labor Movement. But before all of these in influence, persistence and accomplishment stood the NAACP. For 38 years it has spear-headed the pressure for the rights of Negroes, until it became a mass movement built deeply into the consciousness of the nation and one of the most effective social efforts for reform in modern history. The movement began at the height of the Booker Washington appeasement campaign, with the meeting of seventeen Negroes in 1906 to form the Niagara Movement and demand full citizen rights for Negroes. Three years later a race riot in the home of Abraham Lincoln brought a group of whites together in New York to work toward finishing Lincoln's emancipation. At a conference in 1909 these groups merged and in 1910 formed the NAACP to make the Negro physically free from peonage; mentally free from ignorance; politically free from disfranchisement; and socially free from insult". This was a radical program for 1910, and it was regarded widely as so dangerous that it could hope for little support from the rich, and little countenance from the respectable.

35-2-106

From the beginning, while open to all, and with a considerable white membership, this organization was predominantly Negro in membership, and directed primarily by Negro officials, and supported up to ninety per cent of its funds by poor Negro workers. In this respect it is one of the most unique of mass movements in the world.

Working contemporaneously with the NAACP have been other organizations without which it would have been impotent: the Negro Church with its 35,000 congregations owning $175,000,000 in real estate and spending $28,000,000 a year, helped publicize and support the Association. The Negro Press, with at present nearly 150 weekly papers, grew to a circulation that reached every literate Negro and achieved a news coverage of interracial happenings that made Negroes independent of the white press for knowledge of the facts of their situation in America. Other organizations not simply supplemented the main work of the NAACP, but provided an outlet for those who could not go the radical way but wanted to help in some practical effort.

With keen understanding the NAACP centered its first attack on the most barbarous example of race friction, lynching.

It began investigation and publicity in 1910, but in 1919 it started a real campaign. In that year it communicated with 25 governors and seven Chambers of Commerce. It sent 32 stories to the press, and paid for page advertisements in daily papers throughout the country. Members of the staff made personal investigations of 12 lynchings on the spot, and race riots and in May a national conference was held in New York which sent out an address to the nation signed by an ex-president of the United States, the Attorney-General, seven governors, and a score of heads of universities.

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The most remarkable work of the NAACP was its establishment of the legal foundation of the Negro's rights. In 1915, the Negro had been, in plain defiance of law, reduced to an inferior caste. Redress was not easy with white lawyers, white juries, and white courts. Up until 1915, political campaigns in the South had been fought questioning the validity of the Civil

but with black counsel like Charles Houston and Thurgood Marshall wring favorable decisions from judges even in Texas.

The attitude toward the Negro voter has undergone great change. Reconstruction was justified in the minds of the North by the charges of ignorance and venality. The offer of the South to base suffrage on literacy and property was accepted by nullified by injustice in administration and court decision. From 1900 to the first World War American Negroes almost ceased to vote in the South. Migration north for jobs threw them into Northern city politics, and Reaction ~~and race-hate~~ in the South made this Northern Negro vote grow in weight; but as late as the campaign of 1928, the treatment of the Negro voter and his demands brought a bitter protest from Negro leaders of all schools, North and South, ~~directed to both~~ major parties.

> "We are asking in this appeal for a public repudiation of this campaign of racial hatred. Silence and whispering in this case are worse than in matters of personal character and religion. Will white America make no protests? Will the candidates continue to remain silent? Will the Church say nothing? Is there any truth, any issue in this campaign, either religious tolerance, liquor, water power, tariff or farm relief, that touches in weight the transcendent and fundamental question of the open, loyal and unchallenged recognition of the essential humanity of twelve million Americans who happen to be dark-skinned?

Contrast this with the campaign of 1948. All three parties are asking for the votes of a Negro electorate, North and South, recognized as having sufficient intelligence to demand more than appointments and campaign contributions. They ask Civil Rights and no party dares refuse at least lip service to the demand.

From 1915 to 1948 the NAACP has brought 26 cases involving the legal rights of Negroes before the United States Supreme Court and won 24 of them. In 1915 the "Grandfather Clause" in Southern constitutions, giving illiterate whites an hereditary right to vote, was declared unconstitutional, ~~and in 1939 this was confirmed~~. In 1927 the first attack was made on the "White Primary" method of disfranchising Negroes. Exclusion of Negroes from the Democratic primary by state law in Texas was declared illegal. Immediately the state declared that the executive committee of the Democratic Party could fix its own rules for voting in its primary. But in 1932 the NAACP brought suit and overthrew that statute. The state of Texas then gave the right to exclude Negroes to the Democratic convention itself, and in 1935,

a group of Texas Negroes carried this to the Supreme Court and by some extraordinary reasoning the court upheld Texas. But the NAACP bided its time and in 1941 found the court, in the case of white Louisiana litigants, contradicting this decision. The NAACP, therefore, brought suit again in 1944, and the court reversed its former decision and confirmed the right of Negroes to vote in the Texas Democratic primary. As a result of these decisions and other activities of local Negro groups, over 600,000 Negroes were qualified voters in 1947 in twelve Southern states, or twelve per cent of the Negroes of voting age. This is an increase of 450,000 since 1940. Five cases had to do with the attempt to establish legal Negro ghettoes. Many were handled by the NAACP, some by other individuals and groups. The first case was in Baltimore, and attempted by city ordinance to restrict Negroes to reside in certain sections. It was invalidated by NAACP attorneys in 1913. Other cases followed in Louisville, New Orleans, and Richmond. All were nullified in the United States Supreme Court in 1917, 1927, and 1930. Then tactics were changed and the restrictive covenants came into use, limiting Negro occupancy of homes by private contract.

35-2-109

Pages 29, 30
copied from Chapin
Rosenwald Fund Speech

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35-2-110

The Scottsboro cases brought widespread effort on the part of the NAACP and other organizations and was partially successful. Other cases have been defended with more or less success down to the extraordinary outrage recently perpetrated in Georgia, in the case of half-grown sons defending their mother. Further cases come before the courts in the matter of extradition of alleged criminals who have escaped from the South into northern states. This has led to a number of investigations and refusal to extradite.

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35-2-112

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35-2-114

public social work and ~~gave scholarships for training.~~ It emphasized vocational guidance. Resulting from its work and from the success of A. Philip Randolph's Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters Union, membership of Negroes in trade unions has risen from 30,000 in 1900 to 100,000 in 1930 and an estimated total of over 1,000,000 at the height of war industry. The President's Fair Employment Practices Committee orders in 1941 and 1943 did much to open work opportunities, and five states have since passed fair employment statutes.

The work for Negroes of the foundations began with the Capon Springs conferences and through them evolved the Southern Education Board, and finally, the General Education Board. The first attitudes were conservative, but the educability of the Negro was admitted. The General Education Board espoused Negro industrial education, until under young Southern leadership, a plan for Negro college education completely covering the South emerged in 1937.

The Rosenwald Fund, starting from Mr. Rosenwald's colored Y.M.C.A. homes, began to build Negro schoolhouses in the South and aid health projects. It encouraged Negro and white students in graduate study, and emphasized race relations efforts.

Organized efforts toward bettering race relations have been widespread in the United States. In 1919, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was formed in the South. ~~It had national offices in Atlanta, Georgia, and several branch offices. It published pamphlets and held conferences. The~~ and helped in the anti-lynching effort.

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~~Southern Regional Council, formed in 1944, has taken over the work of the Commission.~~ The Commission on Race Relations, of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, was organized in 1921. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was started in 1939, and it has become a strong organization for civil rights, political action, and equalization of educational opportunity. The American Council on Race Relations, formed in 1944, has sought to federate many of the race relations activities in the nation.

Rachel Davis DuBois started a movement for interracial education which was later known as intercultural education. A Bureau for Intercultural Education was started in 1939. Local interracial movements are illustrated by the Springfield Plan, started in 1939, with a committee to teach democratic citizenship by the practice of democracy on all levels of school and community life.

What now has been accomplished in the last generation? First we must note a general improvement in public opinion, not perhaps measurable in figures, but clear and decisive. The nation is no longer pessimistic on the Negro problem. Far from believing that the peaceful living together of black and white in America is impossible, we have come to conceive of a "One World" where all people must live together in equality or die. Science has attacked the concept of race itself and of inborn and ineradicable race differences, with devastating success. Many of the old clichés have disappeared. The changing of "human nature" is admitted to be possible and it is accepted that few prejudices are ineradicable. Law can help and hasten human change and intermarriage of persons of different races may be good, bad, or indifferent, depending mainly on the circumstances, which have nothing to do with "race".

today, the nation against the will of many, but with the increasing co-operation of others are facing the clear dilemma: either

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CIVIL RIGHTS FOR NEGROES

By

W. E. B. DuBois

SPRINGFIELD-RIOTS

In the city where Abraham Lincoln began his political life and lies buried, there occurred in 1908, one of the most disgraceful of American lynchings. A white woman accused a Negro of rape. A mob gathered and when unable to find the accused, they looted and burned the Negro section, lynched two unaccused Negroes and were preparing to burn the body of one when halted by 5000 militia called by the governor. Four whites were killed and seventy persons injured. Finally the woman confessed that she had lied and the accused Negro was freed. The mob leaders were never punished.

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In New York, a group of young white people met and said "We must finish the work of emancipation that Abraham Lincoln began." They called a conference in 1909, which resulted in the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People a year later.

JULIUS-ROSENWALD

In Chicago, a Jew, Julius Rosenwald, read of this riot and was moved, because he had been born in Springfield, 46 years before and had been trained in its public schools. He knew of anti-Negro riots there and nearby in other years and he began to think of ways he might help the Negro people, especially when in 1896, he read Booker Washington's Atlanta speech. He had just become vice president of the mail-order house of Sears, Roebuck and Company, becoming president in 1910. The next year he began his far-sighted Negro philanthropies, by offering to donate $25,000 to any city in the United States which would raise $75,000 for erecting a YMCA building for colored men and boys, to

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cost not less than $100,000. As a result of this offer $5,964,564 was raised. Of this amount Mr. Rosenwald contributed $650,000; local whites, $1,701,299; local Negroes, $806,318; and $617,921 from other sources.

Between 1913 and 1932, Mr. Rosenwald, helped build over 5000 rural schools for Negroes in 15 Southern States. They cost $5,362,361 and of this approximately 64% came from public funds, 17% from Negroes, 15% from the Rosenwald Fund and 4% from whites.

The activities of this fund included more than $11,000,000 for building rural schools, for helping colleges and teacher education and library service. For health and medical service, over $3,000,000 was given away. Seventy fellowships a year were given for Negro students and Southern whites. A nation wide program in race relations was set on foot to which $3,000,000 was given. Other activities included general education and social study. The total expenditure amounted to $22,249,624.

Two considerations set the Rosenwald philanthropies apart: one, his limitation on the life of his Fund. In his view, even the most general purposes do not constitute a claim for perpetuity of endowment. "We may be certain that...the acute social need of tomorrow will be different from that of today and will doubtless call for a new kind of agency to meet it."

Most American foundations are under the control of self-perpetuating boards of trustees, this entails danger: "I think it is almost inevitable," writes Rosenwald, "that as trustees and officers

TO THE ROSENWALD-FUND
In 1917 Wm. Rosenwald gave $20,000,000 to get the Rosenwald Fund, for "the well-being of mankind."

"of perpetuities grow old they become more concerned to conserve the funds in their care than to wring from those funds the greatest possible usefulness." As a result of this thinking, the Rosenwald Fund was required to expend both income and principal within 25 years of Mr. Rosenwald's death. The ceremony of closing took place in Chicago in May, 1948.

PHILANTHROPY

At that time it was fitting to take into consideration the advancement made by American Negroes in securing their civil and political rights during the time of the activities of the Rosenwald Fund and its donor, and also during the activities of other philanthropic agencies, ~~like the Rosenwald Fund.~~ In 1902, the General Education Board was founded, preceded by the Capon Springs conferences, and the Southern Education Board. All these agencies approached the question of Negro Education hesitatingly; first, stressing industrial training, then elementary schools and finally in 1919, openly helping to endow Negro colleges. But the Rosenwald Fund, and t is is the second distinction, revealed what Negroes themselves could do even in their poverty. It was astonishing to have Negroes contribute 13% of the funds for Christian Association buildings, spurred by only 11% from the Fund; and even more astonishing to find Southern Negroes giving 17% for school houses which, ~~the school houses which,~~ the State was obligated to furnish free.

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Of itself, philanthropy can never free or uplift a people. That they must do themselves. Philanthropy can help; it can at critical times give the indispensable push, the encouragement, the confidence. This, the Rosenwald Fund, the General Education Board and other

organizations did in the years between the First and Second World Wars. But the main and essential work of raising the freedman toward full American citizenship, was done by the Negro himself.

This brings to notice the third element in the fight for civil rights, the determ ned unflagging effort of Negroes themselves. This fight has been led by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It has for thirty-eight years spearheaded an intelligent, persistent mass drive against lynching, mob violence, disfranchisement, and the wide denial of civil liberties to Negroes.

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HUMAN-Rights

On the afternoon of January 27, 1947, a small committee asked the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations, to receive a petition setting forth the denial by the United States government of political and civil rights to its citizens of Negro descent. On October 23, the Commission publicly received this petition and the committee asked that the subject be put on the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations for public discussion. The situation was embarrassing, until rather suddenly the Civil Rights Committee, appointed by President Truman, published its report on civil rights and the President laid it before Congress. In the summer of 1948, at the conventions of the three political parties, strong planks favoring legislation to secure civil rights for Negroes and other minorities were adopted.

Why now, has this question of the full emancipation of our Negro population become suddenly a burning political issue? There are three reasons: first, the condition of Negroes after two world wars has changed so much that it is difficult to ignore any longer the caste conditions under which they live.

Between 1900 and 1940, the Negro population of the United States increased from 9,000,000 to 13,000,000. In the South this population increased only 25 per cent, while in the North and West the increase was 200 per cent. The rural Negro population has remained stationary, but the urban population has increased 350 per cent.

The way in which the Negro population earns a living is changing fundamentally. A million Negroes have left the plantations and others have changed from domestic and personal service on the plantation to similar but better paid service in cities, and in the North. Negro industrial workers have increased from 7 to 12 per cent, and are rising slowly from unskilled to skilled labor. The Negro is entering trade and business, first as cooperative self-service to his own people, then into general business, increasing from 5 to 8 per cent of his workers. Another third of all Negro workers have made their way into the professions, the arts, and numbers of miscellaneous occupations.

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Negro health has improved. The expectation of life of a Negro male at birth was 32 years in 1900; in 1947 it was 57 years. Nine-tenths of the Negroes were illiterate in 1870. The census of 1940 sets the figure at ten per cent today; but the experience of the draft in World War II shows that this probably should be about 25 per cent. Figures show us that in 1910, 45 per cent of all Negroes from five to twenty years of age were in schools, and in 1940, 64 per cent, or in round numbers in 1910, there were 1,644,000, and in 1940, ~~the number was~~ 4,188,000.

In 1900, Charles Dudley Warner said Negroes could not assimilate higher education. In 1910, not more than 5,000 Negroes were enrolled in colleges. In 1948, over 88,000 were enrolled. In 1918, bachlors of arts degrees were granted to 324 Negroes; while 5,635 received such degrees in 1948. No white college in the North today refuses a student because he is a Negro, and over 1,500 Negro students are enrolled in such institutions. There have been 279 Negroes who have received the Ph.D. from the chief Northern colleges.

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There were in 1947, 6 members of city councils throughout the United States. There were only two Negro members of state legislatures in 1917 but thirty-three in 1947, including at least two senators. In the Federal Congress there are two Negro members today as compared with none in 1917. Some thirteen judges and magistrates of Negro descent are presiding over courts as compared with none in 1917, and one American Negro is Governor of a territory. In both New York and Cleveland Negroes have for years been prominent members of the city civil service commission.

The first edition of Who's Who in America did not, so far as the writer can find, list a single person of Negro descent; the fiftieth edition in 1948 had the names of 91. In American Men of Science today are listed the names of 77 Negroes.

The N.A.A.C.P.

The causes of these changes were many; individual initiative, war incentive, growth of tolerance, north and south; the work of the foundations, the inter-racial movement in the South, the National Urban League, and the Federal Council of Churches. But the great moving force was organized purposive efforts among Negroes,

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and foremost among these in influence, persistence, and accomplishment stands the NAACP. For thirty-eight years it has spearheaded the pressure for the rights of Negroes, until it became a mass movement built deeply into the consciousness of the nation and one of the most effective social efforts for reform in modern history.

The movement began at the height of the Booker T. Washington appeasement campaign, with the meeting of 17 Negroes in 1906 to form the Niagara Movement and demand full citizenship rights for Negroes. Three years later the Springfield, Illinois race riot brought a group of whites together in New York. At a conference in 1909 these groups merged and in 1910 formed the NAACP "to make the Negro, physically free from peonage; mentally free from ignorance; politically free from disfranchisement; and socially free from insult." This was a radical program for 1910, and it was regarded widely as so dangerous that it could hope for little support from the rich, and little countenance from the respectable.

From the beginning, while open to all, this organization was predominantly Negro in membership, directed increasingly by Negro officials, and supported up to 90 per cent of its funds by poor Negro workers. In this respect it is one of the most unique mass movements in the world. Its membership exceeds 500,000 in 1948.

NEGRO-CHURCH AND PRESS

Working contemporaneously with the NAACP have been large Negro organizations whose objects were not specific but without the NAACP would have been impotent--the Negro Church with its 35,000 congregations owning $175,000,000 in real estate and spending $28,000,000 a year, helped publicize and support the Association. The Negro press, with at present nearly 150 weekly papers, grew to

a circulation that reached every literate Negro and achieved a news coverage of interracial happenings that made Negroes independent of the white press for knowledge of the facts of their situation in America.

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Lynching

The NAACP centered its first attack on the most barbarous example of race friction, lynching. It began investigation and publicity in 1910, but in 1919 it started a real campaign. In that year a national conference was held in New York which sent out an address to the nation signed by an ex-president of the United States, the Attorney-General, 7 Governors, and a score of heads of universities.

In its anti-lynching campaign the NAACP did not work alone, but without doubt the NAACP led the attack, dramatized it, revealed the facts and hammered them home. The result of this work reduced lynching in the land from two a week in 1900 to 1 a year in 1947.

Political-Rights

The most remarkable work of the NAACP was its establishment of the legal foundation of the Negro's rights. From 1900 to World War I, American Negroes almost ceased to vote in the South. Migration north for jobs threw them into Northern city politics, and reaction in the South made this Northern Negro vote grow in weight; but as late as the campaign of 1928, the treatment of the Negro voter and his demands brought a bitter protest from Negro leaders of all schools, North and South.

Contrast this with the campaign of 1948. All three parties are asking for the votes of a Negro electorate, North and South, recognized as having sufficient intelligence to demand more than appointments and campaign contributions. They asked Civil Rights

and no party dares refuse at least lip service to the demand.

From 1915 to 1948 the NAACP has brought 26 cases involving the legal rights of Negroes before the United States Supreme Court and won 24 of them. In 1915 the "Grandfather Clause" in Southern constitutions, giving illiterate whites an hereditary right to vote, was declared unconstitutional. In 1927 the first attack was made on the "White Primary" method of disfranchising Negroes. Exclusion of Negroes from the Democratic primary by state law in Texas was declared illegal. But the state squirmed into other subterfuges, and in 1932 and 1935, the matter came to the Supreme Court until finally in 1944, a clear-cut decision was obtained.

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As a result of these decisions and other activities of local Negro groups, over 600,000 Negroes were qualified voters in 1947 in twelve Southern states, or twelve per cent of the Negroes of voting age. This is an increase of 450,000 since 1940. The Negro Ghetto Many cases had to do with the attempt to establish legal Negro ghettoes. Some ~~They~~ were handled by the NAACP, others by individuals and groups. The first case was in Baltimore, and attempted by city ordinance to restrict Negroes to reside in certain sections. It was invalidated by NAACP attorneys in 1913.

Other cases followed in Louisville, New Orleans, and Richmond. All were nullified in the United States Supreme Court in 1917, 1927, and 1930. Then tactics were changed and the restrictive covenants came into use, limiting Negro occupancy of homes by private contract. The covenants began to increase in number until it was estimated in 1947, that five square miles of St. Louis and ten square

miles of Chicago were restricted to settlement by white people. The Supreme Court of the United States decided against Negro complainants in 1944, and refused to review a decision of a lower court in 1945. Nevertheless, in 1948, came the epoch-making and clear-cut desicion outlawing the enforcement of such contracts by state or federal law.

Mob-Violence

Another series of cases and demonstrations sought to attack mob violence and denial of due process of law. In 1923, after the riots in Elane, Arkansas, the cases of twelve Negroes sentenced to death and 67 to prison terms were carried to the Supreme Court and the prisoners were finally released in 1925. Recently in Columbia, Tennessee 26 victims of mob violence obtained release. Systematic exclusion of Negroes from jury duty was attacked and cases won, before the Supreme Court in 1935, 1938, and 1942. The "Third Degree" against Negro prisoners to induce confession by torture was condemned by the Supreme Court in 1936, 1940, 1944, and 1948.

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Discrimination-in-Education

The fight for equal educational opportunities has been long, and discrimination in expenditure on Negro elementary training even today is disgraceful. In 1939-1940, nine Southern states spent on each white pupil 212 per cent more than on each Negro pupil, or $58.69 and $18.82 respectively. The NAACP centered its legal attack on this discrimination in the matter of salaries paid teachers, since discrimination between teachers of equal training was easy to prove. In 32 cases brought (1936-1945) by the NAACP and by individuals and other agencies to stop discrimination in salaries on account of race, 6 cases were won by court decision, 17 by consent decrees, 4 were lost, 1 dropped, and 4 are pending.

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In 1935, a Negro won a suit to enter the law school of the University of Maryland. The NAACP began in 1938 to fight for equal opportunities for Negroes in state schools for professional education. In Missouri, Oklohoma and Texas, cases have been won, ordering the state to furnish professional training to Negroes within the state. These are but part of the legal cases brought to the United States Supreme Court in the last thirty years. They not only have resulted in a number of victories, but what is more important have given Negroes faith in law, and in the sense of justice among large numbers of white people.

Occurrences like this have built the NAACP so deep into the consciousness of the American Negro and the Southern White as to make it a social institution. It survives because it is a heartening example to white and black, of what poor, disadvantaged persons can accomplish by faith, small contributions, and intelligent leadership. In forty years this organization has spent over $4,000,000, of w ich 90 per cent came from poor Negro workers, and not one penny of which has been misappropriated for purposes other than those for which the money was given.

UNION-LABOR

An effective effort toward interracial understanding among the working masses has come about through the trade unions. The organization of the CIO in 1935 was an attempt to bring the mass of workers into the union movement, as contrasted with the AFL effort to unionize only the skilled workers of industry.

Leading up to thishas been the work of the Urban League. Beginning in 1910, it voluntarily divided fields with the NAACP and undertook the task of securing work for Negroes. It appealed to

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employers and conferred with labor leaders and succeeded in placing thousands of Negro workers in jobs where Negroes had never been hired before. It facilitated the entrance of Negroes into public social work and emphasized vocational guidance. Resulting from its work, the success of Randolph's Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination

and the membership of the CIO's Negroes in trade unions has risen from 30,000 in 1900 to 100,000 in 1930, and an estimated total of 1,000,000 at the height of war industry.

RACE-RELATIONS

Organized efforts toward bettering race relations have been widespread in the United States. In 1919, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was formed in the South and helped in the anti-lynching effort, especially through the brave voices of Southern white women. The Commission on Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America was organized in 1921. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was started in 1939, and has become a strong organization for civil rights, political action, and equalization of educational opportunity.

THE FUTURE

What now have all these agencies accomplished in the last generation, and what can we look forward to in the next? First, we must note a general improvement in public opinion, not perhaps measurable in figures, but clear and decisive. The nation is no longer pessimistic on the Negro problem. Far from believing that the peaceful living together of black and white in America is impossible, we have come to conceive of a "One World" where all people must live together in equality or die. Science has attacked with devastating success the concept of race itself and of inborn

and ineradicable race differences. Many of the old cliches have disappeared. The changing of "human nature" is admitted to be possible and it is accepted that few prejudices are ineradicable. Law can help and hasten human change and intermarriage of persons of different races may be good, bad, or indifferent, depending mainly on circumstances which have nothing to do with"race."

As a result, today the nation, against the will of many but with the increasing cooperation of others, is facing the clear dilemma: either color caste in America must go, or the leadership of world democracy which we profess will be increasingly impossible. Moreover, increasing numbers of Americans are coming to realize that American Negroes can and will share in national life on equal terms with their fellow American, if they are given a fair chance in education and work; in science and art.

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THE AFRICAN ROOTS OF PEACE

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

THE NEW AFRICA

In England today, Africa is news. For a long time Africans have complained, "If there is an Iron Curtain in Eastern Europe, nevertheless, we hear more of events there than we do about African colonies." But today this is changing, and a British daily says: "African development has at last a news value. Even in the daily papers of the United Kingdom, the British West African colonies figure prominently from time to time. There are references to conferences with other powers who have colonies in Africa; and it goes on to say, "There are few people, however, who realize the urgent importance of Pan-African development; in particular, the cooperation of Great Britain with France, Belgium and Portugal. The fact is that Africa is the hinterland of Europe, both commercially and strategically, and in fulfilling our moral obligations to the native peoples it is essential to create a real defensive bastion against the Communist Eastern bloc."

Thus one of the great by-products of the Second World War is the growing importance of Africa. Here is the second greatest land area in the world, with at least one hundred and fifty million people and vast natural resources. England has lost control of India and Burma; France has lost Indo-China, and Holland is losing Indonesia. Still nearer the West comes the threat of the Arabs and Islan, with an independent Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Trans-Jordan, Iraq and Iran. Western European Imperialism must, to survive, center in Africa. Africa becomes increasingly the visible source of food, coal, diamonds, gold, copper and uranium for Europe. France, without

food from Algeria, Tunis and Morocco, would starve, and she is holding frantically to Madagascar. Belgium is accumulating wealth and power from the Congo, and Britain is awakening to the possibilities of Africa as a source not only of food but of other materials to restore at least in part her power.

I wish to essay a picture of current Africa and its human problems in relation to present day Europe and America, in order to make clear, if possible, the effect which the stature of Africa will have on the greatest problem of the world today--peace. My collection of facts is uneven and inaccurate. Africa may be "news" today, but the news is delayed and distorted. A half dozen powerful nations with aims to achieve, many score of local colonial governments with actions to excuse; and native spokesmen of widely varying education, experience and reliability with causes to justify, make it exceedingly difficult to know all the truth with regard to the present condition of African peoples. Gathering of facts from all sorts of sources, with lack of documents, or documents deliberately propaganda, I have sought to come to conclusions which seem to me to be fair, and true in general, if not in every detail.

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Mr. Bevin, in his review of Foreign Affairs, before the House of Commons, January 22, said: "The free nations of Western Europe must now draw closely together. I believe now the time is ripe for a consolidation of Western Europe, and this consolidation must be supported. And that involves the closest collaboration between the Commonwealth and the overseas territory of the French, Dutch, Belgians and Portuguese. Their raw materials, food and other resources could be of mutual advantage to these territories and to the world."

Last November, Sir Stafford Cripps said to the African Governor's conference, "The whole future of the sterling group and its ability to survive depends on a quick and vast development of colonial resources. It is to your contribution to the righting of the world unbalance that we must look; and in order to give you the chance of success, we must put behind you all that we can in the way of capital, goods, and supplies."

Angle-French consultations have been under way for creation of an economic grouping by which Western Europe would be linked with the African continent. This bloc would be an element of economic equilibrium between the United States and the Soviet Republic. Sir Oswald Moseley was flatly outspoken; he advocated a union of European people. He saw Europe as the leader, aiming to develop Africa as an estate of the Europeans to solve the economic problem by direct state action. "Africa never was developed by Negroes, who at present are exploited by finance capitalism under cover of Trusteeship hypocrisy."

"There are immense possibilities of development in the great continent of Africa," said Lord Addison, during the debate on Commonwealth and Empire Migration in the House of Lords. "We must realize a great many of these possibilities, or we shall be in even more distressing circumstances than we are now."

The Earl of Portsmouth said: "Our tropical Colonies demand a far greater administrative technical population than they have had up to date--namely, farmers, civil servants, engineers, business men and so forth. There is no question that our own population will

thrive at the expense of the Native African, for instance. After all, Africa would starve if it were not for the white man's ability to check erosion as much as he has done...--

"As this would work out, I belive it should be treated as a sort of great co-partership, as it were, on the lines of a military operation. You would start on your development areas, on the analogy of the Tennessee Valley-,... where you would start on the great work necessary; here, it might be hydro-electric; there, it might be dams; and elsewhere, it might be afforestation. You would move to reclaim that land and develop its area. As the works were completed, so would more people come....

"...England..., struggling to keep its head above water, can give neither hope nor a lead to the nations of Western Europe. With Britain and those nations working to a common purpose, with everything going well, all their industrial resources will be needed. But Europe's Colonial Empire--and the colonial empires of the French, the Belgians, the Dutch and Portuguese--will equally be joining in such a scheme as this. Half the nations of the world can work to save themselves from immediate disaster and ultimate starvation."

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MIGRATION AND PEANUTS

Out of this propaganda there have arisen two great developments, British migration to Africa, and the gigantic scheme of planting peanuts in East Africa. In January, 1948, it was said that ninety-five thousand British subjects were registered for passage to South Africa.

This migration was started by the attempt of South Africa and the Rhodesias to increase their white populations. South Africa discovered last Spring that her less than two and a half million whites are increasing at the rate of sixteen and one half per cent in ten years, while her black, colored and Asiatic populations are increasing over eighteen per cent, and amount to nine millions. The Union has been encouraging migration, and immigration centers have been opened in England, Holland, and Rome, with a quota of fifteen hundred a month. Southern Rhodesia has received twenty thousand white immigrants in the last two years, with one thousand arriving monthly now.

Meanwhile, the great scheme to develop Africa as a British food estate has been started. Britain's "Overseas Resources Act provides for two public corporations: the £ 100,000,000 "Colonial Development Corporation," under the Secretary of State for Colonies: and the £50,000,000 "Overseas Food Corporation," under the Minister of Food.

The Colonial Development Corporation is designed for work in colonies and is "Charged with the duty of securing the investigation, formulation and carrying out of projects for developing resources of colonial territories with a view to the expansion of production therein of foodstuffs and raw materials."

The Overseas Food Corporation may work within or outside colonies and is "charged with the duty of "investigating, formulating and carrying out "project for production or processing in places outside the United Kingdom of foodstuffs or agricultural products other

than foodstuffs, and the marketing thereof; and as the first project is to be carried out by them, securing the large scale production of groundnuts, together with crops rotational therewith or ancillary thereto, in colonial territories in East and Central Africa."

This plan to raise peanuts in East Africa has been called "the most important action of Government in the history of British tropical Africa." The area involved includes parts of Tanganyika, Kenya and Northern Rhodesia, and calls for clearing, planting, and cultivating by mechanized methods over three million acres of land in one hundred and seven farming units of thirty thousand acres each.

The plan was conceived by the United African Company, a branch of the hugh Lever Brothers organization, which is already the largest organization engaged in exploiting Africa. The management of the project has been assigned to this company, because while the Government recognized that the management of such an undertaking should properly be a government-owned and financed corporation (and the establishment of such a corporation is to take place "in due course"), it was considered desirable, in order to get the project started quickly, to entrust the management to an existing commercial firm.

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Supervision of the project, according to the government's report would pass first from this company to the government corporation and then to the local governments concerned "at a time and on terms to be agreed in the light of experience of the working of the project." Finally would come the accomplishment of "the more distant goal of transferring the control of the undertaking to the people themselves."

The East African Peanut Project carries further and makes immediate and specific development plans for the colonies which have been laid down for years. In 1947, a ten-year development plan was announced with a prospective expenditure of nearly $500,000,000. Only a small part of this--perhaps eight million dollars a year during the last few years--has actually been appropriated.

On the other hand, partly public and partly private, further plans are being proposed. The palm oil industry in Nigeria is to be expanded. The government has plans for improving the cocoa crop in West Africa and has taken control of its sale. Peanut culture is to be extended on mechanized plantations in West Africa. Cotton, rubber, and hardwoods are also mentioned for development. Mining and hydro-electric power are forecast. There is one plan in Uganda which is called "breathtaking" and which involves the raising of the level of Lake Victoria a yard and thus eventually revolutionalizing the valley of the Nile. There is a similar plan in Northern Rhodesia, designed to develop rich and extensive deposits of iron ore; while in Southern Rhodesia there is a plan for a dam, four times the size of Boulder Dam, to make Southern Rhodesia one of the four chief sources of high grade steel.

New Capital to Africa

Most of these are still in the planning and blue-print stage, but private capital in Africa has had long experience. In South Africa in the last sixty years $2,500,000,000 worth of gold has been produced out of which nearly $500,000,000 was paid in dividends. Diamonds and other minerals have brought further returns. It is natural, therefore, that when new discoveries were made recently in the Orange Free State, the greatest gold boom in forty years started. The new claims cover over one hundred square miles and call for a working capital of nearly $100,000,000, forcasting a capacity equal to one-third of the present output of the country.

35-2-42

South Africa especially has been prosperous during the war years with a state income rising nearly sicty per cent during the last eight years. Over three thousand new companies have been formed and British and Canadian capital is flowing in. French and Swiss bankers are said to be planning to transfer Italian factories bodily to South Africa.

But especially is American capital increasing. Our State Department has announced that British Colonies will be the primary source from which the United States can make good stock-piling for raw materials and deficiancies in o ther sources. American capital in South Africa has doubled since 1939.

Sir Arthur Salter points out that America must encourage productive foreign investments on a large scale; that countries like China, India, Russia cannot be good fields for investment because there is no assurance against confiscation. But the colonial empires of Great Britain, France, and Holland offer the best market for sale of capital equipment. From the Belgian Congo, the United States in 1946, bought three thousand six hundred and fifty tons of uranium for which it paid over five million dollars.

This is but a partial picture of the growing concentration of world capital investment in Africa, attracted by cheap labor and by government conditions which will encourage access to raw material with low taxation and with every advantage for exploitation.

Naturally, this condition brings up many questions. First, on the part of England itself, what is going to be the object and end of this concentration of capital in Africa?

Planning For Africa

The Fabian Society, planning for the Labor Government, puts the matter this way: In the period from 1950 to 1955, joint British, French, Belgian, South African and Egyptian planning should be agreed upon; and could in twenty years change the face of Africa and of its place in world economy as much as the Russians have changed the face of Soviet Asia. Such hoint action could reproduce TVA's in the valleys of the Nile, Congo, Niger, and Zambesi. This twenty year development program would create an enormous source of supply of primary products and a large new market for manufactued goods. For this, there must be provided, labor, power, transport, homes, and social services for the white workers who immigrate to direct this development. In this way capitalist exploitation of the colonies can be carried on by a planned development of their resources, based on

sharply rising living standards for the native people and the effective participation of these people in the organization and administration of this development. "That participation is vital, if Africa is to be recreated; we must stop doing things for the Africans and start doing things with them."

This is a heartening and interesting forecast, but how far is it really inspiring the thought of the investing world? In the discussion and planning, contradiction and overtones appear. For instance, in June, 1948, a member of Parliament pointed out that possibly more good could be done for England by investing in marginal land and rough grazing land and bringing it into production. The Joint Parliament Secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture replied, that England depends on imports for about ninety-five per cent of its oils and fats, and that the peanut scheme is not being done to help the Africans or Australia, but to get much needed additionas supplies of these things for Britain.

25-2-63

When it comes to the matter of Migration of white paople to Africa for technical knowledge and direction of the new development, the schemes ran into difficulties and prejudices. Lord Tweedsmuir said in the House of Lords, "Upon the successful redistribution of the British race depends the whole future of the British Commonwealth." But what is to be the relation of these white Britishers to the dark people of Africa? We know the attitude of white Englishmen in the Union of South Africa, in Kenya and even in West Africa toward the natives. But even in England itself, there is the color bar. Black students and visitors have so much difficulty in finding accommodations that special hostels are being opened. Great Britain which followed South Africa and Rhodesia in favor of a policy of racial privilege and segregation and domination of the blacks by the whites, would not hope to retain any part of Asia in the British Commonwealth.

Poverty And The Past

Another difficulty has been pointed out. As one writer says, "we are trying to make our people believe that there are vast resources of food to come out of Africa to help this country, but if the natives of Africa are fed properly there will be no surplus to come out of Africa, and the sooner the Government lets the people of this country know the facts the better. The natives are increas ng to a tremendous extent, and they are unable to provide food for themselves at the present time. The colonies, to be sure, have been prosperous during the war because of the goods which they have furnished; but nevertheless, most of this production has gone to Europe and the taxable capacity of most colonials is low."

Mr. Rankin, a member of Parliament from Glasgow, said on January 20, 1948, that the government ought to be reminded "that for every £12 of wealth created in Africa in the past, we took out £11 and left £1. And England cannot forget what Lord Palmerston said to his Tiverston constituents just one hundred years ago: "The crimes committed in regard to African slavery and the African slave trade, if they could be put together, are, I am sure, greater in amount than all the crimes that every were committed by the human race from the beginning of the world to the present time."

Many difficulties are being pointed out. For instance, in 1946 the total revenue of British African colonies averaged $4.00 a hand.

The figure for the United Kingdom the same year showed an average of nearly $300.00 a head.. This illustrates the problem of poverty in Africa. The introduction of any substantial amount of mechanization or large scale production in African colonies would necessarily involve something like a social revolution. Suppose that a great saving of labor, up to ninety-three per cent, as has been mentioned in the case of extracting oil from the palm, to whom would this saving go? To the investor, the white manager, white technical skill or the native labor?

It was said in the House of Commond January 20, 1948, "Labor is one of the problems that has never been properly faced by the originators of this scheme, it is thought that the African native is a source of cheap labor... We have to give the native primary education, better food, and more incentives, if production is started before labor supply is in the right position the difficulties will be accentuated. They should have good villages with their own schools and hospitals, and they should be better fed, and given a higher standard of living so that they would be able to do the work. Before any steps to increase production are taken, these provisions must be made."

35-2-64

A member of parliament speaking in Amsterdam recently declared, "Those of us who have any experience in the administration ofoveresea territories must make it clear to our colleagues at home that any discussion of the place of the oversea territories in a Western Union must keep in the forefront the interest of the oversea peoples. If the idea is inadvertently spread that the decisions of the peoples for whom we are responsible in Africa and Asia can be settled in London or Paris or Brussels or The Hague without consulting them, We shall get trouble and we shall deserve it."

The determination of white leaders in Africa to dominate the balcks is continually expressed. In the Union of South Africa, two million white people are ruling ten million colored and Asiatics without giving them voice in government, and keeping them in economic dependence and poverty. In Kenya, the same policies are being pursued.

When the Rhodesia National Affairs Association met in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, N. H. Wilson developed the idea of "Capricorn Africa", to include all those states between the Equator and the Tropic of Capricorn, that is Uganda, Kenya, Ganganyika, the Belgian Congo, Angola, the two Rhodesias, Nyasaland, Mozambique, and the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and a portionn of French Equatorial Africa. Capricorn Africa, with an area slightly larger than the United States and a population between 35,000,000 and 40,000,000, would have natural resources richer than those of the United States, except in the matter of petroleum. Wilson's credo was that it is the predestined role of Capricorn Africa to help the natoins of Western Europe to complete economic recovery; Capricorn Africa will embrace only colonial countries where white European politican control is to be premanent.

Even more significant is the situation in Kenya, which was settled originally by South Africans. In Kenya, orignated the idea of making Africa a center of defense of the West against the East. It was first broached in 1923, by a member of the legislative council in his pamphlet The Thermopylae of Africa. He developed the theme that Europe must withdraw from Asia, and that she should make Kenya Colony her center of defense and rule in Africa. He believed, that confronted by the fast approaching crisis in the relations of the

primary races of mankind, the white race has no choice but to abondon its nineteenth century attitude of aggressive expansion and to collect and reorganize its diminished strength within defensible lines thereto await the shock of the Asiatic onslaught.

He was of the opinion that the first necessity will be to decide where to draw defensive lines. They, of course, will be first in white countries, and second, it should remember that Africa is the most important unit of the group of territories which whites d dominate outside of Asia. Africa's immense area, her fertility, her numerous population, her geographical position all are in her favor. So great are her potentialities that control of Africa may prove to be the decisive factor in the coming conflict of the primary races.

East Africa Empire Defense

It is a singular confirmation of this forecast that in January, 1948, it was announced that a huge military stores depot was under construction at McKennon Road, Kenya, sixty-five miles from the coast. Today there are thousands of white troops and engineers at this base; there are 2,000 Italian artisans flown in from Rome, and there are thousands of African laborers. Thirty-five miles of jungle are being cleared; water is being piped seventy miles. Here is being collected in stone and iron buildings, hundreds of thousands of tons of war material from North Africa and the Middle East.

35-2-65

We turn now to the really crucial point, what is Africa itself thinking? Or perhaps we should say , does Africa think? Negro opinion is beginning to make itself heard. In London the League of Colored People says in its chief organ: "Mere promises of benefits to come will not be convincing. Too often in the past the people of Africa have been beguiled by fair words and fine promises; these they complain, have done nothing to increase their standard of living, and when the fricans themselves have attempted to express an opinion on how improvement in their society might be achieved they have been prosecuted for sedition."

It goes on to say that when the Labor Government came to power in Great Britain, many Africans were prepared to welcome the change of administration in the hope that it would lead to radical changes in colonial policy and administration. In Africa generally, and more particularly in East Africa, these hopes have been sadly doomed. These circumstances are not in keeping with the avowed principles of the British Labor movement and their continued existance presumes the failure of the local governments to put into practical working the principles which prominent ministers in the labor government maintain they desire to see implemented in Africa. But it asks, "do the ministers really mean what they say?

George Padmore, a colored West Indian resident of London, details the present difficulties in colonial administration in British Colonies. He declares that the grievances in Africa are racial, economic and social. The economic problems rise from the land problem in East and South Africa where natives have been dispossessed of their land by Europeans and concentrated in special areas known as reserves. There they are subjected to direct hut and poll taxes in order to force them to seek employment on the plantation or in the mines.

The British colonial governor he says is a trinity: he represents the King; he is chief executive; he advises with a legislative council, but in most important decisions, by his veto and reserved powers, he is the real source of colonial legislation. Natives participate in government by the device of "indirect rule." This was introduced into West Africa by Lord Lugard, when he lacked enough white troops to conquer the region. He left local government in the hands of the chiefs; but by power of appointing and dismissing them, by paying them out of government moneys, and in general controlling their actions, he made the British Commissioner the real ruler of West Africa. A diffuse native bureaucracy was superimposed on the old feudal and tribal systems. The chiefs are not subject to the democratic control of their people but derive their powers direct from the government.

35-2-66

As Margery Pelham, a white Englishwoman, says: "Most educated Africans, especially in West Africa and the Sudan, critize and strongly condemn indirect rule. They say it gives power to uneducated chiefs and elders instead of the educated; that it strengthens tribal feeling and so continues the disunity of the country. It is, they say, part of the old policy of 'divide and rule' by which an imperial power keeps its subjects weak and prevents their advance toward self-government." Despite all this, the British administrator is usually honest and efficient. Under him West Africa has progressed; the native rulers have made great and notable advance. But the Africans complain, too much is done for them and not with them. The rulers reply, the natives want more than they are fit to provide.

Politics in all African colonies conform to a pattern which varies from territory to territory only as to the relative importance of the following factors: (1) White settlers who work for self-rule, with white supremacy both in economics and in politics; (2.) Big Business which works for monopolistic concerns and control over labor; (3.) Alien racial groups who demand equality in all ways with the whites; (4.) A handful of native intelligenstia frustrated and resentful who agitate for "Africa for the Africans," "down with the color bar" and, at the same time, demand increased social services; and (5.) Government with indirect rule trying to hold down the lid.

In addition to this, there must not be overlooked the great mass of people of Africa, the "ignorant man and his wife with a hoe." They are protected from their aggressive neighbors, and have some modern medical aid, a little education, sanitation and use of machinery. They can sell their crops more or less freely in the world market and they have perhaps doubled in number in thirty years. They pay comparatively little attention to either social leaders or agitatiors, but want to be left undisturbed; yet someday they may be touched off by a firebrand or inspired by a prophet.

A native of West Africa declares that West Africans have shown phenomenal advance in the direction of self-confidence and native consciousness. Even admitting the good faith of the British government, they demand to be treated as colleagues and consulted fairly and fully in all decisions that are taken about their country and people. This just the type of situation that makes for impatience and frayed nerves.

On the other hand, there is on the part of the white administrator resentment, that despite all the government is doing for the people they are not grateful, and their leaders continue to malign it. There is constant complaint that the people are not being consulted in the drawing up of plans and in their execution; a conflict of paternalism, "father knows best," versus nationalism, "we must be consulted." There is widespread feeling among many Africans and Europeans that if there is to be cooperation between Africans and British, there is need for responsible Africans to speak freely on all subjects respecting themselves and their country.

Violence and Strikes

In South Africa have occurred at least twenty riots and disturbances varying from the student strike at Lovedale to the burning of their passes by 7000 natives at Capetown, and culminating in the strike of 50,000 Negro miners in August, 1946, to obtain a wage of $2.00 a day, instead of the 45 cents they are receiving. Five strikers were killed by the police, 62 arrested by breach of contract and conspiracy, 46 of whom were heavily fined or jailed. Raids and arrests continued for a month, including arrest of some liberal whites. "Communism" was blamed for the outbreak.

35-2-97

In Kenya, in January, 1947, 7000 natives struck, affecting eleven business concerns. After failure to satisfy the strikers, the strike spread to Uganda with disturbances at four centers. It was finally settled by a raise in wages of more than twenty-five per cent.

In West Africa, there were serious disturbances in Nigeria and on the Gold Coast. In Nigeria, in 1944, increased government allowances were granted white employees but postponed for Negros. In 1945, a general strike of 150,000 non-clerical workers was declared and eventually brought a fifty per cent increase in wages. Later there were further strikes of electrical workers, metal workers, and employees of the United African Company. Miners struck in the Ashanti Gold mines and secured increased wages.

On the Gold Coast, strikes finally assumed the aspect of civil war. In 1946 a commission under the white Chief Justice found that the cost of living had gone up two hundred per cent and recommended increased wages to government employees. Another commission under an African judge advised a minimum wage for other employees of 32 cents to 40 cents in the country districts, and 60 cents a day in the towns. Teachers then complained, and a third commission gave them increases. Railway workers and miners then asked for raises, struck when they were refused, and gained their demands after several weeks.

Then came a colony-wide boycott against high prices charged by importing concerns, led by a progressive chief. A price control commission was set up to curb prices and reduced them by thirty-three and one third per cent. The demobilized soldiers thereupon started a march to the Governor to present a petition. There ensued a skirmish with the police, which led to rioting and looting. In additional fighting 25 Africans were killed and 277 injured including 15 whites. Many prominent black men were arrested. The black soldiers of the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Nigeria refused to bear arms against their fellow soldiers, and white units in Gibralter were alerted. Two battleships were ordered from South Africa.

Finally the Governor appealed to the chiefs and to London, and a London commission of inquiry was sent out.

In 1947, a railway strike of 12,000 workers crippled the whole transport system of French West Africa. The strikers demanded "equal pay for equal work."

Northeast Africa has had strikes. In March, 1947, five hundred dock workers struck at Port Sudan, in the Egyptian Sudan; in July, ten thousand railway workers at Atbara walked off the job; in Ethiopia, five thousand railway employees refused to work until the Emperor obtained a twenty-five per cent increase in wages.

Labor Unions

These strikes and many others that have taken place all over the continent of Africa, show that there is an increase in the activity of trade unions and union organization in Africa. In most of the territories there is legislation to permit trade unions, but some of it is antiquated and in many cases as in East Africa it is on paper rather than actually in force. No African in Northern Nigeria , for instance, is a member of a trade union; and although in the Union of South Africa there are one hundred and twenty native trade unions claiming one hundred and sixty thousand members, these unions are not officially recognized; however some effort was being made to that end before the last election.

35-2-68

The West African movement, on the other hand is growing in stature and power. In French West Africa the movement also has taken on strenth and force; and there was a federation of trade unions which met in Dakar, French West Africa, in April 1947. Eighteen delegations of Negro trade unions attended and recommendations were made to be considered at the world labor meeting at Prague in June.

The most significant occurrence in the African labor world was the representative character of the Africans at the World Trade Union Conference in February 1945. Colonial delegates came from Nigeria, The Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia in West Africa besides from many Negro communities in America.

Wallace Johnson of West Africa, who but a few weeks before his arrival had been released by the British Government after five and a half years' imprisonment in exile, for trade union activity, presented a "charter of labor" for the colonies, demanding: the abolition of racial discrimination in public and private employment, forced labor and chold labor, flogging and punishment for breach of labor contract, and caste law legislation; the right of free assembly, free speech, free press and free movement; and "equal pay for equal work irrespective of race, color, creed or sex."

The Intelligentsia

Turning now from the mass of African workers, may we not ask, is there a mass intelligentsia in Africa? If so, what does it want? The effort of people to raise themselves from one social position to a higher one always has something bizarre about it, as well as deep tragedy. We laugh at the effort. England used to laugh at American literature. The white South long laughed at the efforts of American Negroes to get an education. In the same way when Sir Allen Burns, former Governor of the Gold Coast, talking to

American missionaries recently said tolerantly, that we must view the situation in Africa realistically, mindful of the possibility that "a small group of not too well-educated persons, clamoring for self-government" might confuse the issues and set the clock back."

This charge has been repeated by Englishmen and especially colonial officials very widely, so that one gets the idea that the leadership in Africa is poorly educated, not too moral, and very selfish. On the other hand, there has been coming to the world, especially since the First World War, a series of statements and arguments from the leaders of the African people so significant as to bear quotation:

35-2-69

On January 6, 1947, in East Africa a black man, the Hon. E. W. Mathu, African Representative on the Kenya Legislative Council, who studied at Oxford, told his people: that they "could not afford to be slaves in a free world; that is was their duty to work hard all the year round to prepare a better world for our children. No people in history has ever risen from the dust to the height of a respected nation without struggle. No people has ever achieved freedom without working, fighting, or dying for it." He told them they must not expect to be an exception, but to work hard and hold their own without submitting to indignities and subhuman treatment."

Continuing, he advised them that "to raise the standard of living thay must act together. Tribal boundaries must go; they must refuse to be separated or divided by anybody. All Africans must organize as members of one nation. If color bar, discrimination, and all the other evils are to be ended, African territories under European rule and the independent African States of Ethiopia and Liberia must organize on a continental scale."

In London, in the early part of 1947 a delegation representing the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, a federation of 183 political parties, trade unions, professional associations, farmers and peasants organizations, tribal unions, and youth groups, laid before the Secretary of State for Colonies a Protest against the Constitution which had been forced upon Nigeria. Their statement said:

> "We are unwilling to continue the reactionary policy of making our legislative chamber a debating society for the amusement of British colonial administrators. We resent the idea of having your paid civil servants run our country as an untrammelled bureaucracy, enabling them to make, interpret, and administer our laws, without our knowledge and consent, and without out being effectively represented in such chamber by councillors or legislators of our own choice. We demand the right to assume responsibility for the government of our country. We demand the right to be free to make mistakes and profit form our experience."

Pan Africa, the Organ of blac folk resident in Great Britain, but most of whom were born in the colonies, publishes an editorial in September, 1947, which said that, "if there were amongst African people any optimistic dreamers who believed that colonial freedom could be

achieved by Round Table Conferences and the benevolent coopetation of foreign rulers, the events in the Far East should have given them a rude awakening. To every African man and woman it should be crystal clear that the path to colonial freedom is the same in Whatever part of the world a subject people struggle towards their liberation. "The jungle law of twentieth century imperialism is still in force, and a man of sense knows what to expect if he attempts to bargain with a tiger."

Education

Paraphrasing Abraham Lincoln, Julian Huxley recently said that: "man cannot exist half illiterate and half literate." How much education or centers of modern culture are there in Africa? In certain parts, especially in Sierre Leone, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria, there exists an intellectual elite, a native bourgioisie which is a class consistituting the vanguard of progressive political movements. They and their sons have studied at American and European universities, and represent mainly several generation of culture and political consciousness.

35-2-20

In other areas, like the Protectorates, and in countries like Uganda, tribal or semi-feudal social institutions persist, even though these communities are not educated in modern ways. Here and elsewhere from the younger elements, there is emerging a class of natives dissatisfied with the status quo demanding wider and fuller education and better social conditions.

The overall facts are that even in the most advanced parts of Africa, only one African in twenty is able to read and write; most of the schooling is provided by the missionaries, with some government assistance. The former governor of Nigeria says frankly, "Out of a school population of over seven million, to have only four hundred thousand at school is a sta tling position." But again and again the official attitude is expressed, as, for instance, by Sir Wilfred Woods in a survey of conditions in East African colonis; "None of the territy possesses a taxable capacity which could provide sufficient funds anything approaching universal elementary education even up to the first three or four standards without drastic curtailment of what must, for the time being, be deemed the prior claims of economic development."

Here again one faces a paradox. As a Negro puts it, "the conscious policy of imperialism is to keep colonial economics backward and colonial peoples ignorant. So long as such countries remain merely agrarian appendages to the mother country--that is, sources of raw material and also markets for manufactured commodities--there is no need to educate the people."

Imperialism cultivates a small section of native intellectuals to man the lower offices and functions of the civil service and of commerce. If the countries were industrialized it would be essential to increase education since it is impossible to carry on modern mechanized production with uneducated workers.

Meantime a part of the problem of Negro education is being answered by the extraordinary influx of African students into England. The Welfare Department of the Colonial office reported, in February, 1948, that there were thirty-two hundred colonials studying in

Great Britain and the number was increasing. In 1941, the total was only eighty. Of the present three thousand, probably a third are from West Africa, and three hundred from the Gold Coast alone.

An Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the British Colonies has made its first report after investigation, and plans universities in East and West Africa, when funds are available to extend present beginnings. Principals have been appointed for Makerere in Uganda and Ibadan in Nigeria, and Gordan College in the Sudan will be strengthened.

Thus the black intelligentsia has been built up on narrow foundations of a few higher schools in Africa, and migration to England and America for study. Small wonder its results are meagre and unfinished. The miracle is that so many intelligent black leaders are arising and building the great inert ignorant mass amid the opposition of investment and race hate.

35-2-71

What is Africa?

All this has been an imperfect survey of a vast continent, where reliable information is difficult to obtan. As a matter of fact, in a sense our very basis of inquiry is faulty, when we speak of "Africa." There is no one entity with such physical, historical and social unity as would permit it intelligently to be called by one name. Considering tribe, history and social condition, very many Africans might be distinguished. But for intelligent study under present conditions, there are six Africas--regions which show such general unity of development and condition as to give a unified designation real meaning.

West Africa

First there is West Africa, perhaps the best known generally. It is the gate of the continentfrom the West. Its tropical climate hot sunshine and lush vegetation on the low coastal belt, rising to the great inland plateau, fulfills our usual idea of Africa. It covers today for our purposes British West Africa and Liberia. The leadership of black Africa centers here and this growing group yet may well lead the continent to autonomy. It will be a firerce, long road, with Great Britain determined not for long years, if ever, to realease its hold on West African labor and products. Yet this region is securing more and more education, increased native wealth and clearer understanding of the white world and its methods.

Nigeria, the largest British colony, is one-third the size of Europe and has a population of approximately twenty-three millions. It has twenty-five publications and a total daily circulation of newspapers amounting to perhaps thirty-five thousand. It has twenty thousand miles of road and two thousand miles of railway.

West Africans are now within the orbit of world commerce and world crisis, but they are poor. Many of them are existing on five hundred to six hundred calories, compared with twelve hundred or eighteen hundred, which istoday described as too little for the people of Europe. The Africans know the reasons for this poverty. A nigerian woman recently said: "There is a constant drain of wealth from Nigeria, and it is because we know this that we cannot be expected to become enthusiastic over the Colonial Welfare and Development Fund. Considering the vast wealth that Nigeria has

poured into the pockets of English trading houses and mining companies through the years, to say nothing of the incalculable contributions made to the Allied cause in two World Wars in manpower, ingoods, and services, it strikes us as ironical now to be offered the almost paltry amount of £23,000,000 as evidence of the genorosity of Great Britain to her family of Colonies. Were Nigeria an independent country there is not doubt that Britain would be very greatly in her debt, even as she is now in debt to Egypt."

Tosay a strong Nigerian movement under Aziwike is making England yield ground; he demands a ten year condominium, five years home-rule by one thousand trained Nigerians, then independence. Failing to get that he proposes to appeal to the United Nations, and after that, "direct action." A rival youth organization and a newer union of the powerful Yorubas may spell division, as the English hope; on the other hand, it may lead to wider union and irresistible strength.

35-2-72

Liberia has never been independent. She has had first to fight native tribes for a foothold; and then for a half century exercise all her skill toescape the imperialisms of Britain, France and Germany, only to be driven into the hands of American capital. She desperately needs today an intelligentsia to restore the remanants of her freedom in the face of militarism and corporations from America.

South Africa

Second in importance comes South Africa; rising in plateaus to the bastion of the Cape, the Union, the Rhodesias, the Protectorates and the mandate of South West Africa. Here, after a wild scramble which raised all of the worst of human passions and a few of the best, we have today, inland from the Cape once called Good Hope, the greatest center of human race hate in the world. In the Union of South Africa there are today, two million three hundred and thirty-five thousand four hundred and sixty white folk who have complete political domination over seven million seven hundred and thirty-five thousand eight hundred and nine blacks and one million one hundred and eighty-seven thousand five hundred and eighty-none colored folk and Asiatics. This dominion of eleven million persons extends the right to vote only to its two and a half million white citizens. The African, although a taxpayer, has no right of citizenship. He is barred largely from skilled industry; his trade unions are not recognized, and he is denied the right to strike. Legislation prohibits him from acquiring land in cities , forces him to carry a pass, and deprives him of the right to seek free employment. The arrests of natives, especially for the violation of the laws about carrying passes, coming to cities, and failure to pay poll tax, leads to two hundred thousand arrests in a single year; whereas in England, with four times the population, only thirty thousand are arrested. Urban Negroes are housed for the most part in noisome shanty towns with no decencies of civilized life. Taxation and economic compulsion drive the African from the reserves to the mines, where he is housed and segregated in barracks. His average wage while so employed is approximately $200. a year.

There are four urgent needs for the black population, and their representative councils have repeated these many times. Removal of the industrial color bar, more land, abolition of caste laws, and the extension of the franchise. The land situation by the law of 1938 gives the eighteen million natives twelve per

cent of the total land area of the Union, leaving two hundred and fifty million acres for the less than two million five hundred thousand whites.

The native group is now split roughly into three parts; two million live in cities, three million live on the white farms in the country, and three million on the reserves. Two-thirds of the whites are in cities and one third on the land.

For a long time the gold mining industry, based on cheap black immigrant labor, has been looked upon as the backbone of South African economy. Now industry is outstripping the mines. With this new dependence upon industry, what is going to be the future of South Africa? If they look toward manufacturing for a white market it will be a long time before the white market of Africa reaches five million; and if they are going to manufacture for the native population, then they native population must receive larger income by far than it does now.

35-2-73

The total expenditure for Negro education, 1946-47 is ten million dollars, in addition to three and a half millions for school feeding. The Institute of Race Relations says that, "these funds are, of course, quite inadequate and cannot keep pace with the natural increase in the school age population, let alone overtake the existiong shortage." In 1941 out of 1,125,000 Africans of school age, 347,050 were in school. About eighty-five per cent leave school before standard third.

The last few years in South Africa have seen difficult race relations. Hostility among Negroes and Asiatics toward the whites has grown. There has been violence, culminating in the strike of the African mine workers in 1946, and the climax was reached when Africam members of the native representative council adjourned indefinitely in August. They alleged breach of faith on the part of the government in its dealings with the council, and called for immediate abolition of all discriminating legislation.

In the meantime, and more menacing than the race relations, is the fact that there is already slackening in economic activity in South Africa. After a long period of continuous expansion, the nation's rate of growth is beginning to decrease. Today there is more uncertainity and doubt about the immediate economic outlook than at any time since 1940. And it is at this time that the Smuts government has been overthrown on the issue of increased segregation and suppression of the darker races. A Negro leader, Z.K. Matthews comments: "I am convinced that the Nationalists will with the connivance of many non-Nationalist Europeans put into effect against non-Europeans all the things that they have wanted for so long." However, in their struggle for a better place in the South African sun, the African people remain undaunted and the retrogressive action, which they now expect, will only serve to make them more determined to close their ranks and organize themselves better for fight that lies ahead."

The Institute of Race Relation says: "We feel bound to issue a warning that if this situation in the field of race relations is allowed to deteriorate further, it will before long reach a stage in which the voice of reason will not be heeded."

Adjacent to South Africa lie the Negro Protectorates, Basuto-land, Bechuanaland, and Swazi-land, now administered by the British colonial office under treaty. On account of the stubborn resistence of the natives, especially the Basutos, these territories were annexed by treaty and given a considerable degree of autonomy. South Africa has long desired to annex them and Malan will probably make another attempt to do so. They are meanwhile slaowly but stubbornly dying of economic starvation and throttling of outlet and enterprise at the hands of both British and South Africans.

Nyasaland and the Rhodesias lie between South Africa and East Africa and are pushing for automony with the power in the hands of whites. Here will take place in the future some of the most severe cases of racial strife and antagonism. Here are vast arcres of land rich for farming and untold mineral wealth. A small but close-knit group of whites are set to carry out the South African pattern with a smaller ruling class and a less educated mass of serfs.

35-2-34

East Africa

East Africa is a physical sport of nature with snow-capped peaks on the equator and that vast rift in the earth, visible from the moon, if there are eyes there to see! With the deepest lakes in the world, sloping down to the coast that for centuries has knit Africa and Asia. Here are three lands, Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya. Tanganyika has only fifteen personsto each of its 360,000 square miles, with five million natives and seventy thousand whites. Nobody votes, but the whites are assuming ownership of men and resources. Diamonds and other minerals are being exploited and here Britain is placing her peanut culture scheme. The land is being slowly seized and the natives get almost no education.

Elspeth Huxley says that from Tanganyika to Uganda one passes "from vastness and poverty to a compact tidy, closely administered, relatively wealthy country, favored by nature with highland and rainfall which has brought abundance andcomparative prosperity to most of its people."

Uganda is the still unconquered remnant of a series of African empires. It was long the victim of white religious strife and emerged as a British "protectorate" with some autonomy and wealth in its retention of wonership of its land. Ugands has 95,000 square miles andfour million people. The black ruling class consists of landholders and employers, who import labor from the Belgian Congo and the Nile valley. Uganda has started on an educational program. Here is Makerere College, which may yet become the black university of East Africa. Ten years ago there were 270,000 children in school, and presumabley there has been considerable advance since, although figures are not available. Information concerning Uganda is regularaly suppressed because this is a country which can easily folfow the lead of West Africa and become the center of a movement toward autonomy. It has long history of indigenous culture. Its economic problems are severe and the encroachment of investing capital is threatening.

In Kenya we go up toward the mountains of the moon, where on 225,000 square miles, there is a population of three and a half million. Here 25,000 whites have monopolized the most fertile eighty per cent of the land, and have tried to compel the Negroes to work for them. The blacks, densely crowded in lowland, desert

and swamp, have made a fierce struggle for opportunity. They have forced their cause on the British and gained vacillating sympathy. Once their interests were declared "paramount" as compared with the immigranting South Africans and English; but little has been done to implement this declaration. Less than one-fifth of the school population is in mission and government schools, and the wealth accruing to the whites from monopoly of land (which cost them almost nothing), transport and investment have given the ruling clique vast power. The only fly in their ointment is a large contingent of Indian merchants who dispute the division of profits and lately have been joining the natives in their opposition to white control. Surrounded by the Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda, white rule in Kenya will have no easy path to complete domination.

The Nile Valley

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At the head of the valley of the Nile stands Ethiopia on the citadel of Africa; restored to independence. It has had a fierce struggle with Britain, who is not certain whether this country will prove a fortress against Asia or a threat to Europe. Both Italy and Britain are seeking colonial claims which would strip Ethiopia of her outlet to the sea, and both Europe and America are seeking to get control of the resources of this rich land. Meanwhile, Ethiopia is striving in poverty to educate her masses, is sending students abroad for higher education and technical skill and is using Russins, Scandinavians and American Negroes to build up industry and sanitation. The Emperor is a wise and brave man, but he is not getting from the United Nations or from European civilization the aid and encouragement he so sorely needs. If Ethiopia once reaches real economic independence, the end of the domination of Europe in Africa will be in sight.

Down the Nile valley from Etiopia lies the Sudan, the source of ancient Egyptian civilization, the last bastion which in the 19th century drove Britain out of its borders for thirteen years and nearly gave North Africa to Ethiopia and France. Kitchener and Egypt recaptured the Sudan, until in our day Egypt seeking independence from the British Empire finds itself losing the Sudan. The Sudan controls the Nile, the life-line ofEGypt. The Sudan is the broad path to British East Africa. Who controls the Sudan will, with an independent Ethiopia, control East and Central Africa. Consequently both Egypt and England are today wooing the seven million black people on the million acres of the Sudan. The Sudanese remember how Mehemet Ali of Egypt spoiled this land with rape and slave trade and how still Egypt draws the color line in politics and industry. But they also remember that the English desecrated the tomb of the Mahdi and have favored the Sudanese and educated them for the civil service only in order to supplant the Egyptians. A duel is going on today. One party led by a descendant of the Mahdi wants independence from Egypt. Another party wants to remain under the Egyptian domination. To clinch her claims, Britain is increasing Egyptian education. Gordon College is being enlarged and general education spread.

The fifth part of Africa, Algeria, Tunis and Morocco we will pass over for lack of space and concentrate on the last part.

Latin Africa

The sixth part of Africa we may call Latin Africa. It composes the vast African Empire of France, the great valley of the Congo, the remains of the Portuguese African Empire and the small enclaves owned by Spain,.

Here, so far as France and Portugal are concerned, we have a rather curious situation; a promise of justice and equality which amounts to the training of a small elite, separating them from the masses and turning them into Frenchmen and Portuguese with full rights; but leaving the mass of people in those territories without leadership or guidance and at the mercy of some of the worlst sorts of commercial exploitation. France has a complete educational system for her colonies. There are higher schools for medicine and engineering and, for those who can afford it, no difficulty in attending the great schools and univeristies in France. But this meand that education has not touched the mass of the French African people. A black African like Diagne may rise to cabinet position, but he married a French wife and his family became practically French. Eboue becomes a great governor of wide renown, but still the black mass is untouched.

Recently President Auriol greeted the new Union Francaise: "To you who come from all parts of the world, from all countries, from all religions, from all races, from all origins, from all conditions--to all of you, citizens of the Union Francaise, and to the people whom you represent, France extends with joy her fraternal greeting." But the exact form of this federation of colonies with France and the actual power that is going to be in the hands of the colonies is by no means certain.

In the meantime, one reads the memoirs of Emile Faure. Faure is the grandson of the great Samory, former Sultan of Nigeria, who fought back the French for eighteen years and finally, in 1898, was captured and exiled. His grandson has spent much time in Africa and is now living in Paris, working as an engineer. He says:

> "The lamentable condition of the Negroes in the French Colonies is a direct outgrowth of their political status, and this may be easily summed up in four words. They have no rights. Like the serfs of the Middle Ages they are 'taxable and workable at will' and the administration, like the seigneur, has the right of life and death over them."

In Portugal the official news is heartening. There is a five year plan in Angola and an appropriation for social work in Mozambique. Angola has a housing program, increased minimum wages and irrigation projects, together with a proposed large hydro-electric plant and new labor laws. There is a port development at Beira, which may become a center of exportationfor all of East Africa; and in 1945 Portuguese Guinea celebrated its four hundredth anniversary.

Yet reports from travellers are disconcerting. Susan Welty charges state slavery: a "planned economy" which steals the peasant's produce and deliberately stifles education. And here again, the elite, the mulatto, the rich, escape and can become equal citizens of Portugal, or better a part of the exploiting regime in Angola or Mozambique.

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A secret report in 1946 on Angola says, "The conditions under which Africans live in Angola are now almost unendurable. In fact, many don't live; they die at an early age due to the hardships imposed upon them." Taxes are 100 to 120 angolares a year, while laborers earn one and a half angolares a day when employed. Every device is taken to make workers default on tax payments, in which case they are sold to private employers under contract with nominal wages and terms lastingfrom three to ten years. Villagers flee to the bush to escape this slavery, homes are broken up, and often scarcely a single able-bodied man can be found in some villages. There is no regular government educational system, no sanitation, nor social services."

The Belgian Congo

25-2-24

We come now to the heart of Africa, the vast tropical bowl of the Belgian Congo, which lies between West and East Africa and borders on the Sudan and Rhodesia. The Congo river system is the second greatest in the world, encircling an area 750 miles wide and 530 miles long. Forest covers the northern half of the area; grasslands spread across the southeren part, and in the southeast is the healthful country in the Katanga district, which is one of the richest mineral regions in the world. In the Congo before the Belgians came, great native states flourished which were noted for their complex and interesting culture and their art.

In 1943, there were in the Congo 10,500,000 people of whom 35,000 were white. The annexation of the Congo began with Stanley's search for Livingston and ended at the Conference of Berlin in 1885 when Leopold of Belgium, backed by the United States, was given the Congo--which is 77 times the size of Belgium--as his personal estate. Financial difficulties and world criticism compelled him finally to turn over the Congo to the Belgian state. Belgium has never promised the Congo independence or even participation in government. It has developed this region as a commercial enterprise, chiefly controlled by four holding companies in which the government is a partner. The treatment of the natives under Leopold has been improved and the output of the colony especially during and since World War II has been phenomenal. Copper, zinc, palm oil, manganese, tin, uranium, diamonds, and rubber have been exported in constantly increasing quantities. Labor has been carefully conserved so as to make available over eighteen per cent of all the adult males. During the recent war, forced labor was used, but normally the compulsion is indirect through government control of crops to be raised.

Native labor is pursuing most of the semi-skilled and skilled work in the colony. Wages are low and there are no trade unions, unrest crops out now and than, as in three instances in 1945, when soldiers killed seven and wounded sixteen strikers.

Education is supplied mainly by the Catholic Church, with some Protestant missions. It is limited to low-grade primary instruction with emphasis on religion, hygine and respect for authority. About 800,000 pupils are thus taught, but only one per cent continue after this level and receive vocational training for work as artisans, or training as clerks or teachers. There is no opportunity for secondary, higher or professional training in the colony, and no Congolese are allowed in Belgium for study.

Every effort is made in the Congo to keep down agitation and avoid a native intelligent leadership. Plans for widespread social work have been formulated recently with a subvention from Belgium and a colony council for advice, ~~i~~ on which one or two natives will sit. Nevertheless, there are already signs of a native movement which Government reports not and give warning . The so-called "Evolues" publish the "Voix de Congolais" and count 65 circles with 2,829 members, represanting perhaps 10,000 persons. This periodical is "loyal", but progressive. There are, too, some 12,000 mulattoes whose status is still undetermined.

The Congo is ruled on the British "indirect rule" plan, with the chiefs functioning under Belgian officials. The land remains mostly as a government monopoly, with the mass of natives as tenants-will. There has been work in health, sanitation, and the fighting of sleeping sickness and leprosy. Here is a perfect examply of the regimentation of ten million black laborers for the industrial profit of a white nation, with care to make the exploitation a long-term project and not mere planless exploitation for quick and immediate returns. Nevertheless, the object is not, and never was the uplift of the Congo natives nor the giving to them enough education for any effective voice in government or self-expression. This plan is making Belgium rich and powerful; but it is giving black Congo increasing knowledge of modern technique. The question is: how long can t is scheme last, and how far will it go?

Assuming the essentila accuracy of this body of facts, what is its meaningfor world peace? In the early years of this century, I called the results of a similar survey, the "African Roots of War." I believe I was tragically right at that time. But the world has changed in a critical quarter of a century. The advance of the peoples of Africa, while great, has not been revolutionary; but it has been startling and prophetic. The change in the white world has been the greatest revolution in the history of modern man. Together these two sets of phenomena make either for peace or the end of civilization in its present form.

The white world today is facing suicide. Not, to be sure, complete physical annihilation, but a culturalcollapse and a moral breakdown which many centuries will be required to restor, if restoration will ever be possible. If still there can be found enough moral courage to resist a third world war, then one of the first results of that will be the recognition of the utter futility of the colonial system. With use of and cooperation with the emerging intelligentsia, in Africa itself, and in the Negroids of all America; with the help of renascent Asia; and particularly with the direct aid of the soicalist labor meovment in all the world, we may slowly but finallyerase from the minds of men and from political action, the attempt to build civilization on the domination of a few great powers over the mass of the world's workers, still widely spread in Asia, but gradually being concentrated more and more in Africa.

The world today is being led increasingly toward this conclusion by the determined and partially successful effort of the millions of Asia to govern themselves without the control of the white world That colonialism and European domination will disappear from Asia in a foreseeable future is as certain as any future event. This will concentrate colonialism in Africa, and if that continues, it

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will make the black race the footstool of the world; the one remaining mass of men ruled for other peoples good; worked for other races profit; and spiritually suppressed for the uplift of the rest of the world.

To accomplish this will call for the cooperation of Asia, the working people of Europe and America; and black folk themselves. If Asia, in fear of reconquest or in sympathy, refuses cooperation or even actively intervenes; if the white working classes see or think they see in the continued subjection of Africa, nothing less than remnant of the exploitation from which they themselves are escaping, and perhaps even a weapon to retard their progress in political power and industrial dominance; or finally, if the African refuses longer to submit and begins increasingly to fight with protest, appeal, strikes, and weapons even in the face of frightening white armament; in such case, white colonial imperialism cannot possibly succeed.

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If, on the other hand, white civilization continues on the path of total war, it will not only destroy itself, but cannot slow down that process, in the future as in the past, by inducing colonial peoples to help fight for their own slavery. African soldiers have been used to defend, and even expand European colonial imperialism. They were used by both Germany and the Allies in the First World War. Black troops conquered German Africa for the Allies. Black shock troops met the rush of the Germans in France. Black labor supplied the white armies. After the First World War, it was agreed that such use of African military force was dangerous to European civilization and the League of Nations banned it.

But in the Second World War, African soldiers were again used. From British West Africa alone came over 150,000 black soldiers who fought in North African and in Asia. The French used the Senegalese soldiers in the North African campaign. Negroes from East Africa were used in the Ethiopian campaign, and black non-combatant contingents were in the South African Army. Altogether it is probable that between a quarter and a half million black soldiers were used to help Europe overthrow Hitler and Japan, and to these must be added the soldiers of Negro descent from the United States and West Indies.

It is doubtful if in the future, even the ignorance and inexperience of black folk can be counted on to help hold Africa in subjection to Europe and to American investors, and the stubborn, thoughtless determination of the United States to inherit, rule and expand a world industrial empire dying before its and of whose death, Russia is symptom and not cause. America may fight Russia but she cannot prevent the increasing socialization of world wealth without killing modern culture. Already between Asia and Africa the lines of alliance appear. Out of 8,404 pilgrims to Mecca in 1946, 6,886 camefrom black West Africa. The Moslem population of French West Africa has increased from three to eight millions in ten years. African delegates were invited to the Pan-Inter-Asian Conference in 1947. Indians and Africans are cooperating in South Africa and Kenya. An Indian woman defended Africa before the United Nations, and the Union of South Africa is facing a hostile world opinion in its frank race-hate program. Gandhi began his career in Africa in defense of natives. Negroes are pouring into the trade unions of America, and the Labor Government of England is

having difficulty in steering a course between the great British industrial hierarchy in Africa and the demands of African labor. The powerful British trade unions have met and conferred with African and West Indian unionists.

These facts put on the Africans themselves, the onus of forcing the final overthrow of colonialism by continued and increased determination to be modern men. Their movement is spearheaded by their kin in America. They cannot fail. Their triumph is Peace, because colonialism and labor exploitation are the ultimate causes of war.

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THE AFRICAN ROOTS OF PEACE

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

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The New Africa

In England today, Africa is news. For a long time Africans have complained, "If there is an Iron Curtain in Eastern Europe, nevertheless, we hear more of events there than we do about African colonies." But today this is changing, and a British daily says: "African development has at last a news value. Even in the daily papers of the United Kingdom, the British West African colonies figure prominently from time to time. There are references to conferences with other powers who have colonies in Africa, and it goes on to say, "There are few people, however, who realize the urgent importance of Pan-African development; in particular, the cooperation of Great Britain with France, Belgium and Portugal. The fact is that Africa is the hinterland of Europe, both commercially and strategically, and in fulfilling our moral obligations to the native peoples it is essential to create a real defensive bastion against the Communist Eastern bloc."

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Here, then, lie the reasons for the new interest in Africa. The greatest economic development in all history started not much more than a hundred years ago in Europe and in the United States; and then, much later, in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, it became revolution. It is now the core of the unrest in Asia, and its influence is beginning to be felt in Africa. This change is the advent of the machine, the application of power to supplement the work of men.

Thus one of the great by-products of the Second World War is the growing importance of Africa. Here is the second greatest land area in the world, with at least one hundred and fifty million people and vast natural resources. England has lost control of India and Burma; France has lost Indo-China, and Holland is losing Indonesia. Still nearer the West comes

the threat of the Arabs and Islam, with an independent Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Trans-Jordan, Iraq and Iran. Western European Imperialism must, to survive, center in Africa. Africa becomes increasingly the visible source of food, coal, diamonds, gold, copper and uranium for Europe. France, without food from Algeria, Tunis and Morocco, would starve, and she is holding frantically to Madagascar. Belgium is accumulating wealth and power from the Congo, and Britain is awakening to the possibilities of Africa as a source not only of food but of other materials to restore at least in part here power.

(to from p. 41)

I wish to essay

Here, then, ~~I have essayed~~ a picture of current Africa and its human problems in relation to present day Europe and America, in order to make clear, if possible, the effect which the ~~plight~~ status of Africa will have on the greatest problem of the world today -- peace. My collection of facts is uneven and inaccurate. Africa may be "news" today, but the news is delayed and distorted. A half dozen powerful nations with aims to achieve, many score of local colonial governments with actions to excuse; and native spokesmen of widely varying education, experience and reliability with causes to justify, make it exceedingly difficult to know all the truth with regard to the present condition of African peoples. Gathering of facts from all sorts of sources, with lack of documents, or documents deliberately propaganda, I have sought to come to conclusions which seem to me to be fair, and true in general, if not in every detail

Mr. Bevin, in his review of Foreign Affairs, before the House of Commons, January 22, said: "The free nations of Western Europe must now draw closely together. I believe now the time is ripe for a consolidation of Western Europe, and this consolidation must be supported. And that involves the closest collaboration between the Commonwealth and the overseas territory of the French, Dutch, Belgians and Portuguese. Their raw materials, food and other resources could be of mutual advantage to these territories [illegible] to the world."

Last November, Sir Stafford Cripps said to the African Governors' conference, "The whole future of the sterling group and its ability to survive depends on a quick and vast development of colonial resources. It is to your contribution to the righting of the world unbalance that we must look; and in order to give you the chance of success, we must put behind you all that we can in the way of capital, goods, and supplies." Lord Trefgarne, Chairman of the Colonial Development Corporation, sand in June that United States imports of coffee alone in 1947 were more than three time her total imports of British manufactures. He suggested then that an over-all increase of two hundred million pounds in colonial production should be made during the next ten years.

Angle-French consultations have been under way for creation of an economic grouping by which Western Europe would be linked with the African continent. This bloc would be an element of economic equilibrium between the United States and the Soviet Republic. Sir Oswald Moseley was flatly outspoken; he advocated a union of European people. He saw Europe as the leader, aiming to develop Africa as an estate of the Europeans to solve the economic problem by direct state action. "Africa never was developed by Negroes, who at present are exploited by finance capitalism under cover of Trusteeship hypocrisy."

Others stressed the fact that Africa is divided into territories, nearly all of which belonged to, or were allied to, the nations of Western Europe; and both Africa and America are affiliated with Europe and the Western company of nations. Africa can supply the resources needed to rebuild Europe, and the Union of South Africa in particular is rich in the things which Europe requires. Some expressed the belief that South Africa's special contribution to the pattern of peace would be to protect and

develop her agricultural, mineral, and industrial wealth and, in collaboration with the territories to the North, to produce things which might help Europe to live again.

"There are immense possibilities of development in the great continent of Africa," said Lord Addison, during the debate on Commonwealth and Empire Migration in the House of Lords. "We must realize a great many of these possibilities, or we shall be in even more distressing circumstances than we are now."

The Earl of Portsmouth said: "Our tropical Colonies demand a far greater administrative technical population than they have had up to date-- namely, farmers, civil servants, engineers, business men and so forth. There is no question that our own population will thrive at the expense of the Native African, for instance. After all, Africa would starve if it were not for the white man's ability to check erosion as much as he has done ... --

"As this would work out, I believe it should be treated as a sort of great co-partnership, as it were, on the lines of a military operation. You would start on your development areas, on the analogy of the Tennessee Valley, ... where you would start on the great work necessary; here, it might be hydro-electric; there, it might be dams; and elsewhere, it might be afforestation. You would move to reclaim that land and develop its area. As the works were completed, so would more people come ....

"In the next two or three years, perhaps only a few hundred thousand can leave this country; but if an ordinary progressive development were to take place, it would mean a continued demand, not only in this country but throughout the Commonwealth, United States and Western Europe for plant and

material. And that would keep field and factory, office and business and shipping, all going at full capacity. If we do not do something of this sort, how, when Marshall Aid comes to an end, are we likely to avoid the disaster of a world slump -- a slump which is already being banked upon by at least one division of the world for its own ends?"

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"...England..., struggling to keep its head above water, can give neither hope nor a lead to the nations of Western Europe. With Britain and those nations working to a common purpose, with everything going well, all their industrial resources will be needed. But Europe's Colonial Empire -- and the colonial empires of the French, the Belgians, the Dutch and Purtuguese -- will equally be joining in such a scheme as this. Half the nations of the world can work to save themselves from immediate disaster and ultimate starvation."

Agriculture and Peanuts

Out of this propaganda there have arisen two great developments, British migration to Africa, and the gigantic scheme of planting peanuts in East Africa. In January, 1948, it was said that ninety-five thousand British subjects were registered for passage to South Africa.

This migration was started by the attempt of South Africa and the Rhodesias to increase their white populations. South Africa discovered last Spring that her less than two and a half million whites are increasing at the rate of sixteen and one half per cent in ten years, while her black, colored and Asiatic populations are increasing over eighteen per cent, and amount to nine millions. The Union has been encouraging migration, and immigration centers have been opened in England, Holland, and Rome, with a quota of fifteen hundred a month. Southern Rhodesia has received twenty thousand white immigrants in the last two years, with one thousand arriving monthly now.

Meanwhile, the great scheme to develop Africa as a British food estate

has been started. Britain's "Overseas Resources Act provides for two public corporations: the £ 100,000,000 "Colonial Development Corporation," under the Secretary of State for Colonies; and the £50,000,000 "Overseas Food Corporation," under the Minister of Food.

The Colonial Development Corporation is designed for work in colonies and is "Charged with the duty of securing the investigation, formulation and carrying out of projects for developing resources of colonial territories with a view to the expansion of production therein of foodstuffs and raw materials."

The Overseas Food Corporation may work within or outside colonies and is "charged with the duty of" investigating, formulating and carrying out "project for production or processing in places outside the United Kingdom of foodstuffs or agricultural products other than foodstuffs, and the marketing thereof; and as the first project to be carried out by them, securing the large scale production of groundnuts, together with crops rotational therewith or ancillary thereto, in colonial territories in East and Central Africa."

This plan to raise peanuts in East Africa has been called "the most important action of Government in the history of British tropical Africa." The area involved includes parts of Tanganyika, Kenya and Northern Rhodesia, and calls for clearing, planting, and cultivating by mechanized methods over three million acres of land in one hundred and seven farming units of thirty thousand acres each.

The plan was conceived by the United Africa Company, a branch of the hugh Lever Brothers organization, which is already the largest organization engaged in exploiting Africa. The management of the project has been assigned to this company, because while the Government recognized that the

management of such an undertaking should properly be a government-owned and financed corporation (and the establishment of such a corporation is to take place "in due course"), it was considered desirable, in order to get the project started quickly, to entrust the management to an existing commercial firm.

Supervision of the project, according to the government's report, would pass first from this company to the government corporation and then to the local governments concerned "at a time and on terms to be agreed in the light of experience of the working of the project." Finally would come the accomplishment of "the more distant goal of transferring the control of the undertaking to the people themselves."

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The East African Peanut Project carries further and makes immediate and specific development plans for the colonies which have been laid down for years. In 1947, a ten-year development plan was announced with a prospective expenditure of nearly $500,000,000. Only a small part of this -- perhaps eight million dollars a year during the last few years -- has actually been appropriated. On the other hand, partly public and partly private further plans are being proposed. The palm oil industry in Nigeria is to be expanded. The government has plans for improving the cocoa crop in West Africa and has taken control of its sale. Peanut culture is to be extended on mechanized plantations in West Africa. Cotton, rubber, and hardwoods are also mentioned for development. Mining and hydro-electric power are forecast. There is one plan in Uganda which is called "breathtaking" and which involves the raising of the level of Lake Victoria a yard and thus eventually revolutionalizing the valley of the Nile. There is a similar plan in Northern Rhodesia, designed to develop rich and extensive deposits of iron ore; while in Southern Rhodesia there is a plan for a dam, four times the size of Boulder Dam, to make Southern Rhodesia one of the four chief sources of high grade

steel.

New Capital to Africa

Most of these are still in the planning and blue-print stage, but private capital ~~is already at work~~ in Africa has had long experience. In South Africa in the last sixty years $2,500,000,000 worth of gold has been produced out of which nearly $500,000,000 was paid in dividends. Diamonds and other minerals have brought further returns. It is natural, therefore, that when new discoveries were made recently in the Orange Free State, the greatest gold boom in forty years started. The new claims cover over one hundred square miles and call for a working capital of nearly $100,000,000, forecasting a capacity equal to one-third of the present output of the country.

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South Africa especially has been prosperous during the war years with a state income rising nearly sixty per cent during the last eight years. Over three thousand new companies have been formed and British and Canadian capital is flowing in. ~~Franch~~ and Swiss bankers are said to be planning to transfer Italian factories bodily to South Africa.

But especially is American capital increasing. Our State Department has announced that British Colonies will be the primary source from which the United States can make good stock.piling for raw materials and deficiencies in other sources. American capital in South Africa has doubled since 1939.

Sir Arthur Salter points out that America must encourage productive foreign investments on a large scale; that countries like China, India, Russia cannot be good fields for investment because there is no assurance against confiscation. But the colonial empires of Great Britain, France, and Holland offer the best market for sale of capital equipment. From the Belgian Congo, the United States in 1946, bought three thousand six hundred and fifty tons of uranium for which it paid over five million dollars.

This is but a partial picture of the growing concentration of world capital investment in Africa, attracted by cheap labor and by government conditions which will encourage access to raw material with low taxation and with every advantage for exploitation.

Naturally, this condition brings up many questions. First, on the part of England itself, what is going to be the object and end of this concentration of capital in Africa? The Times of London, said recently in a leading editorial that the principle governing colonial development in the nineteenth century was that in return for peace and justice, the native people should produce food and raw material for the European market. This meant that commercial enterprise, while slightly raising native standards of life distributed its profits to European shareholders.

The new plan of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act is designed to see that the pace of economic development in the colonies is increased, but this must be consistent with the general welfare of the native people.

The Fabian Society, planning for the Labor Government, puts the matter this way: In the period from 1950 to 1955, joint British, French, Belgian, South African and Egyptian planning should be agreed upon; and could in twenty years change the face of Africa and of its place in world economy as much as the Russians have changed the face of Soviet Asia. Such joint action could reproduce TVA's in the valleys of the Nile, Congo, Niger, and Zambesi. This twenty year development program would create an enormous source of supply of primary products and a large new market for manufactured goods. For this, there must be provided, labor, power, transport, homes, and social services for the white workers who immigrate to direct this development. In this way capitalist exploitation of the colonies can be carried on by a planned development of their resources, based on sharply rising living standards for the native people and the effective participation of these people in the organization and administration of this development.

"That participation is vital, if Africa is to be recreated; we must stop doing things for the Africans and start doing things with them."

This is a heartening and interesting forecast, but how far is it really inspiring the thought of England, and of the investing world? In the discussion and planning, contradiction and overtones appear. For instance, in June, 1948, a member of Parliament pointed out that possibly more good could be done for England by investing in marginal land and rough grazing land and bringing it into production. The Joint Parliament Secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture replied, that England depends on imports for about ninety-five per cent of its oils and fats, and that the peanut scheme is not being done to help Africa or Australia, but to get much needed additional supplies of these things for Britain.

When it comes to the matter of migration of white people to ~~India~~ Africa for technical knowledge and direction of the new development, the schemes run into difficulties and prejudices. Lord Tweedsmuir said in the House of Lords, "Upon the successful redistribution of the British race depends the whole future of the British Commonwealth." But what is to be the relation of these white Britishers to the dark people of Africa? We know the attitude of white Englishmen in the Union of South Africa, in Kenya and even in West Africa toward the natives. But even in England itself, there is the color bar. Black students and visitors have so much difficulty in finding accommodations, that special hostels are being opened.

A curious exemplification of this happened during the Second World War, when large contingents of Negro soldiers were quartered in England. MOTHER AND CHILD, a periodical published in England, called attention in November 1947 to the future of at least five hundred and fifty, perhaps a thousand, colored illegitimate children whose mothers are English and whose fathers

are among the colored American service men, now back in their homes in the United States. The American Army would not permit its colored soldiers to marry white women. If this can happen in England and the redistribution of the British race is going to take place in Africa, what is going to be the relation of these immigrants to the millions of black folk there? A Great Britain which followed South Africa and Rhodesia in favor of a policy of racial privilege and segregation and domination of the blacks by the whites, would not hope to retain any part of Asia in the British Commonwealth.

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and Poverty on the Past

Another difficulty has been pointed out. As one writer says, "We are trying to make our people believe that there are vast resources of food to come out of Africa to help this country, but if the natives of Africa are fed properly there will be no surplus to come out of Africa, and the sooner the Government lets the people of this country know the facts the better. The natives are increasing to a tremendous extent, and they are unable to provide food for themselves at the present time. The colonies, to be sure, have been prosperous during the war because of the goods which they have furnished; but nevertheless, most of this production has gone to Europe and the taxable capacity of most colonials is low."

Mr. Rankin, a member of Parliament from Glasgow, said on January 20, 1948, that the government ought to be reminded "that for every £12 of wealth created in Africa in the past, we took out £11 and left £1. And England cannot forget what Lord Palmerston said to his Tiverton constituents just one hundred years ago: "The crimes committed in regard to African slavery and the African slave trade, if they could be put together, are, I am sure, greater in amount than all of the crimes that every were committed by the human race from the beginning of the world to the present time."

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Many difficulties are being pointed out. For instance, in 1946 the total revenue of British African colonies averaged $4.00 a head. The figure for the United Kingdom the same year showed an average of nearly $300.00 a head. This illustrates the problem of poverty in Africa. The introduction of any substantial amount of mechanization or large scale production in African colonies would necessarily involve something like a social revolution. Suppose that a great saving of labor, up to ninety-three per cent, as has been mentioned in the case of extracting oil from the palm, to whom would this saving go? To the investor, the white manager, white technical staff, or to native labor?

It was said in the House of Commons January 20, 1948, "Labor is one of the problems that has never been properly faced by the originators of this scheme, it is thought that the African native is a source of cheap labor... We have to give the native primary education, better food, and more incentives.

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If production is started before labor supply is in the right position, the difficulties will be accentuated. They should have good villages with their own schools and hospitals, and they should be better fed, and given a higher standard of living so that they would be able to do the work. Before any steps to increase prodiction are taken, these provisions must be made."

A member of parliament speaking in Amsterdam recently declared, "Those of us who have any experience in the administration of oversea territories must make it clear to our colleagues at home that any discussion of the place of the oversea territories in a Western Union must keep in the forefront the interests of the oversea peoples. If the idea is inadvertently spread that the decisions of the peoples for whom we are responsible in Africa and Asia can be settled in London or Paris or Brussels or The Hague without consulting them, we shall get trouble, and we shall deserve it."

Color Caste

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The determination of white leaders in Africa to dominate the blacks is continually expressed. In the Union of South Africa, two million white people are ruling ten million colored and Asiatics without giving them voice in government, and keeping them in economic dependence and poverty. In Kenya, the same policies are being pursued.

When the Rhodesia National Affairs Association met in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, N. H. Wilson developed the idea of "Capricorn Africa", to include all those states between the Equator and the Tropic of Capricorn, that is Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, the Belgian Congo, Angola, the two Rhodesias,

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Nyasaland, Mozambique, and the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and a portion of French Equatorial Africa. Capricorn Africa, with an area slightly larger than the United States and a population between 35,000,000 and 40,000,000, would have natural resources richer than those of the United States, except in the matter of petroleum. Wilson's credo was that it is the predestined role of Capricorn Africa to help the nations of Western Europe to complete economic recovery; ~~they cannot be helped otherwise~~. Capricorn Africa will embrace only colonial countries where white European political control is to be permanent.

Beyond this we must face the idea of the white population already in Africa. We know the attitude of the Union of South Africa towards Negroes as citizens and as workers. The blacks occupy a subordinate position, and recent political events indicate they may possibly be pushed down even further. Even more significant is the situation in Kenya, which was settled originally by South Africans.

In Kenya, originated the idea of making Africa a center of defense of the West against the East. It was first broached in 1923, by a member of the legislative council in his pamphlet The Thermopylae of Africa. He developed the theme that Europe must withdraw from Asia, and that she should make Kenya Colony her center of defense and rule in Africa. He believed, that confronted by the fast approaching crisis in the relations of the primary races of mankind, the white race has no choice but to abandon its nineteenth century attitude of aggressive expansion and to collect and

reorganize its diminished strength within defensible lines there to await the shock of the Asiatic onslaught.

He was of the opinion that the first necessity will be to decide where to draw defensive lines. They, of course, will be first in white countries, and second, it should remember that Africa is the most important unit of the group of territories which whites dominate outside of Asia. Africa's immense area, her fertility, her numerous population, her geographical position all are in her favor. So great are her potentialities that control of Africa may prove to be the decisive factor in the coming conflict of the primary races.

It is a singular confirmation of this forecast that in January, 1948, it was announced that a huge military stores depot was under construction at McKennon road, Kenya, sixty-five miles from the coast. Today there are thousands of white troops and engineers at this base; there are 2,000 Italian artisans flown in from Rome, and there are thousands of African laborers. Thirty-five miles of jungle are being cleared; water is being piped seventy miles. Here is being collected in stone and iron buildings, hundreds of thousands of tons of war material from North Africa and the Middle East.

K.11 What Africa Thinks

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We turn now to the really crucial point, what is Africa itself thinking? Or perhaps we should say, does Africa think? Negro opinion is beginning to make itself heard. In London the League of Colored People says in its chief

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organ: "Mere promises of benefits to come will not be convincing. Too often in the past the people of Africa have been beguiled by fair words and fine promises; these, they complain, have done nothing to increase their standard of living, and when the Africans themselves have attempted to express an opinion on how improvement in their society might be achieved they have been prosecuted for sedition."

It goes on to say that when the Labor Government came to power in Great Britain, many Africans were prepared to welcome the change of administration in the hope that it would lead to radical changes in colonial policy and administration. In Africa generally, and more particularly in East Africa, these hopes have been sadly doomed. These circumstances are not in keeping with the avowed principles of the British Labor movement and their continued existance presumes the failure of the local governments to put into practical working the principles which prominent ministers in the labor government maintain they desire to see implemented in Africa. But it asks, "do the ministers really mean what they say?"

people in the colonies a resented alien domination irrespective of what is in power at home.

George Padmore, a colored West Indian resident of London, details the present difficulties in colonial administration in British Colonies. He declares that the grievances in Africa are racial, economic and social. The economic problems rise from the land problem in East and South Africa where natives have been dispossessed of their land by Europeans and concentrated in special areas known as reserves. There they are subjected to direct hut and poll taxes in order to force them to seek employment on the plantation or in the mines. In most of the areas it is illegal for the natives to combine for collective bargaining. In East Africa, trade unions have been legalized since 1940, but this right remains largely on paper.

The British colonial governor is a trinity: he represents the King; he is chief executive; he advises with a legislative council, but in most important decisions, by his veto and reserved powers, he is the real source of colonial legislation. Natives participate in government by the device of "indirect rule". This was introduced into West Africa by Lord Lugard, when he lacked enough white troops to conquer the region. He left local government in the hands of the chiefs; but by power of appointing and dismissing them, by paying them out of government moneys, and in general controlling their actions, he made the British Commissioner the real ruler of West Africa. A diffuse native bureacracy was superimposed on the old feudal and tribal systems. The chiefs are not subject to the democratic control of their people but derive their powers direct from the government.

As Margery Pelham, a white Englishwoman, says: "Most educated Africans, especially in West Africa and the Sudan, critize and strongly condemn indirect rule. They say it gives power to uneducated chiefs and elders

instead of to the educated; that it strengthens tribal feeling and so continues the disunity of the country. It is, they say, part of the old policy of 'divide and rule' by which an imperial power keeps its subjects weak and prevents their advance toward self-government." Despite all this, the British administrator is usually honest and efficient. Under him West Africa has progressed; the native rulers have made great and notable advance. But the Africans complain, too much is done for them and not with them. The rulers reply, the natives want more than they are fit to provide.

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Politics in all African colonies conform to a pattern which varies from territory to territory only as to the relative importance of the following factors: (1.) White settlers who work for self-rule, with white supremacy both in economics and in politics; (2.) Big Business which works for monopolistic concerns and control over labor; (3.) Alien racial groups who demand equality in all ways with the whites; (4.) A handful of native intelligenstia frustrated and resentful who agitate for "Africa for the Africans", "down with the color bar" and, at the same time, demand increased social services; and (5.) Government with indirect rule trying to hold down the lid.

In addition to this, there must not be overlooked the great mass of people of Africa, the "ignorant man and his wife with a hoe". They are protected from their aggressive neighbors, and have some modern medical aid, a little education, sanitation and use of machinery. They can sell their crops more or less freely in the world market and they have perhaps doubled in number in thirty years. They pay comparatively little attention to either social leaders or agitators, but want to be left undisturbed; yet someday they may be touched off by a firebrand or inspired by a prophet.

A native of West Africa declares that West Africans have shown phenomenal advance in the direction of self-confidence and native consciousness. Even

admitting the good faith of the British government, they demand to be treated as colleagues and consulted fairly and fully in all decisions that are taken about their country and people. This is just the type of situation that makes for impatience and frayed nerves.

On the other hand, there is on the part of the white administrator resentment, that despite all the government is doing for the people they are not grateful, and their leaders continue to malign it. There is constant complaint that the people are not being consulted in the drawing up of plans and in their execution; a conflict of paternalism, "father knows best", versus nationalism, "we must be consulted." There is widespread feeling among many Africans and Europeans that if there is to be cooperation between Africans and British, there is need for responsible Africans to speak freely on all subjects respecting themselves and their country.

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Violence + Strike

In South Africa have occurred at least twenty riots and disturbances varying from the student strike at Lovedale [redacted] to the burning of their passes by 7000 natives at Capetown, and culminating in the strike of 50,000 Negro miners in August, 1946, to obtain a wage of $2.00 a day, instead of the 45 cents they are receiving. Five strikers were killed by the police, 62 arrested by breach of contract and conspiracy, 46 of whom were heavily fined or jailed. Raids and arrests continued for a month, including arrest of some liberal whites. "Communism" was blamed for the outbreak.

In Kenya, in January, 1947, 7,000 natives struck, affecting eleven business concerns. After failure to satisfy the strikers, the strike spread to Uganda with disturbances at four centers. It was finally settled by a raise in wages of more than twenty-five per cent.

In West Africa, there were serious disturbances in Nigeria and on the

Gold Coast. In Nigeria, increased government allowances were granted white employees but postponed for Negroes ~~in 1944~~ in 1944. In 1945, a general strike of 150,000 non-clerical workers was declared and eventually brought a fifty per cent increase in wages. Later there were further strikes of electrical workers, metal workers, and employees of the United African Company. Miners struck in the Ashanti gold mines and secured increased wages.

On the Gold Coast, strikes finally assumed the aspect of civil war. In 1946 a commission under the white Chief Justice found that the cost of living had gone up two hundred per cent and recommended increased wages to government employees. Another commission under an African judge advised a minimum wage for other employees of 32 cents to 40 cents in the country districts, and 60 cents a day in the towns. Teachers then complained, and a third commission gave them increases. Railway workers and miners then asked for raises, struck when they were refused, and gained their demands after several weeks.

Then came a colony-wide boycott against high prices charged by importing concerns, led by a progressive chief. A price control commission was set up to curb prices and reduced them by thirty-three and one third per cent. The demobilized soldiers thereupon started a march to the Governor to present a petition. There ensued a skirmish with the police, which led to rioting and looting. In the fighting 26 Africans were killed and 277 injured including 15 whites. The black soldiers of the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Nigeria refused to bear arms against their fellow soldiers, and white units in Gibraltar were alerted. Two battleships were ordered from South Africa. The Governor appealed to the chiefs and to London, and a London commission of inquiry was sent out.

In 1947, a railway strike of 12,000 workers crippled the whole transport

system of French West Africa. The strikers demanded "equal pay for equal work." Northeast Africa has had strikes. In March, 1947, five hundred dock workers struck at Port Sudan, in the Egyptian Sudan; in July, ten thousand railway workers at Atbara walked off the job; in Ethiopia, five thousand railway employees refused to work until the Emperor obtained a twenty-five per cent increase in wages. These strikes and many others that have taken place all over the continent of Africa, show that there is an increase in the activity of trade unions and union organization in Africa. In most of the territories there is legislation to permit trade unions, but some of it is antiquated and in many cases as in East Africa it is on paper rather than actually in force. No African in Northern Nigeria, for instance, is a member of a trade union; and although in the Union of South Africa there are one hundred and twenty native trade unions claiming one hundred and sixty thousand members, these unions are not officially recognized; however some effort was being made to that end before the last election.

The West African labor movement, on the other hand is growing in stature and power. In French West Africa the movement also has taken on strength and force; and there was a federation of trade unions which met in Dakar, French West Africa, in April 1947. Eighteen delegations of Negro trade unions attended and recommendations were made to be considered at the World Labor meeting at Prague in June. ~~In Nigeria the labor movement dates from the general strike in 1945 and is growing.~~

The most significant occurrence in the African labor world was the representative character of the Africans at the World Trade Union Conference in February 1945. Colonial delegates came from Nigeria, The Gold Coast, Sierre Leone and Gambia in West Africa besides from many Negro communities in America.

Wallace Johnson of West Africa, who but a few weeks before his arrival had been released by the British Government after five and a half years' imprisonment in exile, for trade union activity, presented a "charter of labor" for the colonies, demanding: the abolition of racial discrimination in public and private employment, forced labor and child labor, flogging and punishment for breach of labor contract, and caste law legislation; the right of free assembly, free speech, free press and free movement; and "equal pay for equal work irrespective of race, color, creed or sex."

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In a telegram to the Big Three concerning the Atlantic Charter, colored delegates insisted that it be made clear that they supported the demand of the colonial people for the right to choose the form of government under which they would live. They asked that special note should be taken of conditions in colonies and dependencies so that appropriate measures to secure for these people of Asia and Africa the elementary rights to civilized, democratic processes.

They put into the final resulutions a paragraph asking for the end of colonies and dependencies, and they tried to get the conference to put a time limit to the freeing of colonies, but this attempt failed.

The Intelligentsia

Turning now from the mass of African workers, may we not ask, is there a mass intelligentsia in Africa? If so, what does it want? The effort of people to raise themselves from one social position to a higher one always has something bizarre about it, as well as deep tragedy. We laugh at the effort. England used to laugh at American literature. The white South long laughed at the efforts of American Negroes to get an education. In the same way when Sir Allen Burns, former Governor of the Gold Coast, talking recently to American missionaries, said tolerantly that we must view the

situation in Africa realistically, mindful of the possibility that "a small group of not too well-educated persons, clamoring for self-government" might confuse the issues and set the clock back.[19]

This charge has been repeated by Englishmen and especially colonial officials very widely, so that one gets the idea that the leadership in Africa is poorly educated, not too moral, and very selfish. On the other hand, there has been coming to the world, especially since the First World War, a series of statements and arguments from the leaders of the African people so significant as to fear repetition a few are quoted here:

After the First World War, when a delegation of West African leaders came to London to meet with the League of Nations Union, Dr. Bankole Bright of Serre Leone said:

"...it is because we do not want to encourage ... unrest; it is because we want to live under a peaceful government that we who represent the intelligentsia and the heterogeneous mass of the populace, have come to this country with the object of educating public opinion to our condition by placing our grievances before you and at the same time seeking for the necessary reforms. We ask you as an important unit of this Empire to march along ... on these progressive lines; in doing so you will be only taking the first step towards the accomplishment of the resolution of a Select Committee of the House of Commons on West Africa ... passed ... on the 3rd of March, 1865:

" 'That the object of our policy should be to encourage in the natives the exercise of those qualities which may render it possible for us more and more to transfer to them the administration of all the Governments with a view of our ultimate withdrawal, etc.'

"We are not asking for a withdrawal from the home government, we are requesting to have a say in the administration of our colonies--; we are asking for the franchise and other reforms as embodied in those resolutions.

Twenty-five years later a black cocoa farmer from West Africa speaking in regard to the economic situation against which the people of the Gold Coast were complaining, said that the scheme that his group suggested was the only action that would restore the confidence of the producers in the intentions of the Imperial Government and allay the growing apprehensions

of all Africans generally. His delegation of Gold Coast and Nigerian farmers were of the opinion that there were enough men and women with good will in the present Imperial Government of Britain, who might bring economic justice to bear on the many pressing problems, and thus prevent the occurrence of a tragic economic upheaval, the consequences of which unfortunately might affect the peaceful life of innocent people in all parts of the world, and not only in West Africa and in Britain.

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On January 6, 1947, in East Africa a black man, the Hon. E. W. Mathu, African Representative on the Kenya Legislative Council, who studied at Oxford, told his people: that they could not afford to be slaves in a free world; that it was their duty to work hard all the year round to prepare a better world for our children. "No people in history has ever risen from the dust to the height of a respected nation without struggle. No people has ever achieved freedom without working, fighting or dying for it." He told them they must not expect to be an exception, but to work hard and hold their own without submitting to indignities and subhuman treatment.

Continuing, he advised them that to raise the standard of living they must act together. Tribal boundaries must go; they must refuse to be separated or divided by anybody. All Africans must organize as members of one nation. If color bar, discrimination, and all the other evils are to be ended, African territories under European rule and the independent African States of Ethiopia and Liberia must organize on a continental scale.

In London, in the early part of 1947 a delegation representing the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, a federation of 183 political parties, trade unions, professional associations, farmers and peasants organizations, tribal unions, and youth groups, laid before the Secretary of State for Colonies a Protest against the Constitution which had been forced

upon Nigeria. Their statement said:

> "We are unwilling to continue the reactionary policy of making our legislative chamber a debating society for the amusement of British colonial administrators. We resent the idea of having your paid civil servants run our country as an unrammelled bureaucracy, enabling them to make, interpret, and administer our laws, without our knowledge and consent, and without our being effectively represented in such chamber by councillors or legislators of our own choice. We demand the right to assume responsibility for the government of our country. We demand the right to be free to make mistakes and profit from our experience."

PAN AFRICA, the organ of black folk resident in Great Britain, but most of whom were born in the colonies, published an editorial in September, 1947, which said that, "if there were amongst African people, any optimistic dreamers who believed that colonial freedom could be achieved by Round Table Conferences and the benevolent co-operation of foreign rulers, the events in the Far East should have given them a rude awakening. To every African man and woman it should be crystal clear that the path to colonial freedom is the same in whatever part of the world a subject people struggle towards their liberation. "The jungle law of twentieth century imperialism is still in force, and a man of sense knows what to expect if he attempts to bargain with a tiger."

These are a few examples of an articulate, growing opinion from well-educated and thoughtful people. Where did they get their education, and what is education doing in Africa? Paraphrasing Abraham Lincoln, Julian Huxley recently said that: "man cannot exist half illiterate and half literate." How much education or centers of modern culture are there in Africa? In certain parts, especially in Sierre Leone, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria, there exists an intellectual elite, a native bourgeoisie which is a class constituting the vanguard of progressive political movements. They and their sons have studied at American and European universities, and represent mainly several generations of culture and political consciousness.

In other areas, like the Protectorates, and in countries like Uganda,

tribal or semi-feudal social institutions persist, even though these communities are not educated in modern ways. Here and elsewhere from the younger elements, there is emerging a class of natives dissatisfied with the status quo demanding wider and fuller education and better social conditions.

The overall facts are that even in the most advanced parts of Africa, only one African in twenty is able to read and write; most of the schooling is provided by the missionaries, with some government assistance. The former governor of Nigeria says frankly, "Out of a school population of over seven million, to have only four hundred thousand at school is a startling position." But again and again the official attitude is expressed, as, for instance, by Sir wilfred Woods in a survey of conditions in East African colonies: "None of the territory possesses a taxable capacity which could provide sufficient funds anything approaching universal elementary education even up to the first three or four standards without drastic curtailment of what must, for the time being, be deemed the prior claims of economic development." Here again one faces a paradox. As a Negro puts it, "the conscious policy of imperialism is to keep colonial economies backward and colonial peoples ignorant. So long as such countries remain merely agrarian appendages to the mother country -- that is, sources of raw material and also markest for manufactured commodities -- there is no need to educate the people."

Imperialism cultivates a small section of native intellectuals to man the lower offices and functions of the civil service and of commerce. If the countries were industrialized it would be essential to increase education since it is impossible to carry on modern mechanized production with uneducated workers.

Meantime a part of the problem of Negro education is being answered by the extraordinary influx of African students into England. The Welfare Department of the Colonial office reported, in February, 1948, that there

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were thirty-two hundred colonials in Great Britain and the number was increasing. In 1941, the total was only eighty. Of the present three thousand, probably a third are from West Africa, and three hundred from the Gold Coast alone.

The colonial secretary boasted of this record, but the former secretary, Mr. Stanley, saw a very great danger in having the increasing call for higher education in the colonies met solely from the universities of this country: "I cannot believe there is healthy development in colonial territory so long as they are forced to seek their higher education outside their regions."

An Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies has made its first report after investigation, and plans universities in East and West Africa, when funds are available to extend present beginnings. Principals have been appointed for Makerere in Uganda and Ibadan in Nigeria, and Gordan College in the Sudan will be strengthened.

Thus the black intelligencia has been built up on narrow foundations of a few higher schools in Africa, and migration to England and America for study. Small wonder its results are meagre and unfinished. The miracle is that so many intelligent black leaders are arising and buiding the great inert ignorant mass amid the opposition of investment and race hate.

All this has been an imperfect survey of a vast continent, where reliable information is difficult to obtain. As a matter of fact, in a sense our very basis of inquiry is faulty, when we speak of "Africa." There is no one entity with such physical, historical and social unity as would permit it intelligently to be called by one name. Considering tribe, history and social condition, very many Africas might be distinguished. But for intelligent study under present conditions, there are six Africas -- regions which show such general unity of development and condition as to give a unified

designation real meaning.

West Africa

First there is West Africa, perhaps the best known generally. It is the gate of the continent from the West. Its tropical climate, hot sunshine and lush vegetation on the low coastal belt, rising to the great inland plateau, fulfills our usual idea of Africa. It covers today for our purposes British West Africa and Liberia. The leadership of black Africa centers here and this growing group yet may well lead the continent to autonomy. It will be a fierce, long road, with Great Britain determined not for long years, if ever, to release its hold on West African labor and products. Yet this region is securing more and more education, increased native wealth and clearer understanding of the white world and its methods.

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Nigeria, the largest British colony, is one-third the size of Europe and has a population of approximately twenty-three millions. It has twenty-five publications and a total daily circulation of newspapers amounting to perhaps thirty-five thousand. It has twenty thousand miles of road and two thousand miles of railway.

West Africans are now within the orbit of world commerce and world crisis, but they are poor. Many of them are existing on five hundred to six hundred calories, compared with twelve hundred or eighteen hundred, which is today described as too little for the people of Europe. The Africans know the reasons for this poverty. A Nigerian recently said: "There is a constant drain of wealth from Nigeria, and it is because we know this that we cannot be expected to become enthusiastic over the Colonial Welfare and Development Fund. Considering the vast wealth that Nigeria has poured into the pockets of British trading houses and mining companies through the years, to say nothing of the incalculable contribution made to the Allied cause in two World Wars in manpower, in goods, and

in services, it strikes us as ironical now to be offered the almost paltry amount of £23,000,000 as evidence of the generosity of Great Britain to her family of Colonies. Were Nigeria an independent country there is no doubt that Britain would be very greatly in her debt, even as she is now in debt to Egypt."

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Today a strong Nigerian movement under Aziwike is making England yield ground; he demands a ten year condominium, five years home-rule by one thousand trained Nigerians, then independence. Failing to get that he proposes to appeal to the United Nations, and after that, "direct action." A rival youth organization and a newer union of the powerful Yorubas may spell division, as the English hope; on the other hand, it may lead to wider union and irresistible strength.

Liberia has never been independent. She has had first to fight native tribes for a foothold; and then for a half century exercise all her skill to escape the imperialisms of Britain, France and Germany, only to be driven into the hands of American capital. She desperately needs today an intelligentsia to restore the remnants of her freedom in the face of ~~airforce~~ militarism, navy and corporations from America.

South Africa start

Second in importance comes South Africa; the Union, the Rhodesias, the Protectorates and the mandate of South West Africa. Here, after a wild scramble which raised all the worst of human passions and a few of the best, we have today, inland from the Cape once called Good Hope, the greatest center of human race hate in the world. In the Union of South Africa there are today, two million three hundred and thirty-five thousand four hundred and sixty white folk who have complete political domination over seven million seven hundred and thirty-five thousand eight hundred and nine blacks and one million one hundred and eighty-seven thousand five hundred and eighty-nine colored folk and Asiatics. This dominion of eleven million persons extends the right to vote only to its two and a half million white citizens.

The African, although a taxpayer, has no right of citizenship. He is barred largely from skilled industry; his trade unions are not recognized, and he is denied the right to strike. Legislature prohibits him from acquiring land in cities ~~and makes it a crime for him to possess or purchase liquor~~, forces him to carry a pass, and ~~therefore~~ deprives him of the right to seek free employment. The arrests of natives, especially for the violation of the laws about carrying passes, coming to cities, and failure to pay poll tax, lead to two hundred thousand arrests in a single year; whereas in England, with four times the population, only thirty thousand are arrested. Urban Negroes are housed for the most part in noisome shanty towns with no decencies of civilized life.

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Taxation and economic compulsion drive the African from the reserves to the mines, where he is housed and segregated in barracks. His average wage while so employed is approximately $200. a year. There are four urgent needs for the black population, and their representative counsel have repeated these many times. Removal of the industrial color bar, more land, abolition of caste laws, and the extension of the franchise. The land situation by the law of 1936 gives the eighteen million natives twelve per cent of the total land area of the Union, leaving two hundred and fifty million acres for the less than two million five hundred thousand whites.

For years the limited wealth of South Africa has been the privilege of its white population, whose higher standard of living is at the expense of the economic and social welfare of the blacks. The Second World War made South Africa prosperous. The national income, which was $500,000,000 in 1911, reached in 1945 -46 $2,800,000,000. The result is that South Africa has been booming, there has been a vast increase in economic activity, and secondary industry has outstripped mining and agriculture. But already

difficulties are ahead.

The native group is now split roughly into three parts; two million live in cities, three million live on the white farms in the country, and three million on the reserves. Two-thirds of the whites are in cities and one third on the land.

For a long time the gold mining industry, based on cheap black immigrant labor, has been looked upon as the backbone of South African economy. Now industry is outstripping the mines. With this new dependence upon industry, what is going to be the future of South Africa? If they look toward manufacturing for a white market it will be a long time before the white market of Africa reaches five million; and if they are going to manufacture for the native population, then the native population must receive larger income by far than it does now.

If the native population should become organized and antagonistic to the white population, there would be four natives to threaten every European, and the difficulties would be tremendous. This is the reason that communism will not thrive in South Africa, because even liberal Europeans fear the communists' doctrines of race equality and communal property.

The total expenditure for Negro education, 1946 -47 is ten million dollars, in addition to three and a half million dollars for school feeding. The Institute of Race Relations says that, "these funds are, of course, quite inadequate and cannot keep pace with the natural increase in the school age population, let alone overtake the existing shortage." So far as figures are concerned, in 1941 out of 1,125,000 Africans of school age, 347,050 were in school. About eighty-five per cent leave school before standard third. Approximately three fourths of the colored and Asiatic children are in school.

The last few years in South Africa have seen difficult race relations.

Hostility among Negroes and Asiatics toward the whites has grown. There has been violence, culminating in the strike of the African mine workers in 1946, and the climax was reached when African members of the native representative council adjourned indefinitely in August, because of their inability to secure a statement from the government giving the facts in regard to the riot and the strike. They alleged breach of faith on the part of the government in its dealings with the council, and called for immediate abolition of all discriminating legislation.

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In the meantime, and more menacing than the race relations, is the fact that there is already slackening in economic activity in South Africa. After a long period of continuous expansion, the nation's rate of growth is beginning to decrease. Today there is more uncertainity and doubt about the immediate economic outlook than at any time since 1940. And it is at this time that the Smuts government has been overthrown on the issue of increased segregation and suppression of the darker races. It has been charged that the native has been receiving too much education, too much housing and too much well-paid employment. A Negro leader, Z.K. Matthews comments: "I am convinced that the Nationalists will with the connivance of many non-Nationalist Europeans put into effect against non-Europeans all the things that they have wanted for so long." However, in their struggle for a better place in the South African sun, the African people remain undaunted and the retrogressive action, which they now expect, will only serve to make them more determined to close their ranks and organize themselves better for the fight that lies ahead."

The Institute of Race Relations says: "We feel bound to issue a warning that if this situation in the field of race relations is allowed to deteriorate

further, it will before long reach a stage in which the voice of reason will not be heeded. The recent experience of the British in India, of the Dutch in Java, and of the French in Indo-China shows that the Non-European peoples of the world will not remain amenable to rational argument if we Europeans fail to make amble concessions to social justice while there is still the time and the temper to do so. In South Africa the period is drawing to a close in which honourable compromise is possible between the claims of various races that compose our community. ..."

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Adjacent to South Africa lie the Negro Protectorates, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swazi-land, now administered by the British colonial office under treaty. On account of the stubborn resistence of the natives, especially the Basutos, these territories were annexed by treaty and given a considerable degree of autonomy. South Africa has long desired to annex them and Malan will probably make another attempt to do so. They are meanwhile slowly but stubbornly dying of economic starvation and throttling of outlet and enterprise at the hands of both British and South Africans.

Nyasaland and the Rhodesias lie between South Africa and East Africa and are pushing for autonomy with the power in the hands of the whites. Here will take place in the future some of the most severe cases of racial strife and antagonism. Here are vast acres of land rich for farming and [illegible] untold mineral wealth. A small but close-knit group of whites are set here to carry out the South African pattern with a smaller ruling class and a less educated mass of serfs. They are avoiding the more crass and open race program, but proceeding in land monopoly, segregation, restricted education, low wages and a minimum of political power.

East Africa

East Africa is a physical sport of nature with snow-capped peaks on the equator and that vast rift in the earth, visible from the moon, if there are

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eyes there to see, with the deepest lakes in the world, sloping down to the coast that for centuries has knit Africa and Asia. Here are three lands, Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya. Tanganyika has only fifteen persons to each of its 360,000 square miles, with five million natives and seventy thousand whites. Nobody votes, but the whites are assuming ownership of men and resources. Diamonds and other minerals are being exploited and here Britain is placing her peanut culture scheme. The land is being slowly seized, and the natives get almost no education and are nearly voiceless.

Elspeth Huxley says that from Tanganyika to Uganda one passes "from vastness and poverty to a compact tidy, closely administered, relatively wealthy country, favored by nature with highland and rainfall which has brought abundance and comparative prosperity to most of its people."

Uganda is the still unconquered remnant of a series of African empires. It was long the victim of white religious strife and emerged as a British "protectorate" with some autonomy and wealth in its retention of ownership of its land. Uganda has 95,000 square miles and four million people. The black ruling class consists of land-holders and employers, who import labor from the Belgian Congo and the Nile valley. Uganda has started on an educational program. Here is Makerere College, which may yet become the black University of East Africa. Ten years ago there were 270,000 children in school, and presumably there has been considerable advance since, although figures are not available. Information concerning Uganda is regularly suppressed because this is a country which can easily follow the lead of West Africa and become the center of an toward autonomy movement. It has a long history of indigenous culture. Its economic problems are severe and the encroachment of investing capital is threatening.

In Kenya we go up toward the mountains of the moon, where on 225,000

square miles, there is a population of three and a half million. Here 25,000 whites have monopolized the most fertile eighty per cent of the land, and have tried to compel the Negroes to work for them. The blacks, densely crowed in lowland, desert and swamp, have made a fierce struggle for opportunity. They have forced their cause on the British and gained vacillating sympathy. Once their interests were declared "paramount" as compared with the immigranting South Africans and English, but little has been done to implement this declaration. Less than one-fifth of the school population is in mission and government schools, and the wealth accruing to the whites from monopoly of land (which cost them almost nothing), transport and investment have given the ruling clique a vast power. The only fly in their ointment is a large contingent of Indian merchants who dispute the division of profits and lately have been joining the natives in their opposition to white control. Surrounded by the Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda, white rule in Kenya will have no easy path to complete domination.

The Nile Valley

At the head of the valley of the Nile stands Ethiopia on the citadel of Africa; restored to independence a fierce struggle with Britain, who is not certain whether this country will prove a fortress against Asia or a threat to Europe. Both Italy and Britain are seeking colonial claims which would strip Ethiopia of her outlet to the sea, and both Europe and America are seeking to get control of the resources of this rich land. Meanwhile, Ethiopia is striving in poverty to educate her masses, send students abroad for higher education and technical skill and is using Russians, Scandinavians and American Negroes to build up industry and sanitation. The Emperor is a wise and brave man, but he is not getting from the United Nations or from European civilization the aid and encouragement he so sorely needs. If Ethiopia once reaches real economic independence, the end of the domination of Europe in Africa will be in sight.

Down the Nile valley from Ethiopia lies the Sudan, the source of ancient Egyptian civilization, the last bastion which in the 19th century drove Britain out of its borders for thirteen years and nearly gave North Africa to Ethiopia and France. Kitchener and Egypt recaptured the Sudan, ~~where Mehemet Ali plied the slave trade for decades,~~ until in our day Egypt seeking independence from the British Empire finds the Sudan ~~in its path~~. The Sudan controls the Nile, the life-line of Egypt. The Sudan is the broad path to British East Africa. Who controls the Sudan will, with an independent Ethiopia, control East and central Africa. Consequently both Egypt and England are today wooing the seven million black people on the million acres of the Sudan. The Sudanese remember how Mehemet Ali of Egypt spoiled this land with rape and slave trade and how still Egypt draws the color line in politics and industry. But they also remember that the English desecrated the tomb of the Mahdi and have ~~only lately~~ favored the Sudanese and educated them for the civil service in order to supplant the Egyptians. A duel is going on today. One party led by a descendant of the Mahdi wants independence from Egypt. Another party wants to ~~be part of~~ the Egyptian domination. To clinch her claims, Britain is increasing Egyptian education. Gordon College is being enlarged and general education spread. ~~It is a singular battle.~~

North Africa -- Algiers Tunis and Morocco -- form a region where an Arab world with ~~a large~~ infiltration of Negro blood is being developed theoretically as a part of France and formerly, so far as Tunis was concerned, as a part of Italy. As a matter of fact, this area is still in semi-colonial status and demanding larger autonomy.

The sixth part of Africa we may call Latin Africa. It composes the vast African Empire of France, the great Valley of the Congo, the remains of the Portuguese African Empire and the small enclaves owned by Spain, together

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The fifth part of Africa, Algeria, Tunis and Morocco P. 34

~~Conclusion Tagore~~

we will pass over for lack of space and concentrate on

The ~~south~~ last part.

Mme Latin Bldg

~~with what may eventually be left over from the Italian colonies.~~

Here, so far as France and Portugal are concerned, we have a rather curious situation: a promise of justice and equality which amounts to the training of a small élite, separating them from the masses and turning them into Frenchmen and Portuguese with full rights, but leaving the mass of people in those territories without leadership or guidance and at the mercy of some of the worst sorts of commercial exploitation. France has a complete educational system for her colonies. There are higher schools for medicine and engineering and, for those who can afford it, no difficulty in attending the great schools and universities in France. But this means that education has not touched the mass of the French African people. A black African like Diagne may rise to cabinet position, but he married a French wife and his family became practically French ~~and quite separated from Africa.~~ Eboué becomes a great governor of wide renown, but still the black mass is untouched. Recently President Auriol greeted the new Union Francaise: "To you who come from all parts of the world, from all countries, from all religions, from all races, from all origins, from all conditions— to all of you, citizens of the Union Française, and to the people whom you represent, France extends with joy her fraternal greeting." But the exact form of this federation of colonies with France and the actual power that is going to be in the hands of the colonies is by no means certain.

In the meantime, one reads the memoirs of Emile Faure. Faure is the grandson of the great Samory, former Sultan of Nigeria, who fought back the French for eighteen years and finally, in 1898, was captured and exiled. His grandson has spent much time in Africa and is now living in Paris, working as an engineer. He says:

> "This lamentable condition of the Negroes in the French Colonies is a direct outgrowth of their political status, and this may be easily summed up in four words. They have no rights. Like the serfs of the Middle Ages they are 'taxable and workable at will.'

and the administration, like the seigneur, has the right of life and death over them".

In Portugal the official news is heartening. There is a five-year plan in Angola and an appropriation for social work in Mozambique. Angola has a housing program, increased minimum wages and irrigation projects, together with a proposed large hydro-electric plant and new labor laws.

There is a port development at Beira, which may become a center of exportation for all of East Africa; and in 1945 Portuguese Guinea celebrated its four hundredth anniversary. Yet reports from travellers are disconcerting. Susan Welty charges state slavery: a "planned economy" which steals the peasants' produce and deliberately stifles education. And here again, the elite, the mulatto, the rich, escape and can become equal citizens of Portugal, or better a part of the exploiting regime in Angola or Mozambique.

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A secret report in 1946 on Angola says, "The conditions under which Africans live in Angola are now almost unendurable. In fact, many don't live; they die at an early age due to the hardships imposed upon them." Taxes are 100 to 120 angolares a year, while laborers earn one and a half angolares a day when employed. Every device is taken to make workers default on tax payments, in which case they are sold to private employers under contract with nominal wages and terms lasting from three to ten years. Villagers flee to the bush to escape this slavery, homes are broken up, and often scarcely a single able-bodied man can be found in some villages. There is no regular government educational system, no sanitation, nor social services.

The Belgian Congo

We come now to the heart of Africa, the vast tropical bowl of the Belgian Congo, which lies between West and East Africa and borders on the Sudan and Rhodesia. The Congo river system is the second greatest in the

world, encircling an area 750 miles wide and 530 miles long. Forest covers the northern half of the area; grasslands spread across the southern part, and in the southeast is the healthful country in the Katanga district, which is one of the richest mineral regions in the world. In the Congo before the Belgians came, great native states flourished which were noted for their complex and interesting culture and their art.

In 1943, there were in the Congo 10,500,000 people of whom 35,000 were white. The annexation of the Congo began with Stanley's search for Livingston and ended at the Conference of Berlin in 1885 when Leopold of Belgium, backed by the United States, was given the Congo -- which is 77 times the size of Belgium -- as his personal estate. Financial difficulties and world criticism compelled him finally to turn over the Congo to the Belgian state. Belgium has never promised the Congo independence or even participation in government. It has developed this region as a commercial enterprise, chiefly controlled by four holding companies in which the government is a partner. The treatment of the natives under Leopold has been improved and the output of the colony especially during and since World War II has been phenomenal. Copper, zinc, palm oil, manganese, tin, uranium, diamonds, and rubber have been exported in constantly increasing quantities. Labor has been carefully conserved so as to make available over eighteen per cent of all the adult males. During the recent war, forced labor was used, but normally the compulsion is indirect through government control of crops to be raised.

Native labor is pursuing most of the semi-skilled and skilled work in the colony. Wages are low and there are no trade unions. Unrest crops out now and then, as in three instances in 1945, when soldiers killed seven and wounded sixteen strikers.

Education is supplied mainly by the Catholic Church, with some Protestant

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missions. It is limited to low-grade primary instruction with emphasis on religion, hygiene and respect for authority. About 800,000 pupils are thus taught, but only one per cent continue after this level and receive vocational training for work as artisans, or training as clerks or teachers. There is no opportunity for secondary, higher, or professional training in the colony, and no Congolese are allowed in Belgium for study.

Every effort is made in the Congo to keep down agitation and avoid a native intelligent leadership. Plans for widespread social work have been formulated recently with a subvention from Belgium and a colony council for advice, on which one or two natives will sit. Nevertheless, there are already signs of a native movement which Government reports note and give warning. The so-called "Evolues" publish the "Voix de Congolais" and count 65 circles with 2,829 members, representing perhaps 10,000 persons. This periodical is "loyal", but progressive. There are, too, some 12,000 mulattoes whose status is still undetermined.

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The Congo is ruled on the British "indirect rule" plan, with the chiefs functioning under Belgian officials. The land remains mostly as a government monopoly, with the mass of natives as tenants-will. There has been work in health, sanitation, and the fighting of sleeping sickness and leprosy. Here is a perfect example of the regimentation of ten million black laborers for the industrial profit of a white nation, with care to make the exploitation a long-term project and not mere planless exploitation for quick and immediate returns. Nevertheless, the object is not, and never was the uplift of the Congo natives nor the giving to them enough education for any effective voice in government or self-expression. This plan is making Belgium rich and powerful; but it is giving black Congo increasing knowledge of modern technique. The question is: how long can this scheme last, and how far will it go?

Assuming the essential accuracy of this body of facts, what is its meaning for world Peace? In the early years of this century, I called the results of a similar survey , the "African Roots of War." I believe I was tragically right at that time. But the world has changed in a critical quarter of a century . The advance of the peoples of Africa, while great, has not been revolutionary; but it has been startling and prophetic. The change in the white world has been the greatest revolution in the history of modern man. Together these two sets of phenomena make either for Peace or the end of civilization in its present form.

The white world today is facing suicide. Not, to be sure, complete physical annihilation, but a cultural collapse and a moral breakdown which many centuries will be required to restore, if restoration will ever be possible. If still there can be found enough moral courage to resist a third world war, then one of the first results of that will be the recognition of the utter futility of the colonial system. With use of and cooperation with the emerging African intelligentia, in Africa itself,

and in the Negroids of all America; with the help of renascent Asia; and particularly with the direct aid of the socialist labor movement in all the world, we may slowly but finally erase from the minds of men and from political action, the attempt to build civilization on the domination of a few great powers over the mass of the world's workers, still widely spread in Asia, but gradually being concentrated more and more in Africa.

The world today is being led increasingly toward this conclusion by the determined and partially successful effort of the millions of Asia to govern themselves without the control of the white world. That colonialism and European domination will disappear from Asia in a foreseeable future is as certain as any future event. This will concentrate colonialism in Africa, and if that continues, it will make the black race the foot-stool of the world; the one remaining mass of men ruled for other peoples good; worked for other races profit; and spiritually suppressed for the uplift of the rest of the world.

To accomplish this will call for the cooperation of Asia, the working people of Europe and America; and black folk themselves. If Asia, in fear of reconquest or in sympathy, refuses cooperation, or even actively intervenes; if the white working classes see or think they see in the continued subjection of Africa, nothing less than a remnant of the exploitation from which they themselves are escaping, and perhaps even a weapon to retard their progress in political power and industrial dominance; or finally, if the African refuses longer to submit and begins increasingly to fight with protest, appeal, strikes, and weapons even in the face of frightening white armament; in such case, white colonial imperialism cannot possibly succeed.

If, on the other hand, white civilization continues on the path of total war, it will not only distroy itself, but cannot slow down that

process, in the future as in the past, by inducing colonial peoples to help fight for their own slavery. African soldiers have been used to defend, and even expand European colonial imperialism. They were used by both Germany and the Allies in the First World War. Black troops conquered German Africa for the Allies. Black shock troops met the rush of the Germans in France. Black labor supplied the white armies. After the First World War, it was agreed that such use of African military force was dangerous to European civilization and the League of Nations banned it.

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But in the Second World War, frican soldiers were again used. From British West Africa alone came over 150,000 black soldiers who fought in North Africa and in Asia. The French used the Senegalese soldiers in the North African and Syrian campaign. Negroes from East Africa were used in the Ethiopian campaign, and black non-combatant contingents were in the South African Army. All together it is probable that between a quarter and a half million black soldiers were used to help Europe overthrow Hitler and Japan, and to these must be added the soldiers of Negro descent from the United States and West Indies.

It is doubtful if in the future, even the ignorance and inexperience of black folk can be counted on to help hold Africa in subjection to Europe and to American investors. Already between Asia and Africa the lines of alliance appear. Out of 8,404 pilgrims to Mecca in 1946, 6,886 came from black West Africa. The Moslem population of French West Africa has increased from three to eight millions in ten years. African delegations were invited to the Pan-Inter-Asian Conference in 1947. Indians and Africans are cooperating in South Africa and Kenya. An Indian woman defended Africa before the United Nations, and the Union of South Africa is facing a hostile world opinion in its frank race-hate program. Gandhi began his career in Africa

and the stubborn, thoughtless determination of the United States to inherit, rule and expand a world industrial empire dying before its and of whose death, Russia is symptom and not cause.

America may fight Ru[illegible] she cannot prevent the increasig so[illegible]

in defense of natives. Negroes are pouring into the trade unions of America, and the Labor government of England is having difficulty in steering a course between the great British industrial hierarchy in Africa and the demands of African labor. The powerful British trade unions have met and conferred with African and West Indian unionists. These facts put on the Africans themselves, the onus of forcing the final overthrow of colonialism by continued and increased determination to be modern men. Their movement is spearheaded by their kin in America. They cannot fail. Their triumph is Peace, because colonialism and labor exploitation are the ultimate causes of war.

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THE NEW AFRICA

The Romans said: "Semper nuvi quid ex Africa" always something something new out of Africa. Thàs has been true from the founding of the New Empire in Egypt to the bonds between Greece an Ethiopia, the Punic Wars, the Catholic Church, the Crusades , down to Kitchenor at Khartum and Cape to Cairo. During the I(th century we tried to defend slavery by pretending tha t Africa was nothing and never had been; on on this fable, we builtthe New Capitalism on the Af ican slave trade. Today after the second World War, Africa suddenly looms as news. It is the second greatest land area in the world, with a hundred and fifty million people and endless natural resources. Britain has lost India and Burma; France has lost Indo-China; Holland is losing Indonesia. In the Near East looms the threat of Arabs and Islam; in the Far-East, the Communist flood is engulfing China. In Europe itself, Russia and the Balkans are lost to the imperialist bloc. If Western Imperialism is to survive -- and it is determined to survive -- its colonial rule must center in Africa.

23-29-3

And what is Africa? It is certainly nothing that c rresponds to one unified term There are today at least six Africas which can be distinguished. Americans will think first of West Africa, whence most American Negroes came and where American enterprises of various kinds have centered. Here in that great bulge of the continent above the Gulf of Guinea, lie British and French West Africa and Liberia. Characteristic is the hot moist climate and the lush vegetation on the low , narrow coastal belt, rising to the forests of the inland plateau. Here known African culture runs back a thousand years, and the land and local rule is still dominated by tribal organization. But over this the British have established "indirect rule", which makes them political overlords and economic monopolists over black labor and its products. But black west Africa has been learning. It has an intelligentia, educated in Europe and America, and although only one in twenty can read and write, the native movement for autonomy and self-rule is growing to large proportions. Nigeria, the largest British colony has some twenty-three million people; the Gold Coast lea ds the world in cocoa producti tion on peasant farms. It is here that agitation for African emancipation centers today. Liberia dose not yet represent that freedom; it has fought a hundred years, first against the natives for land; then against the British for independence; then to ward off the agressions first of France, then of Germany; until today it is in the grasp of American capital invested in rubber, general "development" by the Stettinius Asso iat s and by the United States Navy and Aurforce.

The inland plateau of Africa dips into the bowl of the Congo Valley and then rises to the great bastion of the Cape of Good Hope. Here at lands end, has been played in the last three centuries a frightful drama of human history between the most warlike of the blacks descending from the interior where Negro-Arabian imperialism drove them south. Here they met Dutch and English and fought for extermination. The result was the Union of South Africa, the worst center of race hate in the world, where two and a third million whites are holding nine million blacks, mulattoes and Asiatics in subjection. Here a Negro has rights which a white man is bound to respect and here and in the Rhodesias comes the world's store of gold, diamonds and copper.

23-39-40

Up the East Coast, we pass Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Nyassaland and three native protectorates, never conquered but ruled by Britain and starved by South Africa. This is the region where the dream of a black Africa, ruled by a handful of white investors and technicians, is spreading the South African idea with modern industrial efficiency. This East Coast, which slopes down to the Indian Ocean, once bound Africa and Asia together and remains of ancient cultures dot the land with vast monuments. Inland we see sports of nature: great mountains with eternal snow, and that vast gap in the earth so great that men say that it is the only earthly feature that living eyes could descry from the moon.

Here we come on three lands: empty Tanganyika with only 15 persons to the square mile, and 70,000 white investers and technicians owning the 5 million natives who have neither votes nor education. Here England proposes to begin her new exploitation of Africa. Out of this vastness and poverty, we climb to Uganda. Here flourished a sucession of Negro kingdoms, devastated by the slave trade and then by missionaries of the Catholics, Protestants and Moslems fighting each other until England annexed the land. There remains a compact native culture and local home rule, held in the grip of incoming European capital. But the great threat to Uganda is Kenya. Here 25,000 whites, originally from South Africa, rule and half enslave three and a half million blacks, after seizing 80% of their best land. But the flies in the white ointment are Makerere College in Uganda which may become a university of East Africa; a group of Indian merchants in Kenya who join with the natives; and the surrounding black lands of the Egyptian Sudan and Ethiopia.

On the citadel of Africa, with its frowning mountains covering the great eastern Horn of the continent perches Ethiopia, with a history going back to the earliest legends

of Greek history. It has miantained its independence against all the world's civilizations for five thousand years, until the United Nations betrayed it to Italy. Britain, France and Italy had shorn it from access to the sea and every effort of cheating lying and force was used to subdue this land. But it arose from the dead after the ~~fi~~ second World War and is the center of the African puxzzle: for Ethiopia dominates the Nile valley and the water w which Egypt must have. Ethiopia is rich in undeveloped rssources. That is why capitalistic countries like England and America want to deprive this Land Of thr Blacks of a saeport for world trade, by taking away Eretria and giving to the blood-stained hands of Italy.

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Down the Nile from Ethiopia lies the Sudan to the westward, bithland of ancient Egypt, with seven million blacks, who are today pawns between the British empire which i is being driven out of Egypt and is building new military bases in Kenya. The Sudanese remember the slave trade and murder of Egyptian rule and are being bribed by Gordan Co College and education for their youth to carry ~~for xxxxxxxxxxxx~~xon British rule. They do not forget that once they wrecked British imperialism in the Sudan for I3 years when the Black Mahdi drove the English out of the Sudan

To the north lie Arab Africa: independent Egypt; French Algeria and Morroco and Tunis, French with Italian inhabitants as well as natives. France is trying to incorporate her colonies into metropolitan France and yet preserve the rule of French capital. This brings us to Latin Africa: the vast realm of French Africa, from the Sahara to the Gulf of Guinea; Portuguese Africa in the south and bits of the Spanish a colonial empire on the West Coast. Her has long been dominant a method of colonialialism, different from the Anglo-Saxon. Exploitation of native labor and land was the object, but natives themselves, if they rose to power by wealth or education were welcomed as co-exploiters. Thus French black colonials and especially Portuguese mullattoes have arisen to power, but they have usually shar d in and extended the same type of native oppression as the whites. This is true today in French West Africa, French guinea, Madegascar and the French West Indies. This is the problem which the new French Union must face. Portugal has never been able to make her professions square with her actions in Mozambique and Angola. The masses of her colonia l natives are pitifully oppressed even today.

We now turn back to the Heart of Africa, the Congo Valley

23-39-33

THE AFRICAN ROOTS OF PEACE

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

23.39-3

Mr. Bevin, in his review of Foreign Affairs, before the House of Commons, January 22, said: "The free nations of Western Europe must now draw closely together. I believe now the time is ripe for a consolidation of Western Europe, and this co nsolidation must be supported. And that involves the closest collaboration between the Commonwealth and the overseas territory of the French, Dutch, Belgians and Portuguese. Their raw materials, food and other resources could be of mutual advantage to these territories and to the world."

Last November, Sir Stafford Cripps said to the African Governors' conference, "The whole future of the sterling group and its ability to survive depends on a quick and vast development of colonial resources. It is to your contribution to the righting of the world unbalance that we must look; and in order to give you the chance of success, we must put behind you all that we can in the way of capital, goods, and supplies."

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Lord Trefgarne, Chairman of the Colonial Development Corporation, said in June that United States imports of coffee alone in 1947 were more than three time her total imports of British manufactures. He suggested then that an over-all increase of two hundred million pounds in colonial production should be made during the next ten years.

Angle-French consultations have been under way for creation of an economic grouping by which Western Europe would be linked with the African continent. This bloc would be an element of economic equilibrium between the United States and the Soviet Republic. Sir Oswald Moseley was flatly outspoken; he advocated a union of European people. He saw Europe as the leader, aiming to develop Africa as an estate of the Europeans to solve the economic problem by direct state action. "Africa never was developed by Negroes, who at present are exploited by finance capitalism under cover of Trusteeship hypocrisy."

Others stressed the fact that Africa is divided into territories, nearly all of which belonged to, or were allied to, the nations of Western Europe; and both Africa and America are affiliated with Europe and the Western company of nations. Africa can supply the resources needed to rebuild Europe, and the Union of South Africa in particular is rich in the things which Europe requires. Some expressed the belief that South Africa's special contribution to the pattern of peace would be to protect and

develop her agricultural, mineral, and industrial wealth and, in collaboration with the territories to the North, to produce things which might help Europe to live again.

"There are immense possibilities of development in the great continent of Africa," said Lord Addison, during the debate on Commonwealth and Empire Migration in the House of Lords. "We must realize a great many of these possibilities, or we shall be in even more distressing circumstances than we are now."

The Earl of Portsmouth said: "Our tropical Colonies demand a far greater administrative technical population than they have had up to date-- namely, farmers, civil servants, engineers, business men and so forth. There is no question that our own population will thrive at the expense of the Native African, for instance. After all, Africa would starve if it were not for the white man's ability to check erosion as much as he has done ... --

"As this would work out, I believe it should be treated as a sort of great co-partnership, as it were, on the lines of a military operation. You would start on your development areas, on the analogy of the Tennessee Valley, ... where you would start on the great work necessary; here, it might be hydro-electric; there, it might be dams; and elsewhere, it might be afforestation. You would move to reclaim that land and develop its area. As the works were completed, so would more people come ....

"In the next two or three years, perhaps only a few hundred thousand can leave this country; but if an ordinary progressive development were to take place, it would mean a continued demand, not only in this country but throughout the Commonwealth, United States and Western Europe for plant and

This is but a partial picture of the growing concentration of world capital investment in Africa, attracted by cheap labor and by government conditions which will encourage access to raw material with low taxation and with every advantage for exploitation.

Naturally, this condition brings up many questions. First, on the part of England itself, what is going to be the object and end of this concentration of capital in Africa? The Times of London, said recently in a leading editorial that the principle governing colonial development in the nineteenth century was that in return for peace and justice, the native people should produce food and raw material for the European market. This meant that commercial enterprise, while slightly raising native standards of life distributed its profits to European shareholders.

The new plan of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act is designed to see that the pace of economic development in the colonies is increased, consistent with the general welfare of the native people.

Planning for Africa

The Fabian Society, planning for the Labor Government, puts the matter this way: In the period from 1950 to 1955, joint British, French, Belgian, South African and Egyptian planning should be agreed upon; and could in twenty years change the face of Africa and of its place in world economy as much as the Russians have changed the face of Soviet Asia. Such joint action could reproduce TVA's in the valleys of the Nile, Congo, Niger, and Zambesi. This twenty year development program would create an enormous source of supply of primary products and a large new market for manufactured goods. For this, there must be provided, labor, power, transport, homes, and social services for the white workers who immigrate to direct this development. In this way capitalist exploitation of the colonies can be carried on by a planned development of their resources, based on sharply rising living standards for the native people and the effective participation of these people in the organization and administration of this development.

"That participation is vital, if Africa is to be recreated; we must stop doing things for the Africans and start doing things with them."

This is a heartening and interesting forecast, but how far is it really inspiring the thought [redacted] of the investing world? In the discussion and planning, contradiction and overtones appear. For instance, in June, 1948, a member of Parliament pointed out that possibly more good could be done for England by investing in marginal land and rough grazing land and bringing it into production. The Joint Parliament Secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture replied, that England depends on imports for about ninety-five per cent of its oils and fats, and that the peanut scheme is not being done to help Africa or Australia, but to get much needed additional supplies of these things for Britain.

When it comes to the matter of migration of white people to Africafor technical knowledge and direction of the new development, the schemes run into difficulties and prejudices. Lord Tweedsmuir said in the House of Lords, "Upon the successful redistribution of the British race depends the whole future of the British Commonwealth." But what is to be the relation of these white Britishers to the dark people of Africa? We know the attitude of white Englishmen in the Union of South Africa, in Kenya and even in West Africa toward the natives. But even in England itself, there is the color bar. Black students and visitors have so much difficulty in finding accommodations, that special hostels are being opened.

A curious exemplification of this happened during the Second World War, when large contingents of Negro soldiers were quartered in England. MOTHER AND CHILD, a periodical published in England, called attention in November 1947 to the future of at least five hundred and fifty, perhaps a thousand, colored illegitimate children whose mothers are English and whose fathers

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are among the colored American service men, now back in their homes in the United States. The American Army would not permit its colored soldiers to marry white women. If this can happen in England and the redistribution of the British race is going to take place in Africa, what is going to be the relation of these immigrants to the millions of black folk there? A Great Britain which followed South Africa and Rhodesia in favor of a policy of racial privilege and segregation and domination of the blacks by the whites, would not hope to retain any part of Asia in the British Commonwealth.

Poverty and the Past

Another difficulty has been pointed out. As one writer says, "We are trying to make our people believe that there are vast resources of food to come out of Africa to help this country, but if the natives of Africa are fed properly there will be no surplus to come out of Africa, and the sooner the Government lets the people of this country know the facts the better. The natives are increasing to a tremendous extent, and they are unable to provide food for themselves at the present time. The colonies, to be sure, have been prosperous during the war because of the goods which they have furnished; but nevertheless, most of this production has gone to Europe and the taxable capacity of most colonials is low."

Mr. Rankin, a member of Parliament from Glasgow, said on January 20, 1948, that the government ought to be reminded "that for every £12 of wealth created in Africa in the past, we took out £11 and left £1. And England cannot forget what Lord Palmerston said to his Tiverton constituents just one hundred years ago: "The crimes committed in regard to African slavery and the African slave trade, if they could be put together, are, I am sure, greater in amount than all of the crimes that ever were committed by the human race from the beginning of the world to the present time."

We turn now to the really crucial point, what is Africa itself thinking? Or perhaps we should say, does Africa think? Negro opinion is beginning to make itself heard. In London the League of Colored People says in its chief

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organ: "Mere promises of benefits to come will not be convincing. Too often in the past the people of Africa have been beguiled by fair words and fine promises; these, they complain, have done nothing to increase their standard of living, and when the Africans themselves have attempted to express an opinion on how improvement in their society might be achieved they have been prosecuted for sedition."

It goes on to say that when the Labor Government came to power in Great Britain, many Africans were prepared to welcome the change of administration in the hope that it would lead to radical changes in colonial policy and administration. In Africa generally, and more particularly in East Africa, these hopes have been sadly dooмed. These circumstances are not in keeping with the avowed principles of the British Labor movement and their continued existance presupes the failure of the local governments to put into practical working the principles which prominent ministers in the labor government maintain they desire to see implemented in Africa. But it asks, "do the ministers really mean what they say?"

Many difficulties are being pointed out. For instance, in 1946 the total revenue of British African colonies averaged $4.00 a head. The figure for the United Kingdom the same year showed an average of nearly $300.00 a head. This illustrates the problem of poverty in Africa. The introduction of any substantial amount of mechanization or large scale production in African colonies would necessarily involve something like a social revolution. Suppose that a great saving of labor, up to ninety-three per cent, as has been mentioned in the case of extracting oil from the palm, to whom would this saving go? To the investor, (white manager, white technical skill,) or to native labor?

It was said in the House of Commons January 20, 1948, "Labor is one of the problems that has never been properly faced by the originators of this scheme, it is thought that the African native is a source of cheap labor... We have to give the native primary education, better food, and more incentives.

If production is started before labor supply is in the right position, the difficulties will be accentuated. They should have good villages with their own schools and hospitals, and they should be better fed, and given a higher standard of living so that they would be able to do the work. Before any steps to increase production are taken, these provisions must be made."

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A member of parliament speaking in Amsterdam recently declared, "Those of us who have any experience in the administration of oversea territories must make it clear to our colleagues at home that any discussion of the place of the oversea territories in a Western Union must keep in the forefront the interests of the oversea peoples. If the idea is inadvertently spread that the decisions of the peoples for whom we are responsible in Africa and Asia can be settled in London or Paris or Brussels or The Hague without consulting them, we shall get trouble, and we shall deserve it."

Beyond this we must face the idea of the white population already in Africa. We know the attitude of the Union of South Africa towards Negroes as citizens and as workers. The blacks occupy a subordinate position, and recent political events indicate they may possibly be pushed down even further. Even more significant is the situation in Kenya, which was settled originally by South Africans.

In Kenya, originated the idea of making Africa a center of defense of the West against the East. It was first broached in 1923, by a member of the legislative council in his pamphlet The Thermopylae of Africa. He developed the theme that Europe must withdraw from Asia, and that she should make Kenya Colony her center of defense and rule in Africa. He believed, that confronted by the fast approaching crisis in the relations of the primary races of mankind, the white race has no choice but to abandon its nineteenth century attitude of aggressive expansion and to collect and

reorganize its diminished strength within defensible lines there to await the shock of the Asiatic onslaught.

He was of the opinion that the first necessity will be to decide where to draw defensive lines. They, of course, will be first in white countries, and second, it should remember that Africa is the most important unit of the group of territories which whites dominate outside of Asia. Africa's immense area, her fertility, her numerous population, her geographical position all are in her favor. So great are her potentialities that control of Africa may prove to be the decisive factor in the coming conflict of the primary races.

It is a singular confirmation of this forecast that in January, 1943, it was announced that a huge military stores depot was under construction at McKenzen road, Kenya, sixty-five miles from the coast. Today there are thousands of white troops and engineers at this base; there are 2,000 Italian artisans flown in from Rome, and there are thousands of African laborers. Thirty-five miles of jungle are being cleared; water is being piped seventy miles. Here is being collected in stone and iron buildings, hundreds of tons of war material from North Africa and the Middle East.

Color Caste

The determination of white leaders in Africa to dominate the blacks is continually expressed. In the Union of South Africa, two and a half million white people are ruling nine million native colored without giving them voice in government, and keeping them in economic dependence and poverty.

When the Rhodesia National Affairs Association met in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, N. H. Wilson developed the idea of "Capricorn Africa", to include all those states between the Equator and the Tropic of Capricorn, that is Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, the Belgian Congo, Angola, the two Rhodesias,

people in the colonies a resented alien domination irrespective of what is in power at home.

George Padmore, a colored West Indian resident of London, details the present difficulties in colonial administration in British Colonies. He declares that the grievances in Africa are racial, economic and social. The economic problems rise from the land problem in East and South Africa where natives have been dispossessed of their land by Europeans and concentrated in special areas known as reserves. There they are subjected to direct hut and poll taxes in order to force them to seek employment on the plantation or in the mines. In most of the areas it is illegal for the natives to combine for collective bargaining. In East Africa, trade unions have been legalized since 1940, but this right remains largely on paper.

The British colonial governor is a trinity: he represents the King; he is chief executive; he advises with a legislative council, but in most important decisions, by his veto and reserved powers, he is the real source of colonial legislation. Natives participate in government by the device of "indirect rule". This was introduced into West Africa by Lord Lugard, when he lacked enough white troops to conquer the region. He left local government in the hands of the chiefs; but by power of appointing and dismissing them, by paying them out of government moneys, and in general controlling their actions, he made the British Commissioner the real ruler of West Africa. A diffuse native bureacracy was superimposed on the old feudal and tribal systems. The chiefs are not subject to the democratic control of their people but derive their powers direct from the government.

As Margery Pelham, a white Englishwoman, says: "Most educated Africans, especially in West Africa and the Sudan, critize and strongly condemn indirect rule. They say it gives power to uneducated chiefs and elders

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instead of to the educated; that it strengthens tribal feeling and so continues the disunity of the country. It is, they say, part of the old policy of "divide and rule" by which "an imperial power keeps its subjects weak and prevents their advance toward self-government." Despite all this, the British administrator is usually honest and efficient. Under him West Africa has progressed; the native rulers have made great and notable advance. But the Africans complain, too much is done for them and not with them. The rulers reply, the natives want more than they are fit to provide.

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Politics in all African colonies conform to a pattern which varies from territory to territory only as to the relative importance of the following factors: (1.) White settlers who work for self-rule, with white supremacy both in economics and in politics; (2.) Big Business which works for monopolistic concerns and control over labor; (3.) Alien racial groups who demand equality in all ways with the whites; (4.) A handful of native intelligenstia frustrated and resentful who agitate for "Africa for the Africans", "down with the color bar" and, at the same time, demand increased social services; and (5.) Government with indirect rule trying to hold down the lid.

In addition to this, there must not be overlooked the great mass of people of Africa, the "ignorant man and his wife with a hoe". They are protected from their aggressive neighbors, and have some modern medical aid, a little education, sanitation and use of machinery. They can sell their crops more or less freely in the world market and they have perhaps doubled in number in thirty years. They pay comparatively little attention to either social leaders or agitators, but want to be left undisturbed; yet someday they may be touched off by a firebrand or inspired by a prophet.

A native of West Africa declares that West Africans have shown phenomenal advance in the direction of self-confidence and native consciousness. Even

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designation real meaning.

West Africa

First there is West Africa, perhaps the best known generally. It is the gate of the continent from the West. Its tropical climate, hot sunshine and lush vegetation on the low coastal belt, rising to the great inland plateau, fulfills our usual idea of Africa. It covers today, for our purposes, British West Africa and Liberia. The leadership of black Africa centers here and this growing group yet may well lead the continent to autonomy. It will be a fierce, long road, with Great Britain determined not for long years, if ever, to release its hold on West African labor and products. Yet this region is securing more and more education, increased native wealth and clearer understanding of the white world and its methods.

Nigeria, the largest British colony, is one-third the size of Europe and has a population of approximately twenty-three millions. It has twenty-five publications and a total daily circulation of newspapers amounting to perhaps thirty-five thousand. It has twenty thousand miles of road and two thousand miles of railway.

West Africans are now within the orbit of world commerce and world crisis, but they are poor. Many of them are existing on five hundred to six hundred calories, compared with twelve hundred or eighteen hundred, which is today described as too little for the people of Europe. The Africans know the reasons for this poverty. A Nigerian woman recently said: "There is a constant drain of wealth from Nigeria, and it is because we know this that we cannot be expected to become enthusiastic over the Colonial Welfare and Development Fund. Considering the vast wealth that Nigeria has poured into the pockets of British trading houses and mining companies through the years, to say nothing of the incalculable contribution made to the Allied cause in two World Wars in manpower, in goods, and

in services, it strikes us as ironical now to be offered the almost paltry amount of £23,000,000 as evidence of the generosity of Great Britain to her family of Colonies. Were Nigeria an independent country there is no doubt that Britain would be very greatly in her debt, even as she is now in debt to Egypt."

Today a strong Nigerian movement under Aziwike is making England yield ground; he demands a ten year condominium, five years home-rule by one thousand trained Nigerians, then independence. Failing to get that he proposes to appeal to the United Nations, and after that, "direct action." A rival youth organization and a newer union of the powerful Yorubas may spell division as the English hope; on the other hand, it may lead to wider union and irresistible strength.

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Liberia has never been independent. She has had first to fight native tribes for a foothold; and then for a half century exercize all her skill to escape the imperialisms of Britain, France and Germany, only to be driven into the hands of American capital. She desperately needs today an intelligentsia to restore the remnants of her freedom in the face of militarism. navy and corporations from America.

South Africa

Second in importance comes South Africa / the Union, the Rhodesias, the Protectorates and the mandate of South West Africa. Here, after a wild scramble which raised all of the worst of human passions and a few of the best, we have today, inland from the Cape once called Good Hope, the greatest center of human race hate in the world. In the Union of South Africa there are today, two million three hundred and thirty-five thousand four hundred and sixty white folk who have complete political domination over seven million seven hundred and thirty-five thousand eight hundred and nine blacks and one million one hundred and eighty-seven thousand five hundred and eighty-nine colored folk and Asiatics. This dominion of eleven million persons extends the right to vote only to its two and a half million white citizens.

The African, although a taxpayer, has no right of citizenship. He is barred largely from skilled industry; his trade unions are not recognized, and he is denied the right to strike. Legislation prohibits him from acquiring land in cities, [redacted], forces him to carry a pass, and therefore deprives him of the right to seek free employment. The arrests of natives, especially for the violation of the laws about carrying passes, coming to cities, and failure to pay poll tax, lead to two hundred thousand arrests in a single year; whereas in England, with four times the population, only thirty thousand are arrested. Urban Negroes are housed for the most part in noisome shanty towns with no decencies of civilized life.

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Taxation and economic compulsion drive the African from the reserves to the mines, where he is housed and segregated in barracks. His average wage while so employed is approximately $200. a year. There are four urgent needs for the black population, and their representative councils have repeated these many times. Removal of the industrial color bar, more land, abolition of caste laws, and the extension of the franchise. The land situation by the law of 1938 gives the eighteen million natives twelve per cent of the total land area of the Union, leaving two hundred and fifty million acres for the less than two million five hundred thousand whites.

For years the limited wealth of South Africa has been the privilege of its white population, whose higher standard of living is at the expense of the economic and social welfare of the blacks. The Second World War made South Africa prosperous. The national income, which was $500,000,000 in 1911, reached in 1945 -46 $2,800,000,000. The result is that South Africa has been booming, there has been a vast increase in economic activity, and secondary industry has outstripped mining and agriculture. But already

[redacted]

The native group is now split roughly into three parts; two million live in cities, three million live on the white farms in the country, and three million on the reserves. Two-thirds of the whites are in cities and one third on the land.

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For a long time the gold mining industry, based on cheap black immigrant labor, has been looked upon as the backbone of South African economy. Now industry is outstripping the mines. With this new dependence upon industry, what is going to be the future of South Africa? If they look toward manufacturing for a white market it will be a long time before the white market of Africa reaches five million; and if they are going to manufacture for the native population, then the native population must receive larger income by far than it does now.

If the native population should become organized and antagonistic to the white population, there would be four natives to threaten every European, and the difficulties would be tremendous. This is the reason that communism will not thrive in South Africa, because even liberal Europeans fear the communists' doctrines of race equality and communal property.

The total expenditure for Negro education, 1946 -47 is ten million dollars, in addition to three and a half million dollars for school feeding. The Institute of Race Relations says that, "these funds are, of course, quite inadequate and cannot keep pace with the natural increase in the school age population, let alone overtake the existing shortage." [redacted] In 1941 out of 1,125,000 Africans of school age, 347,050 were in school. About eighty-five per cent leave school before standard third.

[redacted]

The last few years in Wouth Africa have seen difficult race relations.

Hostility among Negroes and Asiatics toward the whites has grown. There has been violence, culminating in the strike of the African mine workers in 1946, and the climax was reached when African members of the native representative council adjourned indefinitely in August, because of their inability to secure a statement from the government giving the facts in regard to the riot and the strike. They alleged breach of faith on the part of the government in its dealings with the council, and called for immediate abolition of all discriminating legislation.

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In the meantime, and more menacing than the race relations, is the fact that there is already slackening in economic activity in South Africa. After a long period of continuous expansion, the nation's rate of growth is beginning to decrease. Today there is more uncertainity and doubt about the immediate economic outlook than at any time since 1940. And it is at this time that the Smuts government has been overthrown on the issue of increased segregation and suppression of the darker races. [redacted]. A Negro leader, Z.K. Matthews comments: "I am convinced that the Nationalists will with the connivance of many non-Nationalist Europeans put into effect against non-Europeans all the things that they have wanted for so long. However, in their struggle for a better place in the South African sun, the African people remain undaunted and the retrogressive action, which they now expect, will only serve to make them more determined to close their ranks and organize themselves better for the fight that lies ahead."

The Institute of Race Relations says: "We feel bound to issue a warning that if this situation in the field of race relations is allowed to deteriorate

further, it will before long reach a stage in which the voice of reason will not be heeded." The recent experience of the British in India, of the Dutch in Java, and of the French in Indo-China shows that the Non-European peoples of the world will not remain amenable to rational argument if we Europeans fail to make amble concessions to social justice while there is still the time and the temper to do so. In South Africa the period is drawing to a close in which honourable compromise is possible between the claims of various races that compose our community. ..."

Adjacent to South Africa lie the Negro Protectorates, Basutoland, Bechuana-land, and Swazi-land, now administered by the British colonial office under treaty. On account of the stubborn resistence of the natives, especially the Basutos, these territories were annexed by treaty and given a considerable degree of autonomy. South Africa has long desired to annex them and Malan will probably make another attempt to do so. They are meanwhile slowly but stubbornly dying of economic starvation and throttling of outlet and enter-prise at the hands of both British and South Africans.

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Nyasaland and the Rhodesias lie between South Africa and East Africa and are pushing for autonomy with the power in the hands of the whites. Here will take place in the future some of the most severe cases of racial strife and antagonism. Here are vast acres of land rich for farming and in untold mineral wealth. A small but close-knit group of whites are set here to carry out the South African pattern with a smaller ruling class and a less educated mass of serfs. They are avoiding the more crass and open race program, but proceeding in land monopoly, segregation, restricted education, low wages and a minimum of political power.

East Africa

East Africa is a physical sport of nature with snow-capped peaks on the equator and that vast rift in the earth, visible from the moon, if there are

eyes there to see, with the deepest lakes in the world, sloping down to the coast that for centuries has knit Africa and Asia. Here are three lands, Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya. Tanganyika has only fifteen persons to each of its 360,000 square miles, ~~m~~with five million natives and seventy thousand whites. Nobody votes, but the whites are assuming ownership of men and resources. Diamonds and other minerals are being exploited and here Britain is placing her peanut culture scheme. The land is being slowly seized, and the natives get almost no education and are nearly voiceless.

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Elspeth Huxley says that from Tanganyika to Uganda one passes "from vastness and poverty to a compact tidy, closely administered, relatively wealthy country, favored by nature with highland and rainfall which has brought abundance and comparative prosperity to most of its people."

Uganda is the still unconquered remnant of a series of African empires. It was long the victim of white religious strife and emerged as a British "protectorate" with some autonomy and wealth in its retention of ownership of its land. Uganda has 95,000 square miles and four million people. The black ruling class consists of land holders and employers, who import labor from the Belgian Congo and the Nile valley. Uganda has started on an educational program. Here is Makerere College, which may yet become the black University of East Africa. Ten years ago there were 270,000 children in school, and presumably there has been considerable advance since, although figures are not available. Information concerning Uganda is regularly suppressed because this is a country which can easily follow the lead of West Africa and become the center of [illegible] movement toward autonomy. It has a long history of indigenous culture. Its economic problems are severe and the encroachment of investing capital is threatening.

In Kenya we go up toward the mountains of the moon, where on 225,000

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square miles, there is a population of three and a half million. Here 25,000 whites have monopolized the most fertile eighty per cent of the land, and have tried to compel the Negroes to work for them. The blacks, densely crowed in lowland, desert and swamp, have made a fierce struggle for opportunity. They have forced their cause on the British and gained vacillating sympathy. Once their interests were declared "paramount" as compared with the immigranting South Africans and English; but little has been done to implement this declaration. Less than one-fifth of the school population is in mission and government schools, and the wealth accruing to the whites from monopoly of land (which cost them almost nothing), transport and investment have given the ruling clique a vast power. The only fly in their ointment is a large contingent of Indian merchants who dispute the division of profits and lately have been joining the natives in their opposition to white control. Surrounded by the Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda, white rule in Kenya will have no easy path to complete domination.

The Nile Valley

At the head of the valley of the Nile stands Ethiopia on the citadel of Africa; it has had restored to independence a struggle with Britain, who is not certain whether this country will prove a fortress against Asia or a threat to Europe. Both Italy and Britain are seeking colonial claims which would strip Ethiopia of her outlet to the sea, and both Europe and America are seeking to get control of the resources of this rich land. Meanwhile, Ethiopia is striving in poverty to educate her masses, sending students abroad for higher education and technical skill and is using Russians, Scandinavians and American Negroes to build up industry and sanitation. The Emperor is a wise and brave man, but he is not getting from the United Nations or from European civilization the aid and encouragement he so sorely needs. If Ethiopia once reaches real economic independence, the end of the domination of Europe in Africa will be in sight.

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The fifth part of Africa---Algeria, Tunis, and Morocco---we will pass over for lack of space and concentrate on the last part.

Latin Africa

Down the Nile valley from Ethiopia lies the Sudan, the source of ancient Egyptian civilization, the last bastion which in the 19th century drove Britain out of its borders for thirteen years and nearly gave North Africa to Ethiopia and France. Kitchener and Egypt recaptured the Sudan, [redacted] until in our day Egypt seeking independence from the British Empire finds itself losing the Sudan [redacted]. The Sudan controls the Nile, the life-line of Egypt, and [redacted] is the broad path to British East Africa. Who controls the Sudan will, with an independent Ethiopia, control East and central Africa. Consequently both Egypt and England are today wooing the seven million black people on the million acres of the Sudan. The Sudanese remember how Mehemet Ali of Egypt spoiled this land with rape and slave trade and how still Egypt draws the color line in politics and industry. But they also remember that the English desecrated the tomb of the Mahdi and have only lately favored the Sudanese and educated them for the civil service only in order to supplant the Egyptians. A duel is going on today. One party led by a descendant of the Mahdi wants independence from Egypt. Another party wants to remain under the Egyptian domination. To clinch her claims, Britain is increasing Sudanese education. [redacted] general education spread. [redacted]

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North Africa

North Africa -- Algiers Tunis and Morocco -- form a region where an Arab world with a large infiltration of Negro blood is being developed theoretically as a part of France and formerly, so far as Tunis was concerned, as a part of Italy. As a matter of fact, this area is still in semi-colonial status and demanding larger autonomy.

Latin Africa

The sixth part of Africa we may call Latan Africa. It composes the vast African Empire of France, the great Valley of the Congo, the remains of the Portuguese African Empire and the small enclaves owned by Spain, [redacted]

[redacted]

Here, so far as France and Portugal are concerned, we have a rather curious situation: a promise of justice and equality which amounts to the training of a small élite, separating them from the masses and turning them into Frenchmen and Portuguese with full rights, but leaving the mass of people in those territories without leadership or guidance and at the mercy of some of the worst sorts of commercial exploitation. France has a complete educational system for her colonies. There are higher schools for medicine and engineering and, for those who can afford it, no difficulty in attending the great schools and universities in France. But this means that education has not touched the mass of the French African people. A black African like Diagne may rise to cabinet position, but he married a French wife and his family became practically French. [redacted]. Eboué, becomes a great governor of wide renown, but still the black mass is untouched.

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Recently President Auriol greeted the new Union Francaise: [redacted] "From all parts of the world, from all countries, from all religions, from all races, from all origins, from all conditions-- to all of you citizens of the Union Française" [redacted] But the exact form of this federation of colonies with France and the actual power that is going to be in the hands of the colonies is by no means certain.

In the meantime, one reads the memoirs of Emile Faure. Faure is the grandson of the great Samory, former Sultan of Nigeria, who fought back the French for eighteen years and finally, in 1898, was captured and exiled. His grandson has spent much time in Africa and is now living in Paris, working as an engineer. He says:

> "This lamentable condition of the Negroes in the French Colonies is a direct outgrowth of their political status, and this may be easily summed up in four words. They have no rights. Like the serfs of the Middle Ages they are 'taxable and workable at will,'

and the administration, like the seigneur, has the right of life and death over them".

In Portugal the official news is heartening. There is a five-year plan in Angola and an appropriation for social work in Mozambique. Angola has a housing program, increased minimum wages and irrigation projects, together with a proposed large hydro-electric plant and new labor laws. There is a port development at Beira, which may become a center of exportation for all of East Africa; and in 1945 Portuguese Guinea celebrated its four hundredth anniversary. Yet reports from travellers are disconcerting. Susan Welty charges state slavery: a "planned economy" which steals the peasants' produce and deliberately stifles education. And here again, the elite, the mulatto, the rich, escape and can become equal citizens of Portugal, or better a part of the exploiting regime in Angola or Mozambique.

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A secret report in 1946 on Angola says, "The conditions under which Africans live in Angola are now almost unendurable. In fact, many don't live; they die at an early age due to the hardships imposed upon them." Taxes are 100 to 120 angolares a year, while laborers earn one and a half angolares a day when employed. Every device is taken to make workers default on tax payments, in which case they are sold to private employers under contract with nominal wages and terms lasting from three to ten years. Villagers flee to the bush to escape this slavery, homes are broken up, and often scarcely a single able-bodied man can be found in some villages. There is no regular government educational system, no sanitation, nor social services."

The Belgian Congo

We come now to the heart of Africa, the vast tropical bowl of the Belgian Congo, which lies between West and East Africa and border on the Sudan and Rhodesia. The Congo river system is the second greatest in the

world, encircling an area 750 miles wide and 530 miles long. Forest covers the northern half of the area; grasslands spread across the southern part, and in the southeast is the healthful country in the Katanga district, which is one of the richest mineral regions in the world. In the Congo before the Belgians came, great native states flourished which were noted for their complex and interesting culture and their art.

In 1943, there were in the Congo 10,500,000 people of whom 35,000 were white. The annexation of the Congo began with Stanley's search for Livingston and ended at the Conference of Berlin in 1885 when Leopold of Belgium, backed by the United States, was given the Congo -- which is 77 times the size of Belgium -- as his personal estate. Financial difficulties and world criticism compelled him finally to turn over the Congo to the Belgian state. Belgium has never promised the Congo independence or even participation in government. It has developed this region as a commercial enterprise, chiefly controlled by four holding companies in which the government is a partner. The treatment of the natives under Leopold has been improved and the output of the colony especially during and since World War 11 has been phenomenal. Copper, zinc, palm oil, manganese, tin, uranium, diamonds, and rubber have been exported in constantly increasing quantities. Labor has been carefully conserved so as to make available over eighteen per cent of all the adult males. During the recent war, forced labor was used, but normally the compulsion is indirect through government control of crops to be raised.

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Native labor is pursuing most of the semi-skilled and skilled work in the colony. Wages are low and there are no trade unions. Unrest crops out now and then, as in three instances in 1945, when soldiers killed seven and wounded sixteen strikers.

Education is supplied mainly by the Catholic Church, with some Protestant

missions. It is limited to low-grade primary instruction with emphasis on religion, hygiene and respect for authority. About 800,000 pupils are thus taught, but only one per cent continue after this level and receive vocational training for work as artisans, or training as clerks or teachers. There is no opportunity for secondary, higher, or professional training in the colony, and no Congolese are allowed in Belgium for study.

Every effort is made in the Congo to keep down agitation and avoid a native intelligent leadership. Plans for widespread social work have been formulated recently with a subvention from Belgium and a colony council for advice, on which one or two natives will sit. Nevertheless, there are already signs of a native movement which Government reports note and give warning. The so-called "Evolués" publish the "Voix de Congolais" and count 65 circles with 2,829 members, representing perhaps 10,000 persons. This periodical is "loyal", but progressive. There are, too, some 12,000 mulattoes whose status is still undetermined.

23-39-27

The Congo is ruled on the British "indirect rule" plan, with the chiefs functioning under Belgian officials. The land remains mostly as a government monopoly, with the mass of natives as tenants-will. There has been work in health, sanitation, and the fighting of sleeping sickness and leprosy. Here is a perfect example of the regimentation of ten million black laborers for the industrial profit of a white nation, with care to make the exploitation a long-term project and not mere planless exploitation for quick and immediate returns. Nevertheless, the object is not, and never was the uplift of the Congo natives nor the giving to them enough education for any effective voice in government or self-expression. This plan is making Belgium rich and powerful; but it is giving black Congo increasing knowledge of modern technique. The question is: how long can this scheme last, and how far will it go?

and in the Negroids of all America; with the help of renascent Asia; and particularly with the direct aid of the socialist labor movement in all the world, we may slowly but finally erase from the minds of men and from political action, the attempt to build civilization on the domination of a few great powers over the mass of the world's workers; [redacted].

The world today is being led increasingly toward this conclusion by the determined and partially successful effort of the millions of Asia to govern themselves without the control of the white world. That colonialism and European domination will dissappear from Asia in a foreseeable future is as certain as any future event. This will concentrate colonialism in Africa, and if that continues, it will make the black race the footstool of the world; the one remaining mass of men ruled for other peoples' good; worked for other races' profit; and spiritually suppressed for the uplift of the rest of the world.

23-39-46

To accomplish this will call for the cooperation of Asia, the working people of Europe and America; and black folk themselves. If Asia, in fear of reconquest or in sympathy, refuses cooperation, or even actively intervenes; if the white working classes see or think they see in the continued subjection of Africa, nothing less than a remnant of the exploitation from which they themselves are escaping, and perhaps even a weapon to retard their progress in political power and industrial dominance; or finally, if the African refuses longer to submit and begins increasingly to fight with protest, appeal, strikes, and weapons even in the face of frightening white armament; in such case, white colonial imperialism cannot possibly succeed.

If, on the other hand, white civilization continues on the path of total war, it will not only distroy itself, but cannot slow down that

Obstacles to these schemes of expansion in Africa have been pointed out by a variety of British observers. One writer says: "We are trying to make our people believe that there are vast resources of food to come out of Africa to help this country, but if the natives of Africa are fed properly there will be no surplus to come out of Africa. . . . The natives are increasing to a tremendous extent, and they are unable to provide food for themselves at the present time."

23-39-34

Others emphasize the poverty of Africa, which is illustrated by the fact that in 1946 the total revenue of British African colonies averaged $4 a head, while the figure for the United Kingdom for the same year showed an average of nearly $300 a head. A Member of Parliament declares "that for every £12 of wealth created in Africa in the past, we took out £11 and left £1."

Another argues that "cheap labor" in Africa is a fiction, since the native must get "primary education, better food, and more incentives," including good villages with their own schools and hospitals and a higher standard of living, before they would be able to do the work."

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Still others emphasize the dangers inherent in spreading the colonial system of South Africa where 2,500,000 whites rule 9,000,000 natives and colored without giving them a voice in government, and keeping them in economic dependence and poverty. "If the idea is inadvertently spread," warns an MP, "that the decisions of the peoples for whom we are responsible in Africa and Asia can be settled in London or Paris or Brussels or The Hague without consulting them, we shall get trouble, and we shall deserve it."

23-39-35

Such warnings, however, are lost upon bodies like the Rhodesia National Affairs Association which, at a recent meeting, launched the idea of "Capricorn Africa" to include all states between the Equator and the Tropic of Capricorn: Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, Belgian Congo, Angola, the two Rhodesias, Nyasaland, Mozambique, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and part of French Equatorial Africa. This comprises an area slightly larger than the United States, with a population between 35,000,000 and 40,000,000, and possessing resources richer than those of the United States in everything but oil. Purpose of this union would be to help the nations of Western Europe to complete economic recovery, and it would embrace "only colonial countries where white European political control is to be permanent."

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Behind all such schemes lurks a theory broached 25 years ago by a member of the Legislative Council of Kenya in a pamphlet which he titled, "The Thermopylae of Africa." He forecoast that Europe must eventually withdraw from Asia and, forced to abandon its aggressive expansion, would have to collect and reorganize its diminished strength within defensible limits and there await an Asiatic onslaught in a contest between the primary races of mankind. He saw Kenya Colony as the center of defense and rule in Africa, and Africa itself as the most important unit of the group of territories which whites dominate outside of Asia. Africa's immense area, her fertility, her numerous population, her resources and her geographical position he saw as making that continent decisive in the final conflict of the primary races, and Kenya was to be the core.

23-39-36

How close this theory is to the thinking of current last-ditch imperialism is suggested by the fact that in January of this year it was announced that a huge military stores depot was under construction at McKennon Road, Kenya, 65 miles from the coast. Today thousands of white troops and engineers are stationed at this base. There are 2,000 Italian artisans there who were flown in from Rome. There are

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[redacted] thousands of African laborers at work. Thirty-five miles of jungle are being cleared and water is being piped in from 70 miles away. Here is being collected, in stone buildings and huge iron structures, hundreds of thousands of tons of war materials from North Africa and the Middle East.

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23-39-38

Ernest Bevin in his Review of Foreign Affairs before the House of Commons on Jan. 22 this year said: "The free nations of Western Europe must now draw closely together.

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23-39-42

One of the great by-products of the Second World War is the growing importance of Africa, second [redacted] greatest land area in the world with one hundred and fifty million people and limitless natural resources. England has lost control of India and Burma; France has lost Indo-China, and Holland is losing Indonesia. In the Near East is the threat of the Arabs and Islam, with an independent Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Trans-Jordan, Iraq and Iran. Western European imperialism must, to survive, center in Africa.

An English daily says: "There are few people . . . who realize the urgent importance of Pan-African development; in particular, the cooperation of Great Britain with France, Belgium and Portugal.

Important

[redacted] to all these schemes is the role of American capital.

Sir Arthur Salter has pointed out that the United States must encourage productive foreign investments on a large scale, and that the colonial empires of Great Britain, France and Holland offer the best fields. American capital investment in South Africa has doubled since 1939, and our State Department has announced that British colonies will be the primary source from which the United States can make good stock piling for raw materials. In 1946 the United States bought from the Belgian Congo 3,650 tons of uranium for $5,000,000.

23-39-43

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23-39-44

23-39-45

Last November Sir Stafford Cripps declared that "the whole future of the sterling group and its ability to survive depends on a quick and vast development of colonial resources."

35-2-58

AFRICAN ROOTS OF PEACE

W.E.B. DuBois

1948

First draft sent to
The Atlantic Monthly
Mailed, July 26, 1948
From N. Y. C.

The African Roots of Peace

The growing feeling of the importance of Africa:

1. As a source of food supply
2. As a source of minerals and other materials
3. As a center where cheap labor will furnish continued profit for investment
4. As the center of military defense of the West against the East
5. As the continuing center of colonial government

Two developments emphasize these thoughts and plans:

1. Current plans for African production in England, France and Belgium, and investment from the United States

2. The new self-conscious African laborer, shown by protests, strikes, organization and educational movements

3. The growing connection between

   African laborers and
   - Negro labor in America
   - White labor in Europe and America
   - Asiatic labor.

4. The increasing contradictiction in Africa between the concepts of color caste with untrained serf labor without political power and educated labor with political power, in a planned and mechanized economy

5. The differing degrees of influence which these ideas are having on the six sections of Africa (West Africa; South Africa; East Africa; Ethiopia and the Valley of the Nile; North Africa the Africas of France, Belgium and Portugal)

The resultant prospects for Peace in the 20th Century

'35-2-384

THE AMERICAN NEGRO WOMAN

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

In 1924, after the First World War, I wrote a book The Gift of Black Folk in which I tried to portray the role which Negroes have played in the making of America. One chapter in that book was on "the freedom of woman hood" and there I sought to tell "how the Black Woman from her low estate, not only united the two great human races, but helped lift herself and all women to economic independence and self-expression."

In the quarter century that has elapsed since the writing of this chapter it is difficult to realize the changes that have swept over the world: the Depression and the Second World War, the Rise of Russia and the Freeing of India. The influence of all this upon American women of Negro descent has been vast; and I write this word to emphasize their meaning to American culture, their difficulties and their accomplishments.

There can be no doubt but what the kernel of the problem of women today is their economic independence, and the career of Negro women as workers, as heads of families, as leaders in cultural development has been one of the strongest influences in America toward solution. We must not forget in this connection that epoch-making speech which Sojourner Truth made at the second National Woman's Suffrage Convention in 1852. She was an Amazon, six feet tall, black and erect. She was entirely unschooled, a hard-bitten working woman who came to this meeting of white women and crouched in the corner against the wall. Repeatedly messages went to the presiding officer "Don't let her speak, don't get our cause mixed up with abolition and Negroes."

There was warm discussion on the status of women, and matters were getting pretty well snarled. At last the black woman arose from the corner and the audience held its breath. Her words translated into plain English said this:

"That man over there says that women need to be helped into carriages and lifted over ditches and to have the best places given them. Nobody ever helped me into carriages or over a mudpuddle or gave me any place; and ain't I a woman? Look at me, look at my arms: I have plowed and planted and gathered into barns and no man could head me. Ain't I a woman? I can work as much and eat as much as a man and bear the lash as well. I have born thirteen children and seen most of them sold off into slavery and ain't I a woman?

"If the first woman God ever made was strong enough to turn the world upside down, all of these together ought to be able to turn it back and head it right again."

The freeing of women in America and in the world has made rapid strides since that speech, but today the place of woman in the world is still not clear nor satisfactory. The breaking-up of the American and European classic type of home and family is a symptom of this continued striving of women for emancipation; and on the forefront of this fight, both consciously and unconsciously are American Negro Women.

The first problem and perhaps the most ancient, as has been said is that of economic independence: of the right of a woman to do remunerative work and receive for it pay sufficient to support herself; and not because of this to be deprived of the right to have children and enjoy such male companionship as she chooses. Negro women have been forced into the front of this fight because of the economic difficulties of Negro men in earning sufficient to support a wife and children. The unmarried woman had economic independence forced upon her and is now striving to rationalize this and to make it compatible with husband and children. She has to bear in this fight the ancient punishment put on womankind; she has been accused of widespread prostitition and incontinence; she has been blamed for refusing to bear countless children, whom her husband could not support; and she has achieved only partial economic independence because of the refusal of most white women to recognize her plight and to

strive with her even for their own advantage.

A picture of woman's work according to the census of 1940 shows that of those 14 years of age and over, 25% of the white women and 38% of the colored women were in the labor force while 57% of the white and 42% of the colored women were working in their own homes. The employment of colored women showes 4% in professions 16% working on the farm, 1.3% clerical service, 6½% operatives in factories, 60% servants and 10% in social service. Contrasting this with the whites we find it among white women nearly 15% are among the professional women, 33% in clerical work, 21% in factories and 11% in domestic service.

The problem of the colored woman worker centers in the occupation of domestic service , an occupation practically unorganized, almost unprotected in law and subject to hangover from medieval conditions. The practical problem for Negro women is the reduction of those engaged in domestic service by escape into better paid, better organized and better recognized employment. With these domestic servants may be put the great mass of the women workers on farms. This leaves a working class among colored women approaching economic emancipation, outside the home, of something like 22% as compared with nearly 80% among white women.

Nevertheless the advance among colored women has been spectacular. Of course the attention of the public has been concentrated upon the professional class and in our day it comprehends great singers like Marian Anderson and Dorothy Maynor, young writers like Shirley Graham and Ann Petry, leaders in social service like Eslanda Robeson and Grace Hamilton, dancers like Pearl Primus, and a host of distinguished teachers and librarians and leaders inYWCA work and in professional nursing. There have been pioneer women physicians from early days down to the public health work of Virginia Alexander; and lawyers like Jane Bolin. But beyond this spectacular and better known accomplishment is the work of Negro women in industry. The hair culture industry established by Madam C. J. Walker gave employmeny to hundreds of

thousands of young women and influenced similiar work in the white world. There has been notable leadership in labor organizations which led to the sending of colored women to represent American labor at international meetings.

35-3-382

The advance in the great field of general employment is a slow and continuous fight, but the colored women are gradually wining. They can be found as clerks in Macys store in New York; they can be found as stenographers in governmental service; they can be found as factory workers in the middle west, and the one thing that all this striving calls for, is mutual recognition of the oneness of this effort of emancipation with the effort of all women in America and elsewhere.

35-3-273

THE AMERICAN NEGRO WOMAN

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

In 1924, after the First World War, I wrote a book The Gift of Black Folk in which I tried to portray the role which Negroes have played in the making of America. One chapter in that book was on "the freedom of womanhood" and there I sought to tell "how the Black Woman from her low estate, not only united the two great human races, but helped lift herself and all women to economic independence and self-expression."

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There can be no doubt but what ~~one of the strongest influences in America toward the~~ economic independence, ~~of women, has been~~ the career of Negro women as workers, as heads of families, as leaders in cultural development ~~has been one of the strongest influences in America toward this solution~~ E. Franklin Frazier has set down in his classic The Negro Family. Here ~~in this connection~~ we must not forget ~~the pioneers of the past and especially~~ that ~~great~~ speech which Sojourner Truth made at the second National Woman's Suffrage Convention in 1852. She was an Amazon, six feet tall, black and erect. She was entirely unschooled, a hard ~~and diligent~~ working woman who came to this meeting of white women and crouched in the corner against the wall. Repeatedly messages went to the presiding officer "Don't let her speak, don't get our cause mixed up with abolition and Negroes".

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"What has intellect to do with womens rights or Negroes rights? If my cup holds but a pint and yours a quart, wouldn't it be mean not to let me have my measure full?

"If the first woman God ever made was strong enough to turn the world upside down, all of these together ought to be able to turn it back and head it right again."

The freeing of women in America and in the world has made rapid strides since that speech, but today the place of woman in the world is still not clear nor satisfactory. The breaking up of the American and European classic type of home and family is a symptom of this continued striving of women for emancipation; and on the forefront of this fight, both consciously and unsconciously are American Negro Women.

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35-3-275

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35-3-276

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Madam C. J. Walker ~~which~~ gave employment to hundreds of thousands of young women and ~~greatly~~ influenced similiar work in the white world. There has been notable leadership in labor organizations which led to the sending of colored women to represent American labor at international ~~committees~~ meetings.

But the fight of the servant for recognition and wage is still balked by the determination of white women to get menial service for nothing. Yet no problem of modern days is of deeper meaning than house service today.

The advance in the great field of general employment is a slow and continuous fight, but the colored women are gradually winning. They can be found as clerks in Macys store in New York; they can be found as stenographers in governmental service; they can be found as factory workers in the middle west, and the one thing that all this striving calls for, is mutual recognition of the oneness of this effort of emancipation with the effort of all women in America and elsewhere.

35-3-272

Medieval

1 ST Ed. Feb 1, 1950

A PROPOSED PLATFORM FOR THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY FOR 1950

The American people want Peace. They want neither to conquer the world nor police it. They have no desire to meddle in other peoples affairs, nor censor their thought nor control their industry. They want to spend the billions now wasting in war on human education and uplift for all men.

We are threatened by not nation. There is no disagreement between us and the Soviet Union which force can settle or which conference cannot resolve. We are opposed therefore to the Atlantic Pact and similar treaties.

We are blood-guilty in using the firightful atom bomb to kill women and children after unnecessarily refusing to outlaw the weapon save on our own terms; in curtailing its peacetime use; and surrendering this use to monopoly; and in planning even more frightful weapons.

We believe in self-determination for all peoples regardless of color, race, belief or political philosophy. We congratulate China on achieveing rule of the people and demand her recongition and the refusal of further aid to Chiang Kai Shek and his kind.

Specially do we demand the abilition of the colonial system and freedom from its tentacles of all present peoples who suffer from control by foreign masters. We see in this system endless cause of war, poverty, ignorance and disease.

Many of us are not satisfied in basing our prosperity on the degradation of most of mankind, but busy ourselves with transmuting political colonialism into industrial and financial slavery, so as to build high profit and high wage in Europe and the United States on poverty and starvation in Asia, Africa, Central and South America , the beautiful raped islands of the seven Seas.

We want to help the needy of all lands so far as we can; but we refuse to couple slarity with commercial profit or political control. We therefore demand that the Marshal Plan be confined to restoring the autonomy of the

victims of war and not used for land monopoly, industrial advantage and thought-control.

Not by might nor by power can we help the world, but by sacrifice and example; we gain little by boasting of a democracy which we do not practise or of riches and comfort which at least a third of our own population do not share. We are ruled today by corporate wealth; and blessed as we are in natural resources, never before have so few owned so much at the expense of so many. Public welfare must replace private profit and planned economy must bring order and justice out of the anarchy of Free Enterprise and Private Initiative.

We demand control of industry, public ownership of banking, transport and communications, of mines and oil wells, and of all government subsidized industry. We demand limitation of income so as to insure a decent standard of living and curb excessive personal wealth; and we need a tax structure calculated to achieve these ends by stopping tax exemption for the greedy and increasing the tax burden of the needy.

We demand immediate suppression of attempts at thought-control by "Un-American" committees, secret police methods as used by the F. B. I., and witch-hunting by officials and the press. Communists, Catholics and Pacificists have the same right to think, vote and act, within the law, as other Americans; and injustice in the courts must not be used to punish freedom of belief.

We demand for every American citizen, no matter what his color, race or belief the right to vote and hold office; the right to live where others live and on the same conditions; the right to work according to ability and to income according to accomplishment; the right to move without segregation and to receive education and other public benefits without discrimination;

and the right to marry any sane, sound person who wants to marry him. This means fair employment legislation, laws against lynching and the poll tax.

The foundations of our democracy rest on free and equal elections. We should dtop rewarding disfranchisement in sections like the South by giving 7000 votes in South Carolina as much power as 70,000 in Michigan, with consequent committee chairmanships and rights to filibuster. Representation should be based on votes cast. Only in this way can the democratic weapon of the Third Party be able to oust corruption and reaction

We demand federal aid to education with ut segregation or discrimination by race, color or belief. And we believe that education is the function of the State and not of the Church.

We defend the right of working people to organize and bargain, whether in public or private employ and we resent the use of court injunction, to limit this right. We demand of labor unions freedom of admission to their manks of all men of every race and color and of any shade of political opinion.

We call for increased government control of land ownership and use; for socialized medicine to protect the public health; for abolition of slums and for publicly subsidized housing on a nation-wide scale; for unemployment relief, sickness and old age security on levels sufficient for decent life; for the protection and subsidzation of workers in any essential industry like farming which has suffered from present organization of industry; we believe in the encouragement of all forms of self-help, like consumers cooperation.

We have made Science the prisoner of Big Business, governemt the slave of the army and education plaything of propaganda. We have come out of war a scared, suspicious, money-mad people, without love, faith or hope and with our charity married to profit.

We are increasingly becoming helpless victims of our secret police with spying, lying and wire-tapping, unrevealed witnesses and star-chamber methods even in the halls of Congress and in government employ.

We resent the intrusion of courts upon the realms of democracy and the increasing tyranny of judges on the rights of lawyers and clients.

We believe in America so thoroughly and in the Bill of Rights so completely that we refuse to exchange democracy for oligarchy, freedom for slavery or self-respect for "jim-crow" laws or practices.

35-4-585

We ask the votes of all persons who support the essentials of this platform and we do not ask or wish to know what other beliefs or aims they have so long as they wholeheartedly support ours. We believe that persons who so distrust their own aims as to exclude anybody from supporting them, show lack of faith in their own program.

This is a brief statement of our beliefs and policy. During the campaign we shall prepare and distrubite detailed statements on each of the points referred to above with facts and detailed suggestions for remedies and improvements.

A PROPOSED PLATFORM FOR THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY
FOR 1950

The American people want Peace. They want neither to conquer the world nor police it. They have no desire to meddle in other peoples affairs, or censor their thought or control their industry. They want to spend the billions now wasting in war on human education and uplift for all men.

We ask the United Nations to remember that their main object and reason for being is Peace and to this end, we need wider co-operation, greater faith in each other, mutual Disarmament and effort to achieve World Government with freedom, autonomy and abundance for all peoples.

We are threatened by no nation. There is no disagreement between us and the Soviet Union which Force can settle or which conference cannot resolve. We are opposed therefore to the Atlantic Pact and similar treaties.

We are blood-guilty in first and unnecessarily using the frightful atom bomb to kill women and children; in refusing to outlaw the weapon save on our own terms; in curtailing its peacetime use, surrendering this use to monopoly; and in planning even more frightful weapons.

We believe in self-determination for all peoples regardless of color, race, belief or political philosophy. We congratulate China on achieving rule of the people and demand her recognition and the refusal of further aid to Chiang Kai Shek and his kind.

Especially do we demand the abolition of the colonial system and freedom from its tentacles of all present peoples who suffer from control by foreign masters. We see in this system endless cause of war, poverty, ignorance and disease. We must not built high profit and high wage in Europe and the United States on poverty and starvation in Asia, Africa, Central and South America, and the beautiful raped islands of the seven seas.

~~We repudiate the Truman Doctrine wherever it supports~~

We demand that the Marshall Plan be confined to restoring the economy of the victims of war and not used for land monopoly, industrial advantage and thought control. We repudiate the Truman Doctrine wherever it supports oligarchy and reaction as in Greece and Korea. We ask redemption of our promise to Israel.

Not by might nor by power and far-flung armies, navies and aircraft can we help the world, but by sacrifice and example; we gain little by boasting of a democracy which we do not practise or of riches and comfort which at least a third of our own population do not share. We are ruled today by corporate wealth; and blessed as we are in natural resources, never before have so few owned so much at the expense of so many. Public welfare must replace private profit, and planned economy must bring order and justice out of the anarchy of Free Enterprise and Private Initiative. No pauper is free, no public service can be private, and the sick and ignorant cannot initiate enterprise.

We demand control of industry, public ownership of banking, transport and communications, of mines and oil wells, and of all government subsidized industry, and of all business which needs for proper functioning, police power and use of public property.

We demand limitation ~~of~~ and such control of income, rents, profits and prices as is necessary to insure a decent standard of living and to curb excessive personal wealth; and we ask a tax structure calculated to achieve these ends by stopping tax exemption for the greedy and decreasing the tax burden of the needy.

We demand immediate suppression of attempts at thought control by "Un-American" committees, secret police methods as used by the FBI, and witch-hunting by officials and the press. Communists, Catholics and Pacificists have the same right to think, vote and act, within the law, as other Americans; and injustice in the courts must not be used to punish freedom of belief and legal defense of accused persons.

35-4-293

We demand for every American citizen, no matter what his color, race or belief the right to vote and hold office; the right to live where other live and on the same conditions; the right to work according to ability and to income according to accomplishment; the right to move without segregation and to receive education and other public benefits without discrimination. This means fair employment legislation and laws against lynching and the poll tax.

35-4-294

The foundations of our democracy rest on free and equal elections. We should stop rewarding disfranchisement in sections like the South by giving 7000 votes in South Carolina as much power as 70,000 in Michigan, with consequent committee chairmanships and rights to filibuster. Representation should be based on votes cast. Only in this way can the democratic weapon of the Third Party be able to oust corruption and connivance reaction.

We demand federal aid to education without segregation or discrimination by race, color or belief. And we believe that education is the function of the State and not of the Church.

We defend the right of working people to organise and bargain, whether in public or private employ and resent the use of court injunction, to limit this right. We demand of labor unions freedom of admission to their ranks of all men of every race and color and of any shade of political opinion.

We call for increased government control of land ownership and use; for socialized medicine to protect the public health; for abolition of slums and for publicly subsidized housing on a nation-wide scale; for unemployment relief, sickness and old age security on levels sufficient for decent life; for the protection and subsidization of workers in any essential industry like farming which has suffered from present organization of industry; we believe in the encouragement of all forms of self-help, like consumers cooperation.

We have come out of war a scared, suspicious, money-mad people, without love, faith or hope and with our charity married to profit. We must cease to

make Science the prisoner of Big Business, government the slave of the army and education the plaything of propaganda. We need desperately a free press

The persons who support this platform do not agree in all matters and have many minds as to wrongs and remedies; as to national and individual responsibility for present conditions. But here are set down the matters on which we do agree; and to the support of this platform we seek the votes of all persons and we do not ask or wish to know what other beliefs they have so long as they wholeheartedly support ours. We believe that persons who so distrust their own aims as to exclude anybody from supporting them, show paradoxical lack of faith.

35-4-295

This is a brief statement of our platform and policy. During the campa gn we shall prepare and distribute detailed statements on each of the points referred to above with facts and detailed suggestions for remedies and improvements.

1950 —

A PROPOSED PLATFORM FOR THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY ~~FOR 1950~~

The American people want Peace. They want neither to conquer the world nor police it. They have no desire to meddle in other peoples affairs, or censor their thought or control their industry. They want to spend the billions now wasting in war on human education and uplift for all men.

We ask the United Nations to remember that their main object and reason for being is Peace and to this end, we need wider co-operation, greater faith in each other, mutual Disarmament and effort to achieve World Government with Freedom, autonomy and abundance for all peoples.

We are threatened by no nation. There is no disagreement between us and the Soviet Union which Force can settle or which conference cannot resolve. We are opposed therefore to the Atlantic Pact and similar treaties.

38-6-1

We are blood-guilty in first and unnecessarily using the frightful atom bomb to kill women and children; in refusing to outlaw the weapon save on our own terms; in curtailing its peacetime use, surrendering this use to monopoly; and in planning evern more frightful weapons.

We believe in self-determination for all people regardless of color, race, belief or political philosophy. We congratulate China on achieveing rule of the people and demand her recognition and the refusal of further aid to Chiang Kai Shek and his kind.

Especially do we demand the abolition of the colonial system and freedom from its tentacles of all present peoples who suffer from control by foreign masters. We see in this system endless cause of war, poverty, ignorance and disease. We must not build high profit and high wage in Europe and the United States on poverty and starvation in Asia, Africa, Central and South America, and the beautiful raped islands of the Seven Seas.

We demand that the Marshall Plan be confined to restoring the economy of the victims of war and not used for land monopoly, industrial advantage and thought control. We repudiate the Truman Doctrine wherever it supports oligarchy and reaction as in Greece and Korea. We ask redemption of our promise to Israel.

Not by might nor by power and far-flung armies, navies and aircraft can we help the world, but by sacrifice and example; we gain little by boasting of a democracy which we do not practise or of riches and comfort which at lesst a third of our own population do not share. We are ruled today by corporate wealth; and blessed as we are in natural resources, never before have so few owned so much at the expense of so many. Pulbic welfare must replace private profit, and planned economy must bring order and justice out of the anarchy of Free Enterprise and Private Initiative. No pauper is free, no public service can be private, and the sick and ignorant cannot initiate enterprise.

38-6-2

We demand control of industry, public ownership of banking, transport and communications, of mines and oil wells, and of all government subsidized industry, and of all business which needs for proper functioning, police power and use of public property.

We demand limitation and such control of income, rents, profits and prices as is necessary to insure a decent standard of living and to curb excessive personal wealth; and we ask a tax structure calculated to achieve these ends by stopping tax exemption for the greedy and decreasing the tax burden of the needy.

We demand immediate suppression of attempts at thought control by "Un-American" committees, secret police methods as used by the FBI, and witch-hunting by officials and the press. Communists, Catholics and Pacificists have the same right to think, vote and act, within the law, as other Americans; and injustice in the courts must not be used to punish freedom of belief and legal defense of accused persons.

We demand for every American citizen, no matter what his color, race or belief the right to vote and hold office; the right to live where others live and on the same conditions; the right to work according to ability and to income according to accomplishment; the right to move without segregation and to receive education and other public benefits without discrimination. This means fair employment legislation and laws against lynching and the poll tax.

The foundations of our democracy rest on free and equal elections. We should stop rewarding disfranchisement in sections like the South by giving 7000 votes in South Carolina as much power as 70,000 in Michigan, with consequent committee chairmanships and rights to filibuster. Representation should be based on votes cast. Only in this way can the democratic weapon of the Third Party be able to oust corruption, connivance and reaction.

We demand federal aid to education without segregation or discrimination by race, color or belief. And we believe that education is the function of the State and not of the Church.

We defend the right of working people to organize and bargain, whether in public or private employ and resent the use of court injunction, to limit this right. We demand of labor unions freedom of admission to their ranks of all men of every race and color and of any shade of political opinion.

We call for increased government of control of land ownership and use; for socialized medicine to protect the public health; for abolition of slums and for publicly sudsidized housing on a nation-wide scale; for unemployment relief, sickness and old age security on levels sufficient for decent life; for the protection and subsidization of workers in any essential industry like farming which has suffered from present organization of industry; we believe in the encouragement of all forms of self-help, like consumers cooperation.

We have come out of war a scared, suspicious, money-mad people, without love, faith or hope and with our charity marred to profit. We must cease to make science the prisoner of Big Business, government the slave of the army, and education the plaything of propaganda. We need desperately a free press.

The persons who support this platform do not agree in all matters and have many minds as to wrongs and remedies; as to national and individual responsibility for present conditions. But here are set down the matters on which we do agree; and to the support of this platform we seek the votes of all persons and we do

not wish to know what other beliefs they have so long as they wholeheartedly support ours. We believe that persons who so distrust their own aims as to exclude anybody from supporting them, show paradoxical lack of faith.

This is a brief statement of our platform and policy. During the campaign we shall prepare and distribute detailed statements on each of the points referred to above with facts and detailed suggestions for remedies and improvements.

38-6-4

BANNAKER'S PEACE PLAN

By W.E.B. Du Bois

"And suddenly there was with the Angel, a multitude of the Heavenly Host, praising God and saying: Glory to God in the highest and Earth Peace, good will toward men!"

Two thousand years passed. Years when we fought 10,000 wars and killed ~~more~~ people ~~than~~ ten times as many there are in the United States and Russia combined; and destroyed billions on billions of property and ruined the hearts and heads of all the world.

And suddenly, in 1949, there was with the Delegates at Lake Success, a multitude of the Pentagon Generals, praising ~~God and yelling~~ with Eisenhower, "We can lick the world!" Why was this? Because we are crazy. The world is crazy.

But in 1793, before the nineteenth century, and just after the Revolutionary War, there was a man, Benjamin Bannaker and he was black. "His head was covered with a thick suit of white hair, which gave him a very venerable and dignified appearance. His dress was uniformly of superfine drab broad cloth, made in the old style of a plain coat, with straight collar and long waistcoat, and a broad brimmed hat. His colour was n t jet black, but decidedly Negro. In size and personal appearance, the statue of Franklin at the Library in Philadelphia, as seen from the street, is a perfect likeness of him." Banneker had seen the filth and suffering and idiocy of war. He knew the peace-loving Quakers and so he wrote and published in his annual almanac-"A Plan of Peace."

Here are pages photographed from this article, printed in 1793; said Banneker: Our constitution is defective in not providing "an office for promoting and preserving perpetual Peace." He then outlined seven things to be done:

1. Appointment of a Secretary of Peace in the President's cabinet.

2. Power for this Secretary to establish and maintain free schools,

354-75

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where pupils would be instructed not simply in reading, writing and arithmetic, but "to cultivate Peace with all men" and not only to forgive but to "love our enemies;" and that God alone may take life.

3. That each pupil be given a bible inscribed "Peace on Earth; Good will to men."

4. Over the door of every home in the nation let there be inscribed these words: "The Son of Man came into the World, not to destroy men's lives but to save them."

5. Capital punishment to be abolished.

6. The militia to be disbanded and all military uniforms and titles discarded.

7. A museum to be established at the Capitol in Washington to laud Peace and condemn War; with exhibits, pictures and entertainment.

Shirley Graham says in her biography of Banneker, "Your Most Humble Servant":

"In Philadelphia Benjamin Rush read the Plan with deep satisfaction. They cynical comments he heard from men who should have been interested filled him with dismay, then angered him. "Cannot our country have peace?" he asked. Should not peace be the chief business of government?

One night after an argument which arose from a reading of the Peace Plan Dr. Ruch sat late at his desk. He looked at the last page of the Plan and shook his head. It was too fanciful! After a moment he drew a blank sheet to him and picking up a quill, began to write a new section for the Plan for Peace. He had been a soldier. It was out of his own experience that he wrote:

In order more deeply to affect the minds of the Citizens of the United States with the blessings of peace by contrasting them with the evils of war, let the following inscriptions be painted upon the sign

which is placed over the door of the War Office------

1. An Office for butchering the Human Species
2. A Widow and Orphan making Office
3. A broken bone making Office
4. A wo den leg making Office
5. An Office creating public and private Vices
6. An Office for creating a Public Debt
7. An Office for creating Speculators, Stock Jobbers and Bankrups
8. An Office for creating Famine
9. An Office for creating pestilential Diseases
10. An Office for creating Poverty and the destruction of Liberty and national Happiness

" So wrote Dr. Benjamin Rush out of the despair of his heart, despair for his beloved young nation that stumbled on toward war.

" But Benjamin Banneker never saw this addition to the Plan for Peace."

1st draft

BANNEKERS' PEACE PLAN

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Two thousand years passed. Years when we fought 10,000 wars and killed more people than there are in the United States and Russia combined; and destroyed billions on billions of property and ruined the hearts and heads of all the world.

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35-4-23

P 1 But in 1793, before the nineteenth century, and just after the Revolutionary War, there was a man, Benjamin Banneker and he was black. ~~He~~ had seen the filth and suffering and idiocy of war. He knew the peace-loving Quakers ~~(although being black, he could not join them)~~ and so he wrote and published in his annual almanac ~~(the first series published in America)~~ "A Plan of Peace."

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Banneker

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6. The militia to be disbanded and all military uniforms and titles discarded.
7. A museum to be established at the Capitol in Washington to laud Peace and condemn War; with exhibits, pictures and entertainment.

35-4-24

And a song sung to the words of Pope:

"Peace O'er the World her olive branch extends
"And white-robed Innocence from Heavens descends
"All crimes shall cease and ancient frauds shall fail
"Returning Justice lifts aloft her scale."

On the life of this Benjamin Banneker, Shirley Graham has written a book which all should read. And all should surely think of him in this critical time of wars and rumors of wars.

Shirley Graham says in her Geography of Banneker, "Your most humble servant"

(Copy ~~##~~ 193-4)

The "Plan for Peace" published by Benjamin Banneker in 1793, is a remarkable historic document and peculiarly suited to reading in our own day. It demands a cabinet office in Washington to promote Peace; to take charge of free popular elementary education; to abolish capital punishment and to strive toward the ~~dropping of military titles and~~ clothing the glorification of war by exhibiting and emphasizing the victories of Peace.

Banneker published this plan in his almanac , where he was used to print his own work and quotations many authors. These latter he usually ~~printed~~ with ~~indication of~~ the author by name or initial. The Plan has no initial, ~~indicating~~ indicating that Banneker ~~not only published it but also~~ the Plan conceived and wrote. Recently some have ~~thought~~ suggested that it might have been written at least in part by Banneker's contemporary, Benjamin Rush; Dr. Rush ~~since~~ a partial copy of the plan has recently been ~~published~~ printed in ~~the~~ his unpublished papers? Rush The facts are indicated in Miss Graham's book. At any rate Banneker first published the plan and without doubt was its author. The credit of this remarkable suggestion ~~belongs~~ should go to Benjamin Banneker

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35-22-11

DR. DU BOIS MAKES HISTORY
IN CAMPAIGN FOR U.S. SENATE

Oct 1950

Exclusive

By Robert Lucas

NEW YORK___(ANP)___ Dr. W. E. B. DuBois this week launched a new phase of his amazing career at a time when most men would be content to rest on their laurels. The world-famed scholar and Negro leader has tossed his hat into New York's political ring, thereby throwing old line politicos into near panic.

25-6-283

The 82-year-old statesman is the American Labor Party candidate for the U.S. Senate. Except for a brief stint as Special Minister Plenipotentiary to Liberia in 1928, it is his first venture into politics.

Because of his tremendous international stature, Dr. DuBois' candidacy as the first Negro to run for the U.S. Senate in New York has aroused interest far beyond the borders of the Empire State.

With this in mind, we visited Dr. DuBois at his office in the Council of African Affairs building. Why does a man with 50 years of outstanding service behind him choose to enter the arena of rough and tumble politics? we wanted to know.

"In the last years of my life," stated the former professor of Greek, Latin, Economics, history and sociology, I can think of nothing more important I could do than to project

in this practical way the things I've fought for all my life."

Contrary to what might be a normal expectation, the factor of age has no bearing on the fitness of Dr. DuBois for public office. Political observers here agree that his brilliant mind and significant accomplishments raise him head and shoulders above the current crop of congressional material.

35-6-284

Sitting in his study, lined with books from ceiling to floor, the ALP Senatorial candidate gave every indication that he could easily fulfill the dozen or so radio broadcasts planned for him, plus the campaigning in Syracuse, Buffalo and other upstate cities.

He had just returned from a European trip, his 13th in the last 23 years, and he had much to say concerning the Number One topic of the day-- Peace. "There is in Europe a widespread desire for peace," declared Dr. DuBois. "There is a strong, almost bitter, reaction to war."

"England is moving toward war," he observed," but it is not popular. Too many men were killed in Germany for her to mount another war, but Germany is trading her influence between East and West. In Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Bulgaria and Hungary, there is a strong desire for peace. They are getting their greatest gains from peace; education, health, etc.

"Peace sentiment in Europe is overwhelming," he added, "It is hard for them to understand why the United States is so set on war."

Reaction to the noted scholar's candidacy ranged from the staid N.Y. Times headline "DuBois of ALP Ticket To Get

Many Negro Ballots," to the N.Y. Age's prediction, "It's a cinch that if a Negro Senatorial candidate is in the running, a huge slice of those 400,000 votes will come from the Negro voters."

35-6-285

Political and geographical lines have apparently vanished as both Negroes and whites of all political shades and from as far west as California have come to the support of the historic candidacy of a Negro for the country's top congressional post. Running against Dr. DuBois are Sen. Herbert Lehman (d.), and Lt. Gov. Joseph Hanley (R.).

"My political activity has been almost wholly confined to writing," Dr. DuBois admits. "In this writing, with some speaking, I tried first to put the Negro vote in proper and effective relation to the national needs.

"In the first election of Woodrow Wilson, I sought to end Negro subserviency to the Republican Party. I tried to induce the Bull Moose movement to make Negro rights a main plank and fought it when it refused. I opposed Taft's 'lily-white' Southern policy and supported the third party movements of LaFollette and Henry Wallace."

It is generally conceded here that if the ALP reaches its goal of a record off-year registration of eligible voters, the election of Dr. DuBois is assured. Ewart Guinier, widely-known labor leader and chairman of the ALP's Harlem Council, has announced that the campaign will be launched Oct. 5 at Golden Gate ballroom with a mammoth Jubilee and Rally for Peace and Freedom, in honor of Dr. DuBois and commemorating his half-century of fighting for Negro rights.

Hanging over the fireplace in Dr. DuBois' study,

35-G-286

in the midst of his degrees from Fisk, Atlanta, Harvard, Berlin and Howard universities, is a large portrait of Frederick Douglass. The visitor is immediately struck with the resemblance between the two Negro statesmen, one a leader of the Civil War era, the other making history today in the same fighting tradition of Douglass and other men of heroic stature.

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Sent to Congress Dec. 1

35-7-21

MR. WALLACE IN 1948 AND 1950

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

Anyone reading Mr. Wallace's speech of November 12, at Community Church, has difficulty in following his logic and reconciling his present views with his past pronouncements. I have long been an admirer of Henry Wallace and was ready to risk my career to support him in 1948. Back in 1933, I was glad of his efforts to rescue agriculture and curtail poverty by methods which seemed to my mind socialistic in method. His fight against monopolies as Secretary of Commerce followed this trend and when he was ousted for opposing Truman in 1946, I realized with others the tragedy of his failure to be nominated for the vice-presidency in 1944. In 1948 Wallace spoke as a prophet:

"I saw things from the insidefor nearly 14 years. And it is what I know of my own personal knowledge that leads me to speak out sharply and to act. For the Truman-Dulles-Vandenberg-Dewey policy has developed an approach which, if permitted to come to full fruition, will destroy completely the civilization of the past 2000 years and may destroy all human life on this planet."

"In pledging to live by the Constitution, we have earned enemies. And we are proud of our enemies:

The men who stand for Jim Crow
The men who stand for Taft-Hartley
The men who support fascists in Greece and China
The men who prefer an atmosphere of war, because they profit by it.

"A vote for them--for the Republicans or the Democrats-- is a vote for war, is a vote for renazification of Germany, for freeing another Ilse Koch, The Progressive Party alone gives the people a chance to vote for peace. For we are not committed, as they are, to the cartel interests of John Foster Dulles; we are not enmeshed, as they are, in the Dillon-Read banking house of James Forrestal. We do not profit, as they do, from mass murder and the

dropping of atom bombs."

In 1949, Wallace added:

"There is always the danger ... that when the next big depression comes the military, backed by big business and the press, will organize a coup. There will be greater danger of this in the early 1950's than in 1933 when there was talk of such a threat.

35-7-22

"The November election have not changed the fundamental fact that the two great dangers faced by America and the world are American fascism and eventually war resulting therefrom."

He said in 1947:

"I fight the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan as applied because they divide Europe into two warring camps . Those whom we buy politically with our food will soon desert us. They willpay us in the base coin of temporary gratitude and then turn to hate us because our policies are destroying their freedom."

Of Chine he said in 1949:

"The situation in China is tragic proof of the inevitable failure of our present foreign policy, of which the Marshall Plan is a part. Sending money and military supplies to bolster reactionary governments against the will of their people serves the cause of reaction and war, not democracy and peace."

He was critical of Russia but friendly:

"I remember reading the papers a few days after FDR died. I read that the Truman Administration was about to make the most drastic reversal of our foreign policy since 1933. I realized the terrible danger. I saw the signs--saw the Russian haters move toward power even before Roosevelt was buried. I heard it when I sat in the back seat of the car with Truman and Byrnes on the way to the funeral train coming up from Warm Springs. There was a vast change in Washington. Herbert Hoover hurried toward important business at the White House."

"Now I heard the talk of hate even more openly. At Washington social gatherings, the talk of treating Russia rough began."

"We must be clear where the responsibility lies. Russia has made mistakes, many mistakes. But the men of the bipartisan bloc--Dewey, Truman, Dulles and Forrestal--started the cold war. Roosevelt's policies of postwar cooperation were scrapped before they were ever tried."

35-7-23

"The drive toward war, supported by both old parties, is being engineered by Wall Streeters and military men who stand to profit from war and war preparations. Not a single American principle or public interest would have to be sacrificed to make peace with Russia."

"Peace, continued Wallace, "is the first issue of all" in the '48 campaign. He regarded in 1948 events in Czechoslovakia as objectionable but, added, "We have to realize that we brought it upon ourselves by the way in which we operated in Greece, sending arms there, sending arms to Turkey." Mr. Wallace's platform in 1948 had this ringing declaration:

"We denounce anti-Soviet hysteria as a mask for monopoly, militarism, a and reaction. We demand that a new leadership of the peace-seeking people of our nation--which has vastly greater responsibility for peace than Russia because it has vastly greater power for war--undertake in good faith and carry to an honorable conclusion, without appeasement or sabre-rattling on either side, a determined effort to settle current controversies and enable men and women everywhere to look forward with confidence to the common task of building a creative and lasting peace for all the world."

In this speech of 1950 all this has changed both in word and emphasis. Wallace has apparently completely changed his attitude toward Russia:

"We are being forced to arm! Why? "

"During 1946-48, I wanted to meet Russia half way to prevent war. Today this possibility is remote and millions are in no mood to compromise,

because Russia is determined to conquer the world peicemeal through an ever increasing ring of satellites.

"Russia developes discontent among backward peoples suffering from century old poverty and war misery

"Hunger, poverty, misery, disease and war gave communists the horses to ride on

"The danger to the United States from communism is infinitely greater than from Nazism because Russia appeals to half the world with a doctrine which seems to give them what they want in a measure far greater than what we have offered.

"Again and Again Russian leadership of the common man has resulted in unspeakable cruelties.

"Russia during this past year has engaged in utterly ruthless political exploitation of nations along her borders.

Since Tito's defection, Russia has taken over completely all countries on her western border. In 1949 and 50 all Chech leaders not trained in Moscow were eliminated. Russia undoubtedly pushed the button which launched the North Korean attack June 25.

"Like Trygve Lie I sood for admitting the New China into the Un. But just as the Chinese action in Tibet has changed Nehru's attitude, so also the action of the North Koreans on June 25, changed my attitude."

Then comes this astonishing statement:

"The Russians after their terrible mistake in Korea may put us on a most difficult spot by shifting from a propaganda peace drive to a bona fide peace offer!"

This reasoning is for me most difficult to follow. Apparently, Mr. Wallace sees the Soviet Union changing in 1949-50 from a nation seeking to defent itself from aggression to an expanding imperialism. But is this clear?

85-7-24

Mr. Wallace has previously admitted that Russia is surrounded by hostile airbases and hearing inbridled wartalk had a right to safe-guard herself. He knows that while Russia has never attacked a nation, 14 countries including the United States have invaded her

35-7-25

He refers to her 12 million dead in the second World War, "her demolished factories, her burned cities and ravished farms." He admits that after World War II "the great powers began to connive against each other" and that both Russia and the United States "have solved their political and economic problems by huge armaments."

Would it have been wise from the Russian point of view to sit down unarmed among the modern nations, and to have encouraged the raid of Western capital upon the Baltic states, Poland and the Balkans. Moreover is there not here a strange contradiction: on the one hand we call the Russians fools and slave-drivers and on the other hand declare that they have forced into their orbit and hold by force and immense and growing number of satellites against their will. This is a feat that America has failed in signally in Puerto Rico, the Phillipines, China and South Korea. Has Russian success in Poland, Czechoslovakia and other lands been proof of arms, of force or ideas? If is is force of ideas and those ideas prove wrong, will not time and truth right conditions sooner than world war?

Moreover how sure is Mr. Wallace of his facts? Did the Soviet Union start the Korean War? Or was it started by American business and Syngman Rhee? Certainly all the facts have not been aired and the American press is no biblical guide. Is it true that Poland and Czechoslovakia are overawed by force and in worse condition than before the World Wars? I visited both these lands in 1893 and 1910. Generalizations based on short visits to large countries are not conclusive but they are better than arm-chair judgements on the basis of Associated Press reports. I firmly belive that these lands are freer and more prosperous than ever in their history. Mr. Wallace's

treatment of China is most amazing. Who had better opportunity of rescuing China after the onslaught of Japan than the United States, and who according to Wallace's own testimony muffed their chance more completely than this country, with all its warlords and Big Business. And yet Wallace has the effrontery to scold China and order her not to listen to the siren call of Russia. In the same breath he admits that the Soviet Union has less race prejudice than the western world and can usually maneuver to make it appear that we are using our arms on behalf of colonial powers, kings, landlords, or money lords to oppress people and stop the inevitable course of progress.

35-7-26

How much "maneuvering" does that take? Moreover Mr. Wallace makes some peculiar admissions: "Ever since 1929 the western world has been totally unable to bring about full employment except by war or getting ready for war."

What in the name of that God with whom Mr. Wallace professes close relations, is the rest of the world, especially the Yellow, Brown and Black, going to be up to, while America is arming to fight creation in spite of Wallace's admission that: "No nation has the God-given right to exploit other nations."

Rather gingerly, Wallace tries to attack both Socialism and Communism, with whom he once was willing to share a world. He remarks with that exasperating theological twist which he sometimes thrusts into his talks "Marxism denies the spiritual side of man and the existence of God" and then adds with confused logic; "But previous to the rise of Marxism, nations professing Christianity had spilled more blood in war than all the pagan nations put together. He declares that the Welfare State is not socialistic and deplores socialism, although last year his only criticism was that the American people were not ready for socialism, and chided the workers for having "little interest in Government ownership of key industries. Even after unemployment comes, the furthest they will go will be to sanction extensive

government planning accompanied by adequate centralized power and government credit to give business itself the courage to do the job of stablizing employment at a high level.

35-7-27

The final tour de force of this speech is: "We in the US inspite of the McCarran Act still have a free world. Russia in spite of all she has done to teach her people to read and write, still has a slave world."

And he thinks that the labor movement of the world together with world-wide hatred of America is based on "envy".

This apologia of a man who once led the progressive forces of America is a confession of poor reasoning powers and surrender to the current hysteria of America for reasons which he himself is unable to fathom.

MR. WALLACE IN 1948 AND 1950

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

35-7-37

Aany one reading Mr. Wallace's speech of November 12, at Community Church, has difficulty in following his logic and in reconciling his present views with his past pronouncements. I have long been an admirer of Henry Wallace and risked my career to support him in 1948. Back in 1933, I was glad of his efforts to rescue agriculture and curtail poverty by methods which seemed to my mind distinctly socialistic. His fight against monopolies as Secretary of Commerce followed this same trend and when he was ousted in 1946 for opposing Truman I realized more than ever the tragedy of his failure to be nominated for the vice-presidency in 1944.

In 1948 Mr. Wallace spoke out as a prophet:" I saw things from the inside for nearly 14 years. And it is what I know of my own personal knowledge that leads me to speak out sharply and to act. For the Truman-Dulles-Vandenberg-Dewey policy has developed an approcah which, if permitted to come to full fruition, will destroy completely the civilization of the past 2000 years and may destroy all human life on this planet."

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In 1949, Wallace said:

35-7-38

"There is always the danger... that when the next big depression comes the military, backed by big business and the press, will organizw a coup. There will be greater danger of this in the early 1950's than in 1933 when there was talk of such a thesat." After his defeat in 1948, he declared that: "The November elections have not changed the fundamental fact that the two great dangers faced by America and the world are American fascism and eventually war resulting therefrom."

"The situation in China" he said in 1949, is "tragic proof of the inevitable failure of our present foreign policy, of which the Marshall Plan is a part. Sending money and military supplies to bolster reactionary governments against the will of their people serves the cause of reaction and war, not democracy and peace."

to page 6

He was critical of Russia in 1949, but friendly; because he knew the conspiracyoy against her: "I remember reading the papesss a few days after died. I read that the Truman Administration was about to make the most drastic reversal of our foreign policy since 1933. I realized the terrible danger. I saw the signs--saw the Russian haters move toward power even before Roosevelt was buried. I heard it when I sat in the back seat of the car with Truman and Byrens on the way to the funeral train coming up from Warm Springs. There was a vast change in Washington. Herbert Hoover hurried toward important business at the White House." The same Hoover who was from 1917, the most bitter and implacable enemy of the Revolution which spoiled his investments.

"Now I heard the talk of hate even more openly. At Washington social gatherings, the talk of treating Russia rough began." He blamed Russia, but "We must be clear where the responsibility lies. Russia has made mistakes, many mistakes. But the men of the bipartisan bloc--Dewey, Truman, Dulles and Forrestal--started the cold war. Roosevelt's policies were scrapped before they were ever tried."

He regarded in 1948, events in Czechoslovakia as objectionable but, added, "We have to realize that we brought it upon ourselves by the way in which we operated in Greece, sending arms there, sending arms to Turkey."

35-7-39

"The drive toward war, supported by both old parties, is being engineered by Wall Streeters and military men who stand to profit from war and war preparations. Not a single American principle or public interestwould have to be sacrificed to make peace with Russia."

In his 1948 campaign Wallace insisted "Peace is the first issue of all" His platform had this ringing declaration: "We denounce anti-Soviet hysteria as a mask for monoply, militarism and reaction. We demand that a new leadership of the peace-seeking people of our nation--which has vastly greater responsibility for peace than Russia because it has vastly greater power for war--undertake in good faith and carry to an honorable conclusion, without appeasement or sabre-rattling on either side, a determined effort to settle current controversities and enable men and women everywhere to look forward with confidence to the common task of building a creative and lasting peace for all the world." This was Henry Wallace of 1948.

In this speech of 1950 all has changed both in word and emphasis. Wallace apparently has completely altered his attitude toward Russia: "We are being forced to arm!" He cries, Why?

"During 1946-48, I wanted to meet Russia half way to prevent War. Today this possibility is remote and millions are in no mood to compromise, because Russia is determined to conquer the world piecemeal through an ever increasing ring of satellites." He enlarges on this theme: "The danger to the United States from communism is infinitely greater than from Nazism because Russia appeals to half the world with a doctrine which seems to give them what they want in a measure far greater than what we have offered."

35-7-40

The word "seems" rings curiously: if the commnists offer merely seem to give and does not fulfil its promise, will not Time correct this mistake at less cost than War? Apparently not for Mr. Wallace lashes out against Russia and its deception; he follows here exactly the reactionary line of the press owned by Big Business and the propaganda of Big Brass; with the sudden discovery of Tito as the long lost friend of America; the picture of Czechoslovakia as oppressed, the Korean war as started by Russia and the hope that India and China will fall out over Tibet:

"Russia during this past year has engaged in utterly ruthless political exploitation of nations along her borders."

"Since Tito's defection, Russia has taken over completely all countries on her western border. ~~In 1949 and '0, all Check leaders not trained in Moscow were eliminated.~~ Russia undoubtedly pushed the button which launched the North Korean attack June 2[illegible].

"Like Trygve Lie, I stood for admitting the New China into the U.N.. But just as the Chinese action in Tibet has changed Nehru's attitude, so also the action of the North Koreans on June 25, changed my attitude."

~~"Again and again Russian leadership of the common man has resulted in unspeakable cruelties."~~ He then explains the growth of Russia:

" Russia develops discontent among backward peoples suffering from century old poverty and war misery."

"Hunger, poverty, misery, disease and war gave communists the horses to ride on."

This is inept turning of the truth upside down: discontent among backward peoples developed Russia; while poverty, hunger and distress ride com unism to seek relief. If the world has a better horse, why not trot it out?

Then comes this astonishing statement:

"The Russians after their terrible mistake in Korea may put us on a most difficult spot by shifting from a propaganda peace tribe to a bona

fide peace offer.!" Imagine Henry Wallace afraid of Peace!

This reasoning is for me is most difficult to follow. Apparently, Mr. Wallace sees the Soviet Union changing in 1949-50 from a nation seeking to defend itself from aggression, to an expanding imperialism. But is this true?

35-7-41

It is facts which this distracted world needs and facts Wallace does not even try to adduce. He bluntly accuses Russia of changes which he himself predicted and then deliberately puts the worst interpretation on them. Mr. Wallace has previously admitted that Russia, surrounded by hostile airbases and hearing unbridled war talk had a right to safe-guard herself. He knows that while Soviet Russia has never attacked a foreign nation, 14 countries including the United States have invaded her and subjected her for years to horrible curelites. Wallace knows how continously and persistently lies about Russia have been published in America.

He refers to her 12 million dead in the Second World War: "her demolished-factories, her burned cities and ravished farms;" he admits that after World War II, "the great powers began to connive against each other", and that both Russia and the United States "have solved the political and economic problems by huge armaments." Would it have been wise from Russian point of view to sit down unarmed among the modern nations, and to have remained neutral as Western capital prepared new raids upon the Baltic states, Poland and the Balkans?

Moreover, is ther not here a strange contradiction: on the one hand we call the Russians dreamers , fools and slave-drivers and on the other hand declare that they hold in their orbit an immense and growing number of satellites This is a feat that America has failed signally to ~~carry out~~ accomplish in Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Phillipines, Mexico, China and South Korea. Is Russian influence in Poland, Czechoslovakia and other lands proof armed force or of ideas? If it is ideas and those ideas in the end prove wrong, will not Time and

Truth right conditions sooner than world war? Moreover who hung the Iron Curtain to break trade between East and West except on terms which Western capital laid down? This threw the east into the lap of Russia.

35-7-42

How sure is Mr. Wallace of his facts? Did the Soviet Union start the Korean War? Or was it started by American business and Syngman Rhee? Would not Peace in Korea have been of distinct advantage to Russia? Certainly all the facts have not been aired and the American press is no biblical guide. Is it true that Poland and Czechoslovakia are overawed by force and in worse condition than before the World Wars? I visited both these lands in 1893 and 1950, generalizations based on short visits to large countries are not conclusive but they are better than arm-chair judgments on the basis of Associated Press reports. I firmly believe that today the majority of the people of these lands are more prosperous and more hopeful than ever in their history. And that the western world is deceived by the bitter enmity and unconfirmed testimony of representatives of ousted landlords and monopolists who have for centuries exploited these lands ~~and are now abusing our hospitality~~.

M. Wallace:

~~Mr. Wallace's~~ present attitude toward China is most amazing. Who had better opportunity of rescuing China from the onslaught of Japan than the United States; and who according to Wallace's own testimony muffed their chance more completely than this country? And yet Wallace has the effrontery to scold China and order her not to listen to the siren call of Russia. He admits that the Soviet Union has less race prejudice than the western world and can usually "maneuver to make it appear that we are using our arms on behalf of colonial powers, kings, landlords, or money lords to oppress people and stop the inevitable course of progress . How much does that take in the face of our record in Greece, Korea and Puerto Rico?

Insert in M. for page 2

Moreover Mr. Wallace makes some peculiar admissions: "Ever since 1929 the western world has been totally unable to bring about full employment

except by war or getting ready for war." What is the rest of the world, especially the Yellow, Brown and Black folk going to be up to, while America is arming to fight all creation in defense of Wallace's admission that : "No nation has the God-given right to exploit other nations." Admitting the world-wide dislike of the United States, Wallace attributes this to envy of our prosperity and power; but in 1947, he had another explanation: "I fight the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan as applied because they divide Europe into two warring camps. Those whom we buy politically with our food will soon desert us. They will pay us in the base coin of temporary gratitude and then turn to hate us because our policies are destroying their freedom."

35-7-43

Mr. Wallace in his attack on socialism merely quibbles; how a welfare state with planned economy differs from socialism is something which a champoin of the New Deal finds difficulty in explaining. He forgets that once his only criticism of socialism was that this country was "not ready" for it; and he chided labor for having "little interest in government ownership of key industries." With that irritating theological twist which Wallace always lugs into his talks. He admist that "previous to the rise of Marxism nations professing Christianity had spilled more blood in war than all the pagan nations put together." But charges that "Marxism denies the spiritual side of man and the existance of God." Marx seeking scientific unity declares that matter thinks and not an undiscoverable "spirit", but that did not hinder him from exalting the spiritual side of man as no economic philosophy has; and it comes in poor grace from a supporter of Roosevelt's Four Freedoms to deny freedom of religious belief.

The final tour de force of this speech is: "We in the US in spite of the McCarran Act still have a free world. Russia in spite of all she has taught her people , still has a slave world."

35-7-44

This begs the whole question. Many American, some of whom sit today in jail for no crime, would doubt the freedom of this nation; and if the Soviet Union is based on slavery, than a host of witnesses from Sidney and Beatrice Webb and Bernard Shaw to the Dean of Canterbury are either liars or fools.

This apologia from a man who once led the progressive forces of America, fills me with profound disappointment. It reads like abject surrender to current hysteria and the class interests surrounding Mr. Wallace. He was profoundly upset by the election of 1948. He could stand defeat when still defended by an applauding minority; but not defeat which entailed bitter criticism and the discountenance of respectable people. We saw him changing in 1949, and the change came before he had formulated the motives for it, because it was emotional rather than reasoned. This makes the logic of this speech so labored and unconvincing and so evidently contradictory to the past record of Henry Wallace.

MR. WALLACE IN 1948 AND 1950

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

Anyone reading Mr. Wallace's speech of November 12, at Community Church, has difficulty in following his logic and reconciling his present views with his past pronouncements. I have long been an admirer of Henry Wallace and ~~was ready to~~ risk my career to support him in 1948. Back in 1933, I was glad of his efforts to rescue agriculture and curtail poverty by methods which seemed to my mind distinctly socialistic ~~in method~~. His fight against monopolies as Secretary of Commerce followed this same trend and when he was ousted in 1946 for opposing Truman ~~in 1946~~, I realized ~~with others~~ more than ever the tragedy of his failure to be nominated for the vice-presidency in 1944. In 1948 Wallace spoke out as a prophet:

"I saw things from the insidefor nearly 14 years. And it is what I know of my own personal knowledge that leads me to speak out sharply and to act. For the Truman-Dulles-Vandenberg-Dewey policy has developed an approach which, if permitted to come to full fruition, will destroy completely the civilization of the past 2000 years and may destroy all human life on this planet.

"In pledging to live by the Constitution, we have earned enemies. And we are proud of our enemies:

The men who stand for Jim Crow
The men who stand for Taft-Hartley
The men who support fascists in Greece and China
The men who prefer an atmosphere of war, because they profit by it.

"A vote for them--for the Republicans or the Democrats-- is a vote for war, is a vote for renazification of Germany, for freeing another Ilse Koch, The Progressive Party alone gives the people a chance to vote for peace. For we are not committed, as they are, to the cartel interests of John Foster Dulles; we are not enmeshed, as they are, in the Dillon-Read banking house of James Forrestal. We do not profit, as they do, from mass murder and the

later signed the Stockholm Appeal, although newspapers
dropping of atom bombs." Henry Wallace
Today report him as assenting to the idea
In 1949, Wallace ~~criticized~~ said:

"There is always the danger ... that when the next big depression comes the military, backed by big business and the press, will organize a coup. There will be greater danger of this in the early 1950's than in 1933 when there was talk of such a threat." After his defeat in 1948, he declared that

35-7-10

"The November elections have not changed the fundamental fact that the two great dangers faced by America and the world are American fascism and eventually war resulting therefrom."

~~Of China~~ he said in 1949:

"The situation in China is tragic proof of the inevitable failure of our present foreign policy, of which the Marshall Plan is a part. Sending money and military supplies to bolster reactionary governments against the will of their people serves the cause of reaction and war, not democracy and peace."

He was critical of Russia in 1949 but friendly; because he knew the conspiracy against her.

"I remember reading the papers a few days after FDR died. I read that the Truman Administration was about to make the most drastic reversal of our foreign policy since 1933. I realized the terrible danger. I saw the signs--saw the Russian haters move toward power even before Roosevelt was buried. I heard it when I sat in the back seat of the car with Truman and Byrnes on the way to the funeral train coming up from Warm Springs. There was a vast change in Washington. Herbert Hoover hurried toward important business at the White House." The same Hoover who was from 1917, the most bitter and implacable enemy of the Revolution which spoiled his investments.

"Now I heard the talk of hate even more openly. At Washington social gatherings, the talk of treating Russia rough began." He blamed Russia, ~~not~~ but "We must be clear where the responsibility lies. Russia has made mistakes, many mistakes. But the men of the bipartisan bloc--Dewey, Truman, Dulles and Forrestal--started the cold war. Roosevelt's policies of postwar cooperation were scrapped before they were ever tried."

35-7-12

"The drive toward war, supported by both old parties, is being engineered by Wall Streeters and military men who stand to profit from war and war preparations. Not a single American principle or public interest would have to be sacrificed to make peace with Russia."

In his 1948 campaign, ~~"Peace, continued~~ Wallace, marked "Peace" is the first issue of all" ~~in the '48 campaign.~~ He regarded in 1948 events in Czechoslovakia as objectionable but, added, "We have to realize that we brought it upon ourselves by the way in which we operated in Greece, sending arms there, sending arms to Turkey."

His ~~Mr. Wallace's~~ platform ~~in 1948~~ had this ringing declaration:

"We denounce anti-Soviet hysteria as a mask for monopoly, militarism, a and reaction. We demand that a new leadership of the peace-seeking people of our nation--which has vastly greater responsibility for peace than Russia because it has vastly greater power for war--undertake in good faith and carry to an honorable conclusinn, without appeasement or sabre-rattling on either side, a determined effort to settle current controversies and enable men and women everywhere to look forward with confidence to the common task of building a creative and lasting peace for all the world."

This was Henry Wallace in 1940.

In this speech of 1950 all ~~this~~ has changed both in word and emphasis. Wallace has apparently completely ~~changed~~ altered his attitude toward Russia:

"We are being forced to arm!" ~~Why?~~ He cries. Why?

"During 1946-48, I wanted to meet Russia half way to prevent war. Today this possibility is remote and millions are in no mood to compromise,

(A)

because Russia is determined to conquer the world piecemeal through an ever increasing ring of satellites." He enlarges on this theme.

(B)

"The danger to the United States from communism is infinitely greater than from Nazism because Russia appeals to half the world with a doctrine which seems to give them what they want in a measure far greater than what we have offered."

The word " seems" rings curiously: if the communis offer merely seems to give and does not fulfil its promise, will not time correct this mistake at less cost than war? Apparently not for Mr. Wallace ~~continues to harp on Russia's false promises~~

~~Wallace then~~ lashes out against Russia and its deception; he follows here exactly the reactionary line of the press owned by Big Business and the propaganda of Big Brass; with the sudden discovery of Tito as the long lost friend of America; the picture of Chechoslovakia as oppressed the Korean war as st started by Russia and the hope that India and China will fall ~~on~~ out over Tibet:

35-7-13

"Russia during this past year has engaged in utterly ruthless political exploitation of nations along her borders."

"Since Tito's defection, Russia has taken over completely all countries on her western border. In 1949 and 50 all Chech leaders not trained in Moscow were eliminated. Russia undoubtedly pushed the button which launched the North Korean attack June 25.

"Like Trygve Lie I sood for admitting the New China into the ~~U~~ UN But just as the Chinese action in Tibet has changed Nehru's attitude, so also the action of the North Koreans on June 25, changed my attitude."

"Again and Again Russian leadership of the common man has resulted in unspeakable cruelties.

4A

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This is inept turning of the truth upside down: discontent among backward peoples developed Russia; while poverty, hunger and distress ride communism seeking relief. If the world has a better horse, why not trot it out?

Then comes this astonishing statement:

"The Russians after their terrible mistake in Korea may put us on a most difficult spot by shifting from a propaganda peace drive to a bona fide peace offer!" Strange words, Wallace, coming from Peace!

This reasoning is for me most difficult to follow. Apparently, Mr. Wallace sees the Soviet Union changing in 1949-50 from a nation seeking to defend itself from aggression, to an expanding imperialism. But is this true?

9c

is facts which this distracted world needs and facts Wallace does not even try to adduce. He bluntly accuses Russia of changes which he himself predicted and then delibe rately puts the worst interpretation on them

Mr. Wallace has previously admitted that Russia, surrounded by hostile airbases and hearing unbridled war talk had a right to safe-guard herself. He knows that while Soviet Russia has never attacked a bourgeois nation, 14 countries including the United States have invaded her & subjected her for years to horrible cruelties. Wallace knows how continuously & persistently lies about Russia have been published in America

He refers to her 12 million dead in the second World War; "her demolished factories, her burned cities and ravished farms;" He has admits that after World War II "the great powers began to connive against each other"; and that both Russia and the United States "have solved their political and economic problems by huge armaments."

35-7-14

Would it have been wise from the Russian point of view to sit down unarmed among the modern nations, and to have ~~encouraged the raid of~~ remained neutral as Western capital prepared new raids upon the Baltic states, Poland and the Balkans? Moreover is there not here a strange contradiction: on the one hand we call the Russians dreamers fools and slave-drivers and on the other hand declare that they ~~have forced into~~ hold in their orbit ~~and hold by force~~ and immense and growing number of satellites, ~~against their will.~~ This is a feat that America has failed in signally in Cuba Puerto Rico, the Phillipines, Mexico China and South Korea. ~~Has~~ Russian influence success in Poland, Czechoslovakia and other lands ~~have~~ proof ~~of force~~ armed of force or ideas? If is is ~~force~~ ideas and those ideas with the end prove wrong, will not Time and Truth right conditions sooner than world war?

over No 2

~~Moreover~~ How sure is Mr. Wallace of his facts? Did the Soviet Union start the Korean War? Or was it started by American business and Syngman Rhee? Certainly all the facts have not been aired and the American press is no biblical guide. Is it true that Poland and Czechoslovakia are overawed by force and in worse condition than before the World Wars? I visited both these lands in 1893 and 1950. Generalizations based on short visits to large countries are not conclusive but they are better than arm-chair judgements on the basis of Associated Press reports. I firmly belive that these lands are ~~great and~~ more prosperous and more hopeful than ever in their history. Mr. Wallace's

Should not Russia's Korean have been done by Russia?

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over No 1

(1)

And that the western world is deceived by the bitter enmity and unconfirmed testimony of representatives of ~~the~~ ousted landlords and ~~exploiters~~ monopolists who have for centuries exploited these lands and are now abusing our hospitality,

(2)

Moreover who hung the Iron Curtain to break trade between East and West except on terms which western capital laid down? This threw the east into the lap of Russia

Mr Wallace's Present Attitude Covered

treatment of China is most amazing. Who had better opportunity of rescuing China after the onslaught of Japan than the United States, and who according to Wallace's own testimony muffed their chance more completely than this country? with all its warlords and Big Business. And yet Wallace has the effrontery to scold China and order her not to listen to the siren call of Russia. In the same breath he admits that the Soviet Union has less race prejudice than the western world and can usually maneuver to make it appear that we are using our arms on behalf of colonial powers, kings, landlords, or money lords to oppress people and stop the inevitable course of progress."

35-7-15

How much "maneuvering" does that take?

How much in the face of our record in Greece, Korea and Puerto Rico?

Admitting the world-wide dislike of the United States, Wallace attributes this to

Moreover Mr. Wallace makes some peculiar admissions: "Ever since 1929 the western world has been totally unable to bring about full employment except by war or getting ready for war."

What in the name of that God with whom Mr. Wallace professes close relations, is the rest of the world, especially the Yellow, Brown and Black folk going to be up to, while America is arming to fight creation in spite of Wallace's admission that: "No nation has the God-given right to exploit other nations."

Admitting the world-wide dislike of the United States, Wallace attributes this to envy of our prosperity and power; but in 1947, he had another explanation.

He said in 1947:

"I fight the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan as applied because they divide Europe into two warring camps . Those whom we buy politically with our food will soon desert us. They will pay us in the base coin of temporary gratitude and then turn to hate us because our policies are destroying their freedom."

W. E. B. DU BOIS SPEAKS FOR PEACE

1900-1950

1900, London

In January 1900, a Pan-African Conference was held in Westminister Hall, London. Its Address which was written by W. E. B. Du Bois said:

"The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line, the question as to how far differences of race, which show themselves chiefly in the color of the skin and the texture of the hair, are going to be made, hereafter, the basis of denying to over half the world the right of sharing to their utmost ability the opportunities and privileges of modern civilization."

35-5-254

1911, London

In the great hall of the University of London, there was held a Rases Congress; Felix Adler and W. E. B. Du Bois were secretaries of the American section. Dr. Du Bois read a poem:

"Save us, world-Spirit, from our lesser selves!
Grant us that war and hatred cease,
Reveal our souls in every ace and hue!
Help us, O Human God, in this Thy Truce,
To make Humanity divine!"

1918, a Letter

In 1918, Dr. Du Bois wrote to President Wilson, just as the President was planning to attend the Congress of Versailles:

"The international peace Congress that is to decide whether or not peoples shall have the right to dispose of themselves will find in its midst delegates from a nation which champions the principle of the "consent of the governed" and "Government by

representation." That nation is our own and includes in itself more than twelve million souls whose consent to be governed is never asked. They have no members in the legislatures where they are in the majority and not a single representative in the national Congress."

A

35-5-285

1918, Paris

Memorandum to Blaise Diagne, Under-Secretary of State for Colonies in the French cabinet and Commissaire-General of Black Troops, proposing a Pan-African Congress in Paris:

"A Conference, to consider the disposition of the former German colonies in Africa will serve, perhaps, better than any other means that could be taken, to focus the attention of the peace delegates and the civilized world on the just claims of the Negro everywhere."

Dr. Du Bois proposed

"The sending of personal invitations to representatives of the Negro race who can attend such a Congress;

... The making of strong representations to the Peace Conference sitting in Paris in behalf of both voice in and protection for 250,000,000 Negroes and Negroids in the League of Nations.

"The cordial and sympathetic co-operation of the Black, Yellow and White Races on terms of mutual respect and equality in the future development of the world."

1919, Editorial in the Crisis, June:

"We of America fight the great fight of Peace--we agitate, we petition, we expose, we plead, we argue. It is a long, slow, humiliating path, but for us War, Force, Revolution are impossible, unthinkable. For anybody the costs of bloody uprising are so vast

and uncounted that they must being pause to the wildest... Only our hearts pray that Right may triumph and Justice and Pity over brute Force and Organized Theft and Race Prejudice, from San Francisco to Calcutta and from Cairo to New York."

1919, Paris

Resolutions of the First Pan-African Congress, written by W. E. B. Du Bois:

35-5-286

"Whenever it is proven that African natives are not receiving just treatment at the hands of any State or that any State deliberately excludes its civilized citizens or subjects of Negro descent from its body politic and cultural, it shall be the duty of the League of Nations to bring the matter to the attention of the civilized World."

(For the Pan-African Congress, composed of 57 members from 15 countries, inhabited by 85,000,000 Negroes and persons of African descent.)

1921, London

Dr. Du Bois requests conference with the British Labor Party.

Leonard Woolf replies, July 29:

"I find that I can arrange a meeting between the officers of the Pan-African Congress and members of the Labour Party Advisory Committee on Sunday Afternoon August 28th in order to discuss questions connected with your movement."

Dr. Du Bois seeks to get the Labor Party to understand that the American Negro problem is part of the world problem of labor and peace.

1921, Editorial in the Crisis, August:

"This month, streaming from the ends of Earth, Pan-Africa's children meet in London, Brussells and Paris. It will not be a

river of tumultuous waters, but rills of single hearts and thoughts forecasting mighty futures. Always Africa was. Always Africa will be. There has never been a world without its black and brown men and there never will be. Come sit with us, all Colors and Races and Groups of Earth, and let us reason together as men of Peace and Good Will."

35-5-232

(There were one hundred thirteen accredited delegates from twenty-six different groups, including thirty-five persons from the United States, Thirty-nine from Africa and the rest from the West Indies and Europe.)

1921, London, Paris and Brussells

Resolutions of the Second Pan-African Congress, written by Dr. Du Bois:

"This is a world of men whose likenesses far outweigh their differences; who mutually need each other in labor and thought and dream, but who can successfully have each other only on terms of equality, justice and mutual respect. They are the real and only peacemakers, who work sincerely and peacefully to this end."

13

"Surely in the 20th century of the Prince of Peace, in the millenium of Buddha and Mahmoud, and in the mightiest Age of Human Reason, there can be found in the civilized world enough of altruism, learning and benevolence to develop native institutions for the native's good, rather than continue to allow the majority of mankind to be brutalized and enslaved by ignorant and selfish agents of commercial institutions, whose one aim is profit and power for the few."

1922, Editorial in the Crisis, January:

"While we suffer most we are not the only ones that suffer.

Throughout the civilized world is this problem of unemployment, and with it the contradictory fact that to retrieve the losses of the war the world needs work as never before to furnish food and clothing and shelter. What is wrong?

"The answer is War. War past, present and future. War has destroyed faith and wealth, and human beings. The machinery of industry has broken down and until, slowly and painfully, it is restored, we must suffer."

35-5-288

1923, London and Lisbon

Resolutions of the Third Pan-African Congress, written by Dr. Du Bois:

"In fine, we ask in all the world that black folk be treated as men. We can see no other road to Peace and Progress. What more paradoxical figure today fronts the world that the official head of a great South African State striving blindly to build Peace and Good Will in Europe by standing on the necks and hearts of millions of black Africans."

1923

"Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States of America, to His Excellency, Charles D. B. King, President of the Republic of Liberia,

"Great and Good Friend:

"I have made choice of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois as my Special Representative, with the rank of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, on the occasion of your inauguration for another term as President of the Republic of Liberia."

At the inaugural ceremonies, representatives of Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Belgium, Holland and Panama were presented to Dr. Du Bois as dean of the diplomatic corps; Dr. Hood the American

minister then presented Dr. Du Bois to the President. Dr. Du Bois said:

"Your Excellency:

"The President of the United States has done me the great honor of designating me as his personal representative on the occasion of your inauguration. In so doing...he wished publicly and unmistakably to express before the world the interest and solicitude which the hundred million inhabitants of the United States of America have for Liberia. Liberia is a child of the United States, and a sister Republic. Its progress and success is the progress and success of democracy everywhere and for all men; and the United States would view with sorrow and alarm any misfortune that might happen to this Republic and any obstacle that was placed in her path.

35-5-289

"But special and peculiar bonds draw these two lands together. In America live eleven million persons of African descent, they are citizens, legally invested with every right that inheres in American citizenship. And I am sure that in this special mark of the President's favor, he has had in mind the wishes and hopes of Negro Americans. He knows how proud they are of the hundred years of independence which you have maintained by force of arms and by brawn and brain upon the edge of this mighty continent; he knows that in the great battle against color caste in America the ability of Negroes to rule in Africa has been and ever will be a great and encouraging reinforcement."

D

1928, Moscow, Nijni Novorod and Kief

Dr. Du Bois speaks to groups and schools on the future of the Darker Races, Colonialism and World Peace.

1936, Manchuria

November 16; announcement of a lecture by Dr. Du Bois at the Manchuria Medical College, Mukden; on "The Future of the Darker Races;" an indictment of colonialism and plea for world peace.

35-5-290

1936, Shanghai, China

Conference at the Chinese Bankers Club with editors, publishers, business men and schoolmen. Dr. Du Bois told of the Negro Problem in the United States and discussed with them: "How far do you think Europe can continue to dominate the world; or how far do you envisage a world whose spiritual center is Asia and the Colored races?"

1936, Japan

Dr. Du Bois speaks at the Osaka Mainichi auditorium, at the University of Tokio and other schools. He discussed the future of the darker races, colonialism and world peace, as the result of understanding between Europe and Asia.

E

The Osaka Superintendent of education said "You deserve the highest respect...not only from all colored peoples, but also from all the peoples of the world."

1947, New York

An Appeal to the World, edited by W. E. B. Du Bois for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and presented to the Commission on Human Rights. Dr. Du Bois wrote:

F

"A discrimination practiced in the United States against her own citizens and to a large extent a contravention of her own laws, cannot be persisted in, without infringing upon the rights of the peoples of the world and especially upon the ideals and the work of the United Nations.

"This question then, which is without doubt primarily a

an internal and national question, becomes inevitably an international question and will in the future become more and more international, as the nations draw together. In this great attempt to find common ground and to maintain peace, it is therefore, fitting and proper that the thirteen million American citizens of Negro descent should appeal to the United Nations and ask that organization in the proper way to take cognizance of a situation which deprives this group of their rights as men and citizens, and by so doing makes the functioning of the United Nations more difficult, if not in many cases impossible."

35-5-291

1949, March, New York

"This Cultural and Scientific Conference for world peace has been a success. In a time of hysteria, suspicion and hate, we have succeeded in bringing face to face in friendly meetings, one of the largest gatherings of creative artists and thinkers the world has seen; and it would have been quite the largest if all who wished to come were here. Meeting together for three full days, we have found wide agreement and sympathy, we have established ideals and friendships belting the globe. We have not and are not now in complete agreement on all matters; but in one vital respect our agreement is complete: No More War! "

"We know and the saner nation knows that we are not traitors nor conspirators; and far from plotting force and violence it is precisely force and violence that we bitterly oppose. This conference was not called to defend communism nor socialism nor the American way of life. It was called to promote peace! It was called to say and say again that no matter how right or wrong differing systems of beliefs in religion, industry or government may be, war is not the method by which their differences can successfully be settled

W. E. B. DU BOIS SPEAKS FOR PEACE

1900- 1950

1900, London

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"The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line, the question as to how far differences of race, which show themselves chiefly in the colour of the skin and the texture of the hair, are going to be made, hereafter, the basis of denying to over half the world the right of sharing to their utmost ability the opportunities and privileges of modern civlization."

35-6-15

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"Save us, World-Spirit, from our lesser selves!
Grant us that war and hatred cease,
Reveal our souls in every ace and hue!
Help us, O Human God, in this Thy Truce,
To make Humanity divine!"

1918, a Letter

In 1918, Dr. Du Bois wrote to President Wilson, just as the President was planning to attend the Congress of Versailles:

"The international peace Congress that is to decide whether or not peoples shall have the right to dispose of themselves will find in its midst delegates from a nation which champions the principle of the "consent of the governed" and "Government by representation." That nation is our own and includes in itself more than twelve million souls whose consent to be governed is never asked. They have no members in the legislatures where they are in the majority and not a single representative in the national Congress."

1918, Paris, 1918.

(2)

Memorandum to Blaise Diagne, Under-Secretary of State for Colonies inthe French cabinet and Commissaire-Genreal of Black Troops, proposing a Pan-African Congress in Paris:

"A Conference held to consider the disposition of the former German colonies in Africa will serve, perhaps, better than any other means that could be taken, to focus the attention of the peace delegates and the civilized world on the just claims of the Negro everywhere."

Dr. Du Bois proposed

"The sending of personal invitations to representatives of the Negro race who can attend such a Congress, and who represent the Governments of Abyssinia, Liberia and Haiti; the French, English, Spanish, Italian, Belgian, Dutch and former German Colonies; and the descendants of Negroes inhabiting North and South America and the Islands of the Sea.

"... The making of strong representations to the Peace Conference sitting in Paris in behalf of both voice in and protection for 250,000,000 Negroes and Negroids in the League of Nations.

"The cordial and sympathetic co-operation of the Black, Yellow and White Races on terms of mutual respect and equality in the future development of the world."

35-6-16

1919, Editorial in the Crisis, June:

"We of America fight the great fight of Peace--we agitate, we petition, we expose, we plead, we argue. It is a long, slow, humiliating path, but for us War, Force, Revolution are impossible, unthinkable. For anybody the costs of bloody uprising are so vast and uncounted that they must bring pause to the wildest. Yet, who can judge, others? Who sitting in America can say that Revolution is never right on the Ganges or the Nile? Who of us who suffer can judge how unbearable is the suffering of unknown friends? We bow our heads and close our aching ears. Only our hearts pray that Right may triumph and Justice and Pity over brute Force and Organized Theft and Race Prejudice, from San Francisco to Calcutta and from Cairo to New York."

copy

1919, Paris

(3)

[redacted], Resolution of the First Pan African Congress, written by W. E. B. Du Bois: [redacted]

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35-6-17

[For the Pan-African Congress, composed of 57 members from 15 countries, inhabited by 85,000,000 Negroes and persons of African descent [redacted]

[redacted]

1921, London

Dr. Du Bois requests conference with the British Labor Party "

[redacted], Leonard Woolf replies, July 29:

" I find that I can arrange a meeting between the officers of the Pan-African Congress and members of the Labour Party Advisory Committee on Sunday Afternoon August 28th in order to discuss questions connected with your movement. "

[redacted] Woolf.

~~Among those present were~~

Dr Du Bois seeks to get the Labor Party to understand that the American Negro problem is part of the world problem of labor and peace

1921, Editorial in the Crisis, August:

" This month, streaming from the ends of Earth, Pan-Africa's children meet in London, Brussells and Paris. It will not be a river of tumultuous waters, but rills of single hearts and thoughts forecasting mighty futures. Always Africa was. Always Africa will be. There has never been a world without its black and brown men and there never will be. Come sit with us, all Colors and Races and Groups of Earth, and let us reason together as men of Peace and Good Will. "

[redacted] and Paris, from August [redacted]

~~to be called Pan-African and it attracted world-wide attention.~~ [There were one hundred thirteen accredited delegates from twenty-six different groups, including thirty-five persons from the United States, thirty-nine from Africa and the rest from the West Indies and Europe.]

4

1921, London, Paris and Brussells.

Resolutions of the Second Pan-African Congress, written by Dr. Du Bois:

"This is a world of men, of men whose likenesses far outweigh their differences; who mutually need each other in labor and thought and dream, but who can successfully have each other only on terms of equality, justice and mutual respect. They are the real and only peacemakers, who work sincerely and peacefully to this end."

"Surely in the 20th century of the Prince of Peace, in the millenium of Buddha and Mahmoud, and in the mightiest Age of Human Reason, there can be found in the civilized world enough of altruism, learning and benevolence to develop native institutions for the native's good, rather than continue to allow the majority of mankind to be brutalized and enslaved by ignorant and selfish agents of commercial institutions, whose one aim is profit and power for the few."

1922, Editorial in the Crisis, January:

"While we suffer most we are not the only ones that suffer. Throughout the civilized world is this problem of unemployment, and with it the contradictory fact that to retrieve the losses of the war the world needs work as never before to furnish food and clothing and shelter. What is wrong?

"The answer is War. War past, present and future. War has destroyed faith and wealth, and human beings. The machinery of industry has broken down and untill, slowly and painfully, it is restored, we must suffer."

1923, London and Lisbon.

Resolutions of the Third Pan-African Congress, written by Dr. Du Bois:

"In fine, we ask in all the world that black folk be treated as men. We can see no other road to Peace and Progress. What more paradoxical figure today fronts the world that the official head of a great South African State striving blindly to build Peace and Good Will in Europe by standing on the necks and hearts of millions of black Africans."

1923

35-6-19

"Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States of America, To His Excellency, Charles D. B. King, President of the Republic of Liberia,

"Great and Good Friend:

"I have made choice of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois as my Special Representive, with the rank of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, on the occasion of your inauguration for another term as President of the Republic of Liberia."

At the inaugural ceremonies, representatives of Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Belgium, Holland and Panama were presented to Dr. Du Bois as dean of the diplomatic corps; Dr. Hood the American minister then presented Dr. Du Bois to the President. Dr. Du Bois said:

"Your Excellency:

The President of the United States has done me the great honor of designating me as his personal representative on the occasion of your inauguration. In so doing, ~~he has had, I am sure, two things in mind. First~~, he wished publicly and unmistakably to express before the world the interest and solicitude which the hundred million inhabitants of the United States of America have for Liberia. Liberia is a child of the United States, and a sister Republic. Its progress and success is the progress and success of democracy everywhere and for all men; and the United States would view with sorrow and alarm any misfortune that might happen to this Republic and any obstacle that was placed in her path.

"But special and peculiar bonds draw these two lands together. In America live eleven million persons of African descent, they are citizens, legally invested with every right that inheres in American citizenship. And I am sure that in this special mark of the President's favor, he has had in mind the wishes and hopes of Negro Americans. He knows how proud they are of the hundred years of independence which you have maintained by force of arms and by brawn and brain upon the edge of this mighty continent; he knows that in the great battle against color caste in Americ, the ability of Negroes to rule in Africa has been and ever will be a great and encouraging reinforcement."

1928. Moscow, Nijni Novorod and Kief
Dr. Du Bois speaks to groups and schools on the future of the Darker Races, Colonialism and World Peace

1936. Manchuria
November 16; announcement of a lecture by Dr. Du Bois ~~of a lecture~~ at the Manchuria Medical College, Mukden; on "The Future of the Darker Races;" an indictment of colonialism and plea for world peace

25-6-20

1936, China, ~~Shanghai~~
Conference at the Chinese Bankers Club with editors, publishers, business men and schoolmen. Dr. Du Bois told of the Negro problem in the United States and discussed with them: "How far do you think Europe can continue to dominate the world, or how far do you envisage a world whose ~~center~~ spiritual center is Asia and the Colored races?"

1936, Japan, ~~1936.~~
Dr. Du Bois speaks at the Osaka Mainichi auditorium, at the University of Tokio and other schools. He discussed the future of the darker races, colonialism and world peace, as the result of understanding between Europe and Asia.

~~1949, New York~~ The Osaka Superintendent of education said "you deserve the highest respect ~~of the world as an affectionate father of the colored~~, not only ~~from~~ all colored people, but also ~~from~~ all the people of the world."

New York, 1947
An Appeal to the World, edited by W.E.B. Du Bois for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and presented to the Commission on Human Rights. Dr. Du Bois wrote:

"A discrimination practiced in the United States against her own citizens and to a large extent a contravention of her own laws, cannot be persisted in, without infringing upon the rights of the peoples of the world and especially upon the ideals and the work of the United Nations.

"This question then, which is without doubt primarily an internal and national question, becomes inevitably an international question and will in the future become more and more international, as the nations draw together. In this great attempt to find common ground and to maintain peace, it is therefore, fitting and proper that the thirteen million Americans citizens of Negro descent should appeal to the United Nations and ask that organization in the proper way to take cognizance of a situation which deprives this group of their rights as men and citizens, and by so doing makes the functioning of the United Nations more difficult, if not in many cases impossible."

1949 New York, March,

Dr. Du Bois was one of the sponsors of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace and said in the panel on Writing:

35-6-21

"Two barriers and two alone hem us in and hurl us back today: One, the persistent relic of ancient barbarism--war: organized murder, maiming, destruction and insanity. The other, the world-oldhabit of refusing to think ourselves or to listen to those who do think. Against this ignorance and intolerance we protest forever. But we do not merely protest, we make renewed demand for freedom in that vast kingdom of the human spirit, where freedom has ever had the right to dwell: the expressing of thought to unstuffed ears: the dreaming of dreams by untwisted souls." He added at Madison Square Garden:

LA

What we want is a decent world where a man does not have to have a white skin in order to be a man; where poverty is not a means to wealth; where ignorance is not used to prove race superiority; where sickness and death are not part of our factory system. And all this depends upon world peace. Peace is not an end. It is the gate ay to real civilization."

Insert Printed

1949, Paris, April

At the World Congress of the Partisans of Peace, Dr. Du Bois said:

"Let us not be misled. The real cause of the differances which threaten world war is not the spread os socialism or even of the complete socialism which Communism envisages. Socialism is spreading all over the world and even in the United States. ***

Against this spread of socialism, one modern institution is working desperately, and that is colonialism and colonialism has been and is and ever will be one of the chief causes of war. ***

Leading this new Colonial Imperialism comes my own native land, built by my fathers' toil and blood, the United States. The United States is a great nation: rich by grace of God and prosperous by the hard work of its humblest citizens.***

Drunk with power we are leading the world to hell in a new colonialism with the same old human slavery which once ruined us; and to a Third World War which wil ruin the world.

8

Moscow 1949 August

At the All-Russian Peace Congress, Dr. Du Bois was present as one of 25 prominent Americans invited to attend, and said: (most of whom refused to attend. Dr Du Bois & the 1000 persons present.

Americans

are today being carried away by almost hysterical propaganda that the freedoms which they have and such individual initiative as remains are being threatened and that a Third World War is the only remedy.

35-6-23

Not all America has succumbed to this indefensible belief. The Progressive Party ... has challenged this program; The voters in 1948 declared wide agreement but were induced by fear to vote for a man who has not carried out his promises; The Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions assembled a vast protest against war the year and the Religious Sect of Quakers have just issued a fine balanced statement in the same line There are millions of other Americans who agree with these leaders of the Peace Movement; I bring you their greetings.

1950, New York, ~~1950~~

As candidate for United States senator from the state of New York, Dr. Du Bois said:

THE MOST SINISTER EVIL OF THIS DAY IS THE WIDE SPREAD CONVICTION THAT WAR IS INEVITABLE AND THAT THERE IS NO TIME LEFT FOR DISCUSSION. IT IS DOUBTFUL IF THE MASS OF AMERICANS WHO ACCEPT THIS JUDGMENT REALIZE JUST WHAT ITS IMPLICATIONS ARE. WAR IS PHYSICAL FORCE EXERCISED BY MEN AND MACHINES ON OTHER MEN SO AS TO COMPEL SUBMISSION TO THE WILL OF THE VICTORS. UNQUESTIONABLY IN PRIMITIVE TIMES THERE WERE REPEATED OCCASIONS WHEN SUCH RECOURSE TO FORCE WAS THE ONLY PATH TO SOCIAL PROGRESS. BUT AS CIVILIZATION HAS PROGRESSED AND INCLUDED LARGER AND LARGER MASSES OF MEN AND PORTIONS OF THE EARTH, TWO THINGS HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY CLEAR: ONE, THAT THE COSTS OF WAR HAVE BECOME TOO GREAT FOR ANY NATION TO PAY NO MATTER WHAT THE ALTERNATIVE: AND TWO: THAT IN WAR AS NOW CARRIED ON, THERE CAN BE NO VICTORIOUS PARTY: IN MODERN WORLD WAR ALL CONTESTANTS LOSE AND NOT ONLY LOSE THE IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF STRIFE, BUT CRIPPLE THE FUNDAMENTAL BASES OF HUMAN CULTURE.

2 copies

1950, Chicago.

At the annual meeting of the Progressive Party, Dr. Du Bois presentesd a proposed platform for the Party, which was in part as follows:

"The American people want Peace. They want neither to conquer the world nor police it. They have no desire to meddle in other peoples affairs, or censor their thought or control their industry. They want to spend the billions now wasting in war on human education and uplift for all men.

"We ask the United Nations to remember that their main object and reason for being is Peace and to this end, we need wider co-operation, greater faith in each other, mutual Disarmament and effort to achieve World Government with Freedom, autonomy and abundance for all peoples.

"We are threatened by no nation. There is no disagreement between us and the Soviet Union which Force can settle or which conference cannot resolve.

"Not by might nor by power, ~~and~~ far-flung armies, navies and aircraft, can we help the world, but by sacrifice and example. We gain little by boasting of a democracy which we do not practise or of riches and comfort which at lesst a third of our own population do not share. We are ruled today by corporate wealth; and blessed as we are in natural resources, never before have so few owned so much at the expense of so many. Pulbic welfare must replace private profit, and planned economy must bring order and justice out of the anarchy of Free Enterprise and Private Initiative. No pauper is free, no public service can be private, and the sick and ignorant cannot initiate enterprise.

We demand immediate suppression of attempts at thought control by "Un-American" committees, secret police methods as used by the FBI, and witch-hunting by officials and the press. Communists, Catholics and Pacificists have the same right to think, vote and act, within the law, as other Americans; and injustice in the courts must not be used to punish freedom of belief and legal defense of accused persons.

We have come out of war a scared, suspicious, money-mad people, without love, faith or hope and with our charity marred to profit. We must cease to make science the prisoner of Big Bussiness, government the slave of the army and education the plaything of propaganda. We need desperately a free press.

W. E. B. DU BOIS SPEAKS FOR PEACE

1900 - 1950

1900, London

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45-7-84

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45-7-88

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45-7-90

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November 16: announcement of a lecture by Dr. Du Bois at the Manchuria Medical College, Mukden, on "The Future of the Darker Races", an indictment of colonialism and plea for world peace.

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<u>1949, March, New York, Madison Square Garden</u>

"This Cultural and Scientific Conference for world peace has been a success. In a time of hysteria, suspicion and hate, we have succeeded in bringing face to face in friendly meetings, one of the largest gatherings of creative artists and thinkers the world has seen; and it would have been quite the largest if all who wished to come were here. Meeting together for three full days, we have found wide agreement and sympathy, we have established ideals and friendships belting the globe. We have not and are not now in complete agreement on all matters; but in one vital respect our agreement is complete: <u>No More War!</u>"

"We know and the saner nation knows that we are not traitors nor conspirators; and far from plotting force and violence it is precisely force and violence that we bitterly oppose. This conference was not called to defend communism nor socialism nor the American way of life. It was called to promote peace! It was called to say and say again that no matter how right or wrong differing systems of beliefs in religion, industry or government may be, war is

45-7-92

not the method by which their differences can successfully be settled for the good of mankind. To the defense of this absolutely indisputable thesis, proven by oceans of blood and worlds of human suffering, we have invited the cooperation of all men; and that cooperation to abolish war does not compel or even ask men to surrender their opinions. It simply insists that force is not reason and beliefs cannot be changed by suppression."

1949, April, Paris

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"Let us not be misled. The real cause of the differences which threaten world war is not the spread of socialism or even of the complete socialism which Communism envisages. Socialism is spreading all over the world and even in the United States. *** Against thisspread of socialism, one modern institution is working desperately, and that is colonialism and colonialism has been and is and ever will be one of the chief causes of war. *** Leading this new Colonial Imperialism comes my own native land, built by my fathers' toil and blood, the United States. The United States is a great nation: rich by grace of God and prosperous by the hard work of its humblest citizens. *** Drunk with power we are leading the world to hell in a new colonialism with the same old human slavery which once ruined us: and to a Third World War which will ruin the world."

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"Americans are today being carried away by almost hysterical propaganda that the freedoms which they have and such individual initiative as remains are being threatened and that a Third World War is the only remedy.

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wide agreement but were induced by fear to vote for a man who has not carried out his promises; The Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions assembled a vast protest against war this year and the Religious sect of Quakers have just issued a fine balanced statement in the same line. There are millions of other Americans who agree with these leaders of the Peace Movement; I bringyou their greetings."

1950, New York

As candidate for the United States senator from the state of New York, Dr. Du Bois said:

"The most sinister evil of this day is the widespread conviction that war is inevitable and that there is no time left for discussion. It is doubtful if the mass of Americans who accept this judgment realize just what its implications are. War is physical force exercised by men and machines on other men so as to compel submission to the will of the victors. Unquestionably in primitive times there were repeated occasions when such recourse to force was the only path to social progress. But as civilization has progressed and included larger and larger masses of men and portions of the earth, two things have become increasingly clear; one, that the costs of warhave become too great for any nation to pay no matter what the alternative; and two: that in war as now carried on, there can be no victorious party. In modern world war all contestants lose and not only lose the immediate causes of strife, but cripple the fundamental bases of human culture.

45-1-94

1950, Chicago

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"We are threatened by no nation. There is no disagreement between us and the Soviet Union which Force can settle or which conference cannot resolve.

"Not by might nor by power; by far-flung armies, navies and aircraft; can we help the world; but by sacrifice and example. We gain little by boasting of a democracy which we do not practice or of riches and comfort which at least a third of our own population do not share. We are ruled today by corporate wealth; and blessed as we are in natural resources, never before have so few owned so much at the expense of so many. Public welfare must replace public profit, and planned economy must bring order and justice out of the anarchy of Free Enterprise and Private Initiative. No pauper is free, no public service can be private, and the sick and ignorant cannot initiate enterprise.

"We demand immediate suppression of attempts at thought control by "Un-American" committees, secret police methods as used by the FBI, and witch-hunting by officials and the press. Communists, Catholics and Pacificists have the same right to think, vote and act, within the law, as other Americans; and injustice in the courts must not be used to punish freedom of belief and legal defense of accused persons.

"We have come out of war scared, suspicious, money-mad people, without love, faith or hope and with our charity married to profit. We must cease to make science the prisoner of Big Business, government the slave of the army and education the plaything of propaganda. We need desperately a free press."

W. E. B. DU BOIS SPEAKS FOR PEACE

1900- 1956

1900, London

In January 1900, A Pan-African Conference was held in Westminister Hall, London. Its Address which was written by W. E. B. Du Bois said:

"The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line, the question as to how far differences of race, which show themselves chiefly in the colour of the skin and the texture of the hair, are going to be made, hereafter, the basis of denying to over half the world the right of sharing to their utmost ability the opportunities and privileges of modern civlization."

36-12-27

In 1911, London

In the great hall of the University of London, there was held a Rases Congress; Felix Adler and W. E. B. Du Bois were secretaries of the American section. Dr. Du Bois read a poem:

"Save us, World-Spirit, from our lesser selves!
Grant us that war and hatred cease,
Reveal our souls in every ace and hue!
Help us, O Human God, in this Thy Truce,
To make Humanity divine!"

In 1918 a Letter

In 1918, Dr. Du Bois wrote to President Wilson, just as the President was planning to attend the Congress of Versailles:

"The international peace Congress that is to decide whether or not peoples shall have the right to dispose of themselves will find in its midst delegates from a nation which champions the principle of the "consent of the governed" and "Government by representation." That nation is our own and includes in itself more than twelve million souls whose consent to be governed is never asked. They have no members in the legislatures where they are in the majority and not a single representative in the national Congress."

W. E. B. DU BOIS Speaks 34

~~SPEAKING~~ FOR PEACE, 1900-1958 ~~1960~~ 10 S

1900, London.

In January 1900, A Pan-African Conference was held in Westminster Hall, London. Its address which was written by W. E. B. Du Bois, said:

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36-12-28

1918, A Letter to President Wilson

In 1918 Dr. Du Bois wrote to President Wilson, just as the President was planning to attend the Congress of Versailles. ~~Dr. Du Bois said:~~

"The international peace Congress that is to decide whether or not peoples shall have the right to dispose of themselves will find in its midst delegates from a nation which champions the principle of the "consent of the governed" and "Government by representation." That nation is our own and includes in itself more than twelve million souls whose consent to be governed is never asked. They have no members in the legislatures where they are in the majority and not a single representative in the national Congress."

SHOULD NEGRO HISTORY BE TAUGHT AS A SEPARATE SUBJECT?

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

For Congress

357/30

Theoretically a nations' history should be taught as a whole, and not in parts or in sections. It should be developed so as to tell one continuous and integrated story. But of course, such attempt at teaching must not contravene the facts. It is true that in many respects the history of a nation does not form one whole story, and cannot be understood unless parts of its history are studied and emphasized and afterward pieced together. Then too, there is always temptation to omit certain parts of the history in order to make a more logical story and to forget certain illogical and unfortunate incidents.

While then education should strive to teach national history as a whole and not make it predominantly the history of New England or of the South, or of the English or Scotch Irish, yet it must be acknowledged that if a part of a nation is unpopular as the Quakers long were; or disliked like the Mormons; or despised like the Negro, then care must be taken that the part these folk played in the general history of the country be not entirely omitted simply because we want to fortet them or because we do not like the people or section concerned. Such omission is not history and we must strive against it and we have done so, in may cases.

In the case of the American Negro, there are certain additional facts which make his a peculiar situation. Negroes were segregated even physically, much more than any other part of the nation and legally and spiritually they formed and still form a segregated caste often with separate schools and churches. They developed, therefore, a really separate history in their social efforts, in their thoughts, in their songs and in their writing.

On the other hand, this history naturally was not entirely separate, for Negroes were so intertwined with the total history of America that the story cannot be told if the Negroes are omitted.

Despite this, a certain shame at guilt, a dislike of recalling that this "land of the free" was also a land of the slave, tempts us either to omit entirely the part which the Negro played or to distort it. We do not like to remember, for instance, that the fathers of the country who declared that "all men are equal, with equal right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," said this in the face of 700 thousand slaves who formed a fifth of the nation. We are loath to remember that human beings in the United States were once legally real estate with no rights of property or family, to be bought and sold like cattle. This omission, whether deliberate or from sheer ignorance, not only is unfair to Negroes, but it is an affront to the ingelligence of the whites and a blot upon our system of education.

35-7-131

But there is still so much of race feeling against Negroes in the United States, that we cannot hope to have Negro history integrated in general history by the average school board or especially by teachers like May Quinn. It must be taught separately, until all are familiar with the main facts. This will be not simply a matter of defense for Negroes, but an upholding of science and truth.

I can best illustrate what I mean by referring to my own education. The first ten years of my elementary education took place in New England. There was little conscious prejudice there except perhaps toward the Irish and Catholics. The teachers were well-trained and graduates of excellent normal schools. The school term was 10 months in the year and the school buildings good and well equipped. Yet during that 10 years I did not learn of a single black man who had ever been of enough account to be mentioned in history. I did not learn of anything that the Negro race had done which was proof that it was equal to other races. There was no disparagement,

there was simply omission. In the text books, particularly in geography, the races of men were illustrated so as to show benevolent and intelligent white folk and black folk who did not look altogether human. In literature there was no mention of Negroes except once in a while a joke.

35-7-132

This did not discourage me; it simply fired my ambition and when I became a teacher it kept me from boasting, since so far as the Negro race was concerned, there was nothing to boast about.

You may picture my dismay therefore in after years, having studied at Harvard and in Germany and being a teacher of economics and history, we welcomed Franz Boaz of Columbia to Atlanta Univeristy, Georgia and heard him talk about Negro empires and civilization in Africa! It was the most astonishing revelation that I had ever had. I literally fell on his neck after his speech and asked him for historical references to the matter of which he had spoken.

From that time my attitude toward history was changed. I found to my astonishment that history was not always a chronical of truth, but often the sort of fiction one likes to read. Practically the whole history of black folk had been either omitted from text books, or distorted; and when it was distorted, it was usually because the truth made many people uncomfortable. I undertook the restudy of Reconstruction in the United States after the Civil War and came to the conclusion that what was being taught was a terribly unfair and untrue picture of what happened after the slaves were freed and enfranchised.

My studies taught me the various accomplishments of Negroes; the discovery of the Southwest by Stephan Dorantes; the help in planning and building the capitol city of Washington by Benjamin Banneker, which Shirley Graham has recently so graphically told, but which those who celebrated the

35-7-133

the 125 anniversary of the founding of Washington do not mention at all; the career of Frederick Douglass just documented by Philip Foner. In Brooklyn a few years ago a Negro pupil was ordered to sit down because he mentioned the 200,000 Negro soldiers in the Civil War. "There were no Negroes in the Civil War", snapped the white teacher. I then went further afield, in Africa, and saw the connection between Negro history and Egypt and the whole development of that continent in which centered so graphically the birth of science, the development of art, the building of the Catholic Church, and the establishment of the new industry in Europe.

Other American Negroes took up this line of study and it was Carter Woodson, who is just dead in Washington at the age of 71, who by his almost unaided efforts made Negro History Week celebrated in February throughout the United States. With his work and that of other Negro historians like Williams, Taylor, Wesley, and John Hope Franklin, who the other day received a Guggenheim Fellowship, there has been built up in America a considerable knowledge of the history of the Negro and of his place in American history. But this knowledge is not yet wide enough or sufficiently available to be taken for granted or included in history teaching of most schools and colleges.

For instance, the first national holiday of this country, the 5th of March was due to the martyrdom of Crispus Attucks; it was celebrated for ten years with orations by the greatest men of the nation, including Edward Everett and Daniel Webster, but unless this fact is brought forward in a special Negro history course, what would be said about it in the New York public schools?

We must have separate teaching of the acts, thought and meaning of the American Negro until the universities of the United States give courses on the subject. Today most of them do not; some few do and others refer incidentally to the subject; but on the whole one can study American history with almost no mention of Negroes, save as happy slaves.

COMPASS ARTICLE

35-7-1235

Theoretically a nations' history should be taught as a whole, and not in parts or in sections. It should be developed so as to tell one continuous and integrated story. But of course, such attempt at teaching must not contravene the facts. It is true that in many respects the history of a nation does not form one whole story, and cannot be understood unless parts of its history are studied and emphasized and ~~then~~ afterward pieced together. Then too, there is always temptation to omit certain parts of the history in order to make a more logical story and ~~this becomes the temptation when there is any part of the nation which is unpopular as the Irish were once unpopular in New England, as the Spaniards came to be unpopular in the South West.~~ to forget certain illogical and unfortunate incidents

While the education should strive to teach ~~education~~ national history as a whole and not make it predominately the history of New England or ~~the history~~ of the South, or of the English or the Scotch Irish, yet it must be acknowledged that if a part of a nation is unpopular as the Quakers long were, or disliked liked the Mormons, or despised like the Negro, then care must be taken that the part which they played in the general history of the country be not, omitted simply because we want to forget it or because we do not like the people or section concerned. ~~This~~ Such omission is not history and we must strive against it and we have, in many cases, but in the case of the American Negro, there are certain additional facts which make this a peculiar situation. ~~As a matter of fact~~ the Negroes were segregated even physically, much more than any other part of the nation; they develop therefore a really separate history in their social efforts, in their thoughts, in their songs and in their writings, but this history naturally was not entirely separate, for the Negroes were so intertwined with the total history of America that the story cannot told if the Negroes are omitted.

~~On the other hand~~ Besides this, a certain shame at guilt, a dislike of recalling that this "land of the free" was also a land of the slave, tempts us either to omit

COMPASS ARTICLE

Theretorically

35-7-126

entirely the part which the Negro played or to distort it ~~in various ways.~~ We do not like to remember, for instance, that the fathers of the country who declared that "all men ~~were~~ are equal, with equal rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," said this in the face of 700 thousand slaves who formed a fifth of the nation. ~~Moreover, We do not like~~ are loath to remember that human beings in the United States were once legally real estate with no rights of property or family, to be bought and sold like cattle. This omission, whether deliberate or from sheer ignorance, not only ~~hurts~~ is unfair to Negroes, but it is an affront to the intelligence of the whites and a blot upon our system of education. ~~so that~~ ~~there~~ But there is still so much of race feeling against Negroes in the United States, that we cannot hope ~~yet~~ to have Negro history integrated in general history. It must be taught separately, until all are familiar with the main facts. This will be not simply a matter of defense for Negroes, but an upholding of science and truth.

I can best illustrate what I mean by referring to my own education. The first ten years of my elementary and high school training took place in New England ~~with well trained teachers and good school equipment. There was in the community no prejudice, except possibly against Irish and Catholics in the New England High School.~~ There was little conscious ~~race~~ prejudice there except toward the Irish and the Catholics. The teachere were well-trained and graduates of excellent normal schools. The school term was 10 months in the year and the school buildings ~~were~~ good and well equipped. Yet during that 10 years I did not learn of a single black man who had ever been of enough account to be mentioned in history. I did not learn of anything that the Negro race had done which was proof that it was equal to other races, there was no disparagement, there was simply omission. In the text books, particularly in geography, the races of men were illustrated so as to show benevolent and intelligent white folk and black folk who did not altogether human. ~~In history nothing was said,~~ In literature there was no mention of Negroes except once in

a while a joke.

In my case this did not discourage me; it simply added to my ambition and when I became a teacher it kept me from boasting, since so far as the Negro race was concerned, there was nothing in history to boast about. You may picture my dismay therefore in after years, having studied at Harvard and in Germany and being a teacher of economics and history, We welcomed Franz Boaz of Columbia to Atlanta University and heard him talk about Negro civilization in Africa! It was the most astonishing revelation that I had ever had. I literally fell on his neck after his speech and asked him for historical references to the matter of which he had spoken. From that time my attitude toward Negro history was changed. I found to my astonishment that practically the whole history of black folk had been either omitted or distorted, and that when it was distorted, it was because the truth made many people uncomfortable. I undertook the restudy of Reconstruction in the United States after the Civil War and came to the conclusion that what was being taught as the facts of Reconstruction was a terribly unfair picture of what happened after the slaves were freed and enfranchised.

My studies brought me to various accomplishments of Negroes, the discovery of the Southwest by Stephan Dorantes, the help in planning and building the capital city of Washington by Benjamin Banneker, which Shirley Graham has recently so graphically told, but which those who celebrate the 125 anniversary of the founding of Washington do not mention at all. I then went further afield--in Africa, and saw the connection between Negro history and Egypt and the whole development of that continent which centered so graphically in the development of art, in the building of the Catholic church, and the establishment of the New industry in Europe.

Other American Negroes took up this line of study and it was Carter Woodson, who is just dead in Washington, at the age of 71, who by his unaided

35-7-128

efforts ~~established the Association of Negro Life and History and brought~~ it ~~about so that~~ Negro History Week ~~is~~ celebrated ~~now~~ throughout the United States in February. With his works and ~~the work~~ of other Negro historians like Williams, Taylor, Wesley, and John Hope Franklin, who the other day received a Guggenheim Fellowship, there has been built up in America a considerable knowledge of the history of the ~~American~~ Negro and of his place in American history. But this knowledge is not yet wide enough ~~and~~ sufficiently available to be ~~given up as a separate course of study or as certainly the subject of lectures.~~

For instance, the first national holiday of this country ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ was due to the martyrdom ~~of a Negro. It was~~ the 5th of March, ~~it used to be~~ celebrated with orations by the greatest men of the nation, including Edward Everett and Daniel Webster, but unless this fact ~~was~~ brought forward in a Negro history course, what would ~~a teacher like May Quinn do with it~~ in the New York public schools?

In Brooklyn a few years ago a Negro hotel
was order to sit down because he mentioned the
200,000 Negro soldiers in the Civil War.
"There were no Negroes in the Civil War"
snapped the white Teacher

35-7-129

We must have separate teaching of the ~~work~~ acts, changes and meaning of the American Negro until the universities of the United States give courses on the subject. Today most of them do not, some few do and ~~some~~ others refer incidentally to the subject, but on the whole one can study American history with almost no ~~reference to American~~ mention of Negroes, and same as ~~killing~~ slaves

THE P. I. C. CASE AND LABOR

Have members of the trade unions any interest in the case against the five officials of the Peace Information Center? The crime for which these leaders are being persecuted is telling the people of the United States what other countries are doing to promote peace. In this work they distributed various statements, facts and appeals; and especially they gave Americans a chance to read and approve if they wished the so-called Stockholm Appeal. This Appeal said:

> "We demand the outlawing of atomic weapons as instruments of intimidation and mass murder of peoples. We demand strict international control to enforce this measure.
>
> "We believe that any government which first uses atomic weapons against any other country whatsoever will be committing a crime against humanity and should be dealt with as a war criminal.
>
> "We call on all men and women of good will thruout the world to sign this appeal."

36-8-60

Immediately the Secretary of State declared publicly that this Stockholm Appeal originated in Russia and was for the advantage of Russia. The Peace Information Center replied that they did not care where the Appeal came from, they simply asserted the right of Americans to know what the Appeal was and to sign it or reject it as they wished. They also told them that hundreds of millions of people throughout the world were signing the Appeal.

Thereupon the Department of Justice intimated that talk advocating peace is treason and declared in indicting these persons that their ideas were not their own, but that they spoke as agents of a "foreign principal." The Defendants replied that they were not agents of anybody; that they circulated ideas which other people had stated and that by such circulation of ideas civilization had grown in the past and would grow in the future; that to deny people the privilege of knowing what other people think is thought control, which leads to a police state. For refusing publicly to acknowledge that they were foreign agents, these five persons were indicted and arraigned.

These five officials go to trial in October. If the Government wins, it can stop the circulation of any ideas of which it does not approve; it can stop international conference on problems; not only pf peace and war, but also international conference on labor problems, on church activities that are not purely religious; on the rights of women, on colonialism, on race problems and on any matter which is not discussed in accordance with those who happen to be in control of government in the United States. In our land, discussion will be confined to those matters about which the controlled press of the United States lets us know the truth and concerning the truth, as other people and other nations see it, we are not allowed either knlwledge or argument.

36-8-67

Manifestly, peace is Labor's greatest problem today, not only in this land but in the world. War settles nothing and leads simply to more war. It stymies the labor movement and sets groups of laborers murdering each other instead of striving in united effort to raise standards of work and living all over the world. It stops discussion, encourages inner bickering and directs attention and strength away from the main fight of workers for freedom and progress. War kills the labor movement, and the determination of the Department of Justice to make even discussion of peace a crime calls for all trade unions to enter the fight for the defense.

Not only does war kill our sons and ruin their education and drive them into insanity, but the only result of war is more war. Meantime we are working today to make millionaires, to raise prices and rents, to surrender our liberties, and encourage spies, traitors and liars. The vast taxes which are raised fall far more heavily upon the poor than upon the rich and the proceeds go not to education, flood control or social uplift, but mainly to more war and murder; thus we are fighting in this case for the right to advocate peace and the persecuted victims represent:

a grandmother, a Negro, a war-veteran, the father of a family, and a clerk stenographer. Three of these are members of trade unions.

The nation is going insane with war hysteria. We are discussing not the question of peace but simply what kind of war we are going to spend all of our strength and money on. We ask you to help in this crucial case and to join us in a campaign for Peace--No More War, by helping our defense.

36-8-68

ABOLITION AND COMMUNISM

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

36-8-147

The abolition of human slavery and the advocacy of the communistic state both arose in the same decade of the 19th century. It was common in the forties to hear Abolitionists called Communists and to hear Communists accused of Abolitionism. The two reforms finally separated just as today the labor unions are trying desperately seeking to repudiate all accusation of the red tinge; while Communists accuse the unions for selling their birth right for a mess of pottage. In the mid Nineteenth century, the Abolitionists, often property holders and even small employers, repudiated all thought of distrubing the current industrial system, but declared that the system should not include slaves. On the other side, the Communists and Radicals drew away from Abolitionists and declared they were forgeting white wage slaves for the interests of a few black slaves who were not worth freedom. It was not until after the Civil War that Karl Marx drew these separating ideologies together.

Meantime Abolition, concentrating on the ethical question of slavery found themselves under just as bitter attack from other quarters: they were taunted with woman suffrage, free love and miscegenation. Dextrously shifting the argument from slavery, the South and its friends pointed out contented servants, kind masters and prosperous agriculture, and contended that Abolitionists were low, contemptible, unworthy of hearing and due to be jailed.

Frederick Douglass tells us of a meeting in Middlebury, Vermont in 1843: "In advance of our arrival the college students had very industriously and mischievously placarded the town with violent aspersions of our characters and the grossest misrepresentations of our principles, measures, and objects. I was described as an escaped convict from the State

prison, and the other speakers were assailed not less slanderously. Few people attended our meeting, and apparently little was accomplished by it." Efforts to argue or speak orto write met increasing mob law. Douglass says of a meeting in Ohio: "They tore down the platform on which we stood, assaulted Mr. White and knocked out several of his teeth, dealt a heavy blow on William A. White, striking him on the back part of the head, badly cutting his scalp and felling him to the ground. Undertaking to fight my way through the crowd with a stick which I caught up in the melee, I attracted the fury of the mob, which lad me prostrate on the ground under a torrent of blows. Leaving me thus, with my right hand broken, and in a state of unconsciousness..."

36-8-148

The analogy between the treatment of Abolitions yesterday and the Communists today is strong. White men like Lovejoy were killed for advocating abolition. In 1835, Garrison was dragged through the streets of Boston, with a halter around his neck! A howling mob followed Wendell Phillips in Boston for three days, whenever he tried to talk.

But the great artillery of the pro-slavery contest was the judicial decision. Courts confiscated literature as subversive; judges sent even free Negroes into slavery on the word of a claimant, without a jury trial. Fugitives from slavery were hunted like beasts, while those who sought to rescue them found themselves branded as criminals.

Finally the slave power girded itself to one great solemn pronouncement which on the very verge of Civil War was to settle the slavery question for all time, by solemn edict of the Supreme Court. The robed justices ranged themselves on either side of their venerable and widely known Chief-Justice Taney and heard his solemn decision. The court affirmed that the sweeping language of the Declaration, that "all men are born free," had no

application to Negroes, because at that time they were generally regarded "as so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." The case being thus thrown out of court, all further discussion of its merits was superfluous---a mere OBITER DICTUM, without legal force. Nevertheless, the court through its chief-justice went on to pronounce upon the plaintiff's claim and declare it baseless; on the ground that inasmuch as a slave was lawful property, and the Constitution decreed that no man should be deprived of his property without due process of law, therefore an act of Congress declaring in effect that when carried beyond a certain line a slave was lost to his master, was unconstitutional and void.

671-8-26

Thus in 1857, the courts of the nation for all time settled the question of Negro slavery. Six years later the Negroes were free and ten years later they had the right to vote in Judge Taney's state. The nation rejoiced:

> He hath put down the Mighty
> from their seats,
> and hath exalted them of low degree.

But the exaltation came slowly and with infinite pain. The fight for democracy had not ended; it had just begun its modern phase. The Negro worker became a serf on the land, disfranchised and poverty stricken. Hordes of immigrants poured into the new nation and tried to monopolize jobs by skilled trades, by race, by religion, by color. Negroes became professional strike-breakers, and lynching and riots ensued.

Finally came a new day when throughout the earth the welfare state began to replace private profit industry. The whole [illegible]rialist world strove for cheap labor and materials in Africa and Asia, to off-set the demand for higher wage on the part of European labor. This was the First World War and it shook capitalistic industry to its foundations. The gold standard of value fell and the automatic price markets ceased to function.

Immediately the old technique went into action: Socialists and Communists were accused of attacking property and thrift; they were called envious, lazy scoundrels; they must be killed, jailed and stopped from agitation. Again the Socialists and Communists separated and the Communists were condemned for their Socialist program. Russia was outlawed. Above all the courts, above democratic control and above the letter of the law must pronounce sentence and in New York, eleven Communist leaders are sent to jail: not for any act which they committed; not for any illegal advice which they gave; but for saying words and expressing ideas which some one might interpret as seditious. Thus the nation preens itself that it has stopped the laborer from thinking. Such is the modern Dred Scott case.

30-8-150

ABOLITION AND COMMUNISM

The abolition of human slavery and the advocacy of the communistic state arose in the same decade of the 19th century. It was common in the forties to hear Abolitionists called communists and to hear communists accused of abolitionism . The two reforms finally separated just as today the labor unions are trying desperately seeking to repudiate all accusation of the red tinge; while communists accuse the unions for selling their birth right for a mess of pottage. In the mid Nineteenth century, the abolitionists, often property holders and even small employers, repudiated all thought of disturbing the current industrial system, but declared that the systm should not include slaves. On the other side, the communists and radicals drew away from abolitionists and declared they were forgetting white wage slaves for the interests of a few black slaves who were not worth freedom. It was not until after the civil war that Karl Marx drew these separating ideologies together.

Meantime Abolition, ~~separated from accusations of attacking property~~ and concentrating on the ethical question of slavery, found themselves under just as bitter attack from other quarters: they were taunted with woman suffrage, free love and miscegenation. Dextrously shifting the argument from slavery, the South and its friends pointed out contented servants, kind masters and prosperous agriculture, and condended that Abolitionists were low contemptible, unworthy of hearing and due to be jailed. Frederick Douglass tells us Efforts to argue or speak or to write met increasing mob law. Douglass says of a meeting in Ohio: (Mc. 287-8) over

But the great artillery of the pro-slavery contest was the judicial decision. Courts confiscated literature as subversive; judges sent even free Negroes into slavery on the word of a claimant, without a jury trial. Fugitives from slavery were hunted like beasts, while those who sought to rescue them found themselves branded as criminals. Finally the slave power girded itself to one great solemn pronouncement which on the very verge of civil war was to settle the slavery question for all time, by solemn edict of the Supreme Court. The robed justices ranged themselves on either side of their venerable and widely known Chief-Justice Taney and heard his solemn cdecision: The Negro is not and never was a citizen of the United Stsaes He has always been regarded as having no rights which a white man is bound to respect

of a meeting in Middlebury, Vt. in 1843 (p. 281)

36-8-151

Thereafter men like Conejos were killed in cold blood.

(Cobb pp 147-8

Thus in 1857, the courts of the nation for all time settled the question of Negro slavery. Six years later, the Negroes were free and ten years later they had the right to vote in Judge Taney's state. The nation rejoiced:

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Finally came a new day when throughout the earth the welfare state began to replace the private profit industry. The whole imperialist world ~~went to war~~ strove for cheap labor and materials to off-set the demand for higher wage on the part of European labor. Immediately the old technique went into action: socialists and communists were accused of attacking property and thrift; they were called envious, lazy scroundrels; they must be killed, jailed and stopped from agitation. Above all the courts, above democratic control and above the letter of the law must pronounce sentence and in New York, eleven Communists leaders are sent to jail: not for any act which they committed; not for any illegal advice which they gave; but for for saying words and expressing ideas which some one might interpret as seditious. Thus the nation preens itself that it has stopped the laborer from thinking. Such is the modern Dred Scott case,

36-8-152

in Africa and Asia

This was the first World War and it shook capitalism violently to its foundations. The gold standard of value fell and the automatic price mechanism ceased to function

Again the Socialists & Communists separated and the Communists were condemned for their social program. Russia was outlawed

The analogy between the treatment of Abolitions yesterday and the Communists is strong. Today White men like Lovejoy were killed for advocating abolition; ~~when Frederick Douglass tried to talk in Ohio in I843, a mob~~ (copy p. 387)

In I835, Garrison was dragged through the streets of Boston, with a halter around his neck; a howling mob followed Wendell Phillips in Boston for three days, whenever he tried to talk. T

1937 Ambassador reports confidentially to Sec. Hull that the trial was fair as most diplomats agreed. U.S. press filled with Trotsky propaganda

COLORED FOLK AND THE ROCKEFELLER PLAN

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

41-3-294

The recent report of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund is issued by a panel dominated by big business. In addition to the Rockefeller interests, eleven great corporations were represented and ten departments of universities and other organizations largely dependent on gifts from the wealthy. Ten other participants represented the press and Foundations, both closely allied with big business.

The colored world therefore must regard this report as what America in Industry and Trade regards as best for itself in foreign relations. For this very reason perhaps no historian or social scientist of broad background was present except A. A. Berle who believes that private capital has changed its nature by masking ownership and using the wages of labor for investment without giving these shareholders any voice in policies or in the distribution of profits.

The report emphasizes the fact that today nations must be interdependent instead of independent. Into this circle of nations, it declares, "any Communist state that is prepared to assume the responsibility and self-restraint of international life can be accepted." Apparently any capitalist state is eligible whether or not it assumes such responsibility. The report proceeds to picture the role of America as purely philanthropic, since it has "no territorial ambitions" and seeks a "World of Peace."

R The object of the Soviets on the contrary "has been and remains that of bringing Europe under their control." This is an astonishing perversion of history. The basic object of the Western world had been to return the Soviet Union and its allied countries to the control of the West. For this purpose the Soviets have had to fight invasion from nearly all the civilized countries and is today surrounded by American bases designed for attack upon the Soviets.

The plan says that the Soviet Union hopes to expand "until it has gained a clear preponderance of power in the world" and that it "has not expanded by persuasion but by force." This is proven by the fact that the Soviet Union has absorbed those countries which its armies occupied at the close of World War II.

Here again is a question of history. The Soviet Union after winning World War II at terrible sacrifice occupied the Baltic States, Hungary and a part of the Balkans not for expansion so much as for self-defense. Clemenceau had marked this borderland as the "cordon sanitaire" from which eventually Western Europe would reconquer Russia. This territory then the Soviets had to retain, or live under the continual threat of Western attack. Also these countries including the Soviet Union itself and Czechoslovakia were places where Britain, France, Germany and the United States had already invested in cheap labor and materials and were determined to regain capital invested and spread the sway of private capital to the Eastern Heartland.

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America is generous, but its actions especially as dictated by big business are not always philanthropic. In fact what America wants from its international relations is income, wealth and power, particularly from those parts of the world where labor and materials are cheap. This is clear from our investments in oil, gold, diamonds and other metals; in fruit and sugar and dozens of other commodities. The profit from such

investment is shown in the copper output of Northern Rhodesia. In a recent year it sold for $36 million. Of this the 17,000 black laborers whose forbears owned the land and who did the work of mining including much of the skilled work, got ~~600,000~~ $600,000 or $35 a piece for the year. Another labor group, who in truth were part of the employers, consisted of 1690 white artisans. They received $2½ million or $15,000 each annually. They have a union to which no Negro can belong and they have a right to vote. There remained a balance which, after costs of production and taxes were subtracted, left at least $15 million profit for the white shareholders in Europe and America. Manifestly it is profit like this far exceeding any profit that could possibly be made in domestic industry which attracts big business and influences our foreign policy. This is a matter on which this report does not touch.

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The allies refused before the war to make alliance with the Soviet Union. Hitler offered alliance which Stalin accepted because it was either that or isolation. We entered the Second World War openly declaring that we cared not which side won so long as both killed as many as possible of the other. Our assistance to the Soviets was little and indecisive. When, therefore, despite this the Soviet Union won at Stalingrad, we had to surrender to them the "cordon sanitaire." [redacted]

This is the clear lesson of history and this the Rockefeller Plan ignores. On the contrary they declared that Europe must keep the door open "to those nations and peoples which historically have been associated with it and are now drawn into the Soviet orbit." The Baltic States, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Balkans share the great European tradition and "must be welcomed into its intellectual and cultural life at every opportunity."

But they say nothing of the economic welcome which these countries were facing. They were poor for the most part, with low paid labor, ignorant masses, monopolized land and materials underpriced in the world market. They had long been exploited by Western Europe. The Soviet Union regarded their future as bound up with its own. Unless these border states became Socialist, Russia might easily be restored to capitalism.

Consider what happened at the end of the Second World War in 1945. Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin met at Yalta in February. They decided to invite France to join them and to divide Germany into four zones. Reparations were to be collected in order to destroy German military power, and war criminals were to be punished. The UNO was to be held in San Francisco with themselves, China and France. The veto system was to be used in the Security Council and the USSR was to enter the war against Japan.

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April 12th, Roosevelt died. In May, Germany surrendered and in July another conference took place at Potsdam, but with Truman instead of Roosevelt. The day before Truman arrived the Atom Bomb had been tested. He felt himself master of the world. Byrnes, a South Carolina variety of Nazi, was his Secretary of State and thought it time to get "tough" with Russia and Truman started. He dragged his feet at Potsdam assenting to ousting of Nazis and cartels in Germany but he stopped aid to the badly wounded Soviets with catastrophic speed. We demanded payment for the aid already extended and we blocked chances of reparations from Germany being used to restore the reeling Soviets. Four days after the conference closed Truman dropped the bomb on Hiroshima and Japan surrendered. Churchill next year flattered him at Fulton and set him on the Soviets. Congressmen and other leaders publicly demanded that we "drop a bomb on the Kremlin." The following year Marshall revealed the plan of big business by which European capital was to be revivified with American loans and strengthened to fight

against socialism. Socialism meantime triumphed in the states bordering on the USSR; not by "free elections" manipulated by the wealthy, but by the realization among the masses of what was for their welfare. Herein lies the basis of the charge which the Rockefeller Plan stresses that the Soviet Union has used such "deception and frustration" in its relations with America that Americans have become "tough, suspicious and insistent on guarantees of compliance" in treaties made with the Soviet Union.

In truth few nations have kept their word more scrupulously. The difference was that America insisted that their interpretation of the treaty was the right one while the Soviet Union declared that its interpretation was just as sound. The Soviet Union promised that the vast majority of these nations, hitherto landless, poverty-stricken, ignorant and disfranchised would seize mastery of the state by direct force or benevolent dictatorship. Here was a fundamental difference of thought, but it was not deception or breaking of a treaty. Thereupon our effort turned toward encouraging revolt in the Soviet Union itself, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary. Congress openly appropriated $100 million for such effort and our International Secret Service added as much more.

41-3-298

We deluged Hungary with propaganda and encouraged revolt in alliance with those Hungarians who wanted in conjunction with foreign investment to get rich on Hungarian workers and peasants. (The Soviet Union stopped this revolt by interfering with troops which was not only defense of the helpless masses of Hungary, but self-defense for the whole Russian Revolution.)

Then came an extraordinary rush of events. Acheson became Secretary of State. The Nato was organized as the army of western capital, but then to the astonishment of the United States in September 1949, the Soviet Union had the Atom Bomb. We were certain that they had secured it by treason and we executed two innocent citizens in shameful revenge.

The nation went crazy. They punished Hiss. They convicted the Communist leaders. The President declared a national emergency, ordered the making of the H Bomb and the Hollywood 10 were sent to jail.

Then came the second shock: the rise of China. The Plan says that the alliance of the Soviet Union and China is a revival of the attempt of Hitler to dominate the Eurasian continent. As proof of this the Plan declares that a major objective of American foreign policy from 1899 on was "the integrity and progress of China," and that the aim of the United States in the Second World War "was an independent China." This is a fantastic misinterpretation of the facts. The Open Door policy toward China adopted by the United States was not an attempt to restore Chinese independence and integrity. It was merely an effort to insure that the United States preserved equal opportunity with European nations to exploit and divide China. We did not enter the Second World War to make China independent. We saw it already prostrate and dependent . We did not believe the Chinese capable of self-rule and Henry Luce, a member of the Rockefeller panel, proposed to begin the American century by superseding the British as masters of Asia. We picked as our puppet to carry out this scheme, Chiang Kai-shek, a murderer and a traitor against whom our own agents warned us. We gave him arms and money and when China kicked him out and used our own arms against us, we were "shocked" because we ourselves had driven China into the arms of the Communists.

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The Rockefeller Plan proceeds: "Communist leaders in China are apparently determined to be the enemies of the United States." To the contrary the United States is determined to refuse to recognize 680 million Chinese as China and instead to recognize the 10 million of Taiwan as China and promising to help Chiang Kai-shek conquer China. The Rockefeller Plan declares that Communist China is today in a position which "in the past has always led to aggression." It points out that Chinese action in Korea, Tibet and India proves this and adds that Soviet-China strategy is to "isolate the

United States." This is of course untrue. China took no action in Korea until our troops invaded China from Korea and as competent investigators believe used bacteriological warfare for the first time in history. Then China resisted and we ran. We returned with frightful bombardment. Truman was frightened and recalled MacArthur.

We have always recognized Tibet as belonging to China. When rebellion took place there the Chinese had a right to put it down because it was not only revolt, but

41-3-300

revolt of slaveholders, land grabbers and religious fanatics. This was none of our business. Also it was not the business of India except as certain Indian merchants inherited Great Britain's claims in an unsettled dispute. The profit from unregulated trade on Tibet's border is large enough to spark internal struggle in India.

The Rockefeller report admits need for"complete knowledge of what is going on in China" and follows that statement by another declaration, "China is in the throes of a vast and brutal revolution." This is a curious contradiction. There are authorities who declare that the Chinese Revolution is not brutal and that the attacks on China made by Dulles and certain American reporters have been completely answered. The Rockefeller Plan is deeply sympathetic with the parts of Asia which China does not dominate, where millions of Chinese live, but which long have yielded vast profit to European exploitation. Here the motives of Western control were hardly concealed. For Britain and France there were in Malaya and Indo-China "no Ten Commandments" and cities like Singapore, Hanoi and Saigon were international whorehouses and gambling hells for white sailors, travellers and"explorers": When Vietnam started to drive out these invaders, we supported the French masters until they were beaten. This Plan touches our relations with our southern neighbors but gingerly. It does not quite assert that Communism is the cause, but it says that "Soviet strategy" is separating the United States from its Latin neighbors and it does not mention the Rockefeller oil interests, the United Fruit Company nor the Sugar Trust. Big business in the United States has separated us from Central and South America and the West Indies and will turn them toward Communism unless we curb the great corporations.

41-3-301

The plan seeks " to make sure that the world does not decline into new bi-polarity this time more durable and more fearful in its implication

because based on color rather than ideology." In building toward the future the imperative principle must be that race and color not be accorded artificial significance. "The way we order our life at home is an impartial factor in weaving broad unity." How are we ordering our affairs at home so far as Negroes are concerned. The American Negro occupies a higher position than he did fifty years ago. Many occupy high positions in the civil service, on the bench and in industry. Many of the trade unions still discriminate but most admit Negroes. Yet the Negro is still a caste beyond the Color Line. His masses are still poor, ignorant, ill-housed and ill-clothed; most of them in the South cannot vote and their schools are still for the most part segregated. Injustice in the courts is still common..

41-3-302

There is progress. But its rate and ultimate aim is something which the colored world would better watch, otherwise that which we miscalled the war against Communism may yet become the war across the Color Line. For we are struggling desperately in the United States to bribe Negroes of ability to help big business in the self-exploitation of Africa and not to complain over the discrimination which still rules America. We do not realize that the great force which holds back any present war of the Color Line, is the Soviet Union. Here is a white nation which the colored world will never fight as Paul Robeson once said. Because Communism has outlawed color discrimination.

But on the other hand the Rockefeller report is painfully vague on its actual plans for Africa. It promises "sympathy and encouragement." This from the nation which encouraged the African slave trade, waxed rich

on Negro slavery, fought a terrible war to preserve it, and still with South Africa draws the worst color bar in the world is not too encouraging. We may "sympathize" with exploitation of cheap labor and "encourage" land theft and disfranchisement. With this Negroes will not be content. Nor will the colored world agree.

41-3-303

COLORED FOLK AND THE ROCKEFELLER PLAN

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

The recent report of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund is issued by a panel dominated by big business. In addition to the Rockefeller interests, eleven great corporations were represented and ten departments of universities and other organizations largely dependent on gifts from the wealthy. Ten other participants represented the press and Foundations, both closely allied with big business.

The colored world therefore must regard this report as what America in Industry and Trade regards as best for itself in foreign relations. For this very reason perhaps no historian nor social scientist of broad background was present except A. A. Berle who believes that private capital has changed its nature by masking ownership and using the wages of labor for investment without giving these shareholders any voice in policies or in the distribution of profits.

The report emphasizes the fact that today nations must be interdependent instead of independent. Into this circle of nations it declares "any Communist state that is prepared to assume the responsibility and self-restraint of international life can be accepted." Apparently any capitalist state is eligible whether or not it assumes such responsibility. The report proceeds to picture the role of America as purely philanthropic, since it has "no territorial ambitions" and seeks a "World of Peace."

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The plan says that the Soviet Union hopes to expand "until it has gained a clear preponderance of power in the world" and that it "has not expanded by persuasion but by force." This is proven by the fact that the Soviet Union has absorbed those countries which its armies occupied at the close of World War II.

Here again is a question of history. The Soviet Union after winning World War II at terrible sacrifice occupied the Baltic States, Hungary and a part of the Balkans not for expansion so much as for self-defense. Clemenceau had marked this borderland as the "cordon sanitaire" from which eventually Western Europe would reconquer Russia. This territory then the Soviets had to retain, or live under the continual threat of Western attack. Also these countries including the Soviet Union itself and Czechoslovakia were places where Britain, France, Germany and the United States had already invested in cheap labor and materials and were determined to regain capital invested and spread the sway of private capital to the Eastern Heartland.

America is generous, but its actions especially as dictated by big business are not always philanthropic. In fact what America wants from its international relations is income, wealth and power, particularly from those parts of the world where labor and materials are cheap. This is clear from our investments in oil, gold, diamonds and other metals; in fruit and sugar and dozens of other commodities. The profit from such

investment is shown in the copper output of Northern Rhodesia. In a record year it sold for $36 million. Of this the 17,000 black laborers whose forbears owned the land and who did the work of mining including much of the skilled work, got $600,000 or $37 a piece for the year. Another labor group, who in truth were part of the employers, consisted of 1690 white artisans. They received $2½ million or $15,000 each annually. They have a union to which no Negro can belong and they have a right to vote. There remained a balance which, after costs of production and taxes were subtracted, left at least $15 million profit for the white shareholders in Europe and America. Manifestly it is profit like this far exceeding any profit that could possibly be made in domestic industry which attracts big business and influences our foreign policy. This is a matter on which this report does not touch.

The allies refused before the war to make alliance with the Soviet Union. Hitler offered alliance which Stalin accepted because it was either that or isolation. We entered the Second World War openly declaring that we cared not which side won so long as both killed as many as possible of the other. Our assistance to the Soviets was little and indecisive. When, therefore, despite this the Soviet Union won at Stalingrad, we had to surrender to them the "cordon sanitaire". This Roosevelt knew, but the politician who succeded him in the White House, advised by a South Carolinian Nazi as Secretary of State prepared to stop Communism by force. He stopped aid to the badly wounded Soviets with catastrophic speed. We demanded payment for the aid already extended and we blocked chances of reparations from Germany being used to restore the reeling Soviets. This is the clear lesson of history and this the Rockefeller plan ignores. On the contrary they declared that Europe must keep the door open "to those

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United States." This is of course untrue. China took no action in Korea until our troops invaded China from Korea and as competent investigators believe used bacteriological warfare for the first time in history. Then China resisted and we ran. We returned with frightful bombardment. Truman was frightened and recalled MacArthur.

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revolt of slaveholders, land grabbers and religious fanatics. This was none of our business. Also it was not the business of India except as certain Indian merchants inherited Great Britain's claims in an unsettled dispute. The profit from unregulated trade on Tibet's border is large enough to spark internal struggle in India.

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because based on color rather than ideology." In building toward the future the imperative principle must be that race and color not be accorded artificial significance. "The way we order our life at home is an impartial factor in weaving broad unity." How are we ordering our affairs at home so far as Negroes are concerned. The American Negro occupies a higher position than he did fifty years ago. Many occupy high positions in the civil service, on the bench and in industry. Many of the trade unions still discriminate but most admit Negroes. Yet the Negro is still a caste beyond the Color Line. His masses are still poor, ignorant, ill-housed and ill-clothed; most of them in the South cannot vote and their schools are still for the most part segregated. Injustice in the courts is still common..

There is progress. But its rate and ultima te aim is something which the colored world would better wwatch, otherwise that which we miscalled the war against Communism may yet become the war across the Color Line. For we are struggling desperately in the United States to bribe Negroes of ability to help big business in the self-exploitation of Africa and not to complain over the discrimination which still rules America. We do not realise that the great force which holds back any present war of the color line, is the Soviet Union. Here is a white nation which the colored world will never fight as Paul Robeson once said. Because Communism has outlawed color discrimination.

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The report apparently assumes that any capitalist state will be accepted without question. The American Negro was represented by Lester Granger of the Urban League. The plan asserts that the American objective is " a world of peace based on separate political entities" and may differ in religion, culture, asocial organization. So far as America is concerned it is asserted, "No territorial ambitions or desires now stir America."

War was waged against China, but MacArthur was recalled. We learned in September 1949 that the USSR had the H Bomb and we publicly murdered the Rosenbergs as the traitors who must have revealed it to them. McCarthy reigned from 1952 until his death in 1956. Dulles became Secretary of State in 1957 and in 1958 came Sputnik.

Taiwan Nationalist China.

To keep China out of the Security Council and save American investments in Korea, Truman rushed us into a"police action" called the Korean war. McArthur tried to make this a conquest of China and China declared he used bacteria. The Chinese drove him three hundred miles and Truman frightened as McArthur rushed back, dismissed him.

June 1953

THE LIFE OF W.E.B. Du BOIS, 1868 - 1953

It is strange what small things determine the course of human lives. My life, for instance, has been conditioned by the color of my skin. This fact, trivial of itself, was of cosmic importance in the eyes of the world in 1868 when I was born. So strongly did color and race absorb my thought that fifty years ago, when I wrote THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK I said: "The Problem of the Twentieth Century is the Problem of the Color Line." This has been proven true, although of course not nearly as clearly and logically as I had in mind. We can, however, see today how the Western European world is ~~becoming~~ ranged against the colored peoples of Asia and Africa, and how differences of color and race serve strongly to outline the deeper problems of our day.

Naturally I soon learned that my skin was dark because of my African descent and I began early to take special interest in Africa. The facts I had to learn as any stranger would. First I became emotionally ~~stirred~~ stirred by revelations of Negro art, like the ~~Negro~~ folk songs, which I first learned from hearing the Hampton Institute singers. Later in life I saw specimens of African plastic art and of handwork. I learned what a decisive influence African art had on modern art. I saw that the African artisan was so schooled in appreciation of beauty that he was never content to make a tool which was simply useful. It had also to be carefully ornamented, as in the case of this paddle, ~~and~~ these Congo knives, ~~and this extraordinary suit of armor~~ Iron was probably first welded by Negroes and this suit of chain armor, was made ~~hand-wrought~~ by black Sudanese in Africa at least five hundred years ago. Every little iron circlet of the 25,000 which it contains is made by hand. And here are chains of slaves. But they were made in England.

My family line comes from two streams. One, predominantly European,

49-10-33

sprang from French Huguenots who came to America ~~and~~ merged with Africa in the West Indies, and then returned to the valley of the Hudson. My grandfather Alexander represents them, and his son, Alfred. The black Burghardts were brought to the valley of the Hudson by the Dutch in the 17th century, where they lived over 200 years. My mother Mary Burghardt married Alfred Du Bois and here they are with me ~~as infant~~ their only child.

As a child I went through the public schools of Great Barrington, earning some money outside school hours by mowing lawns and splitting kindling. I was graduated from High School in 1884. This is my class, of which I was the youngest. Here are some of my textbooks. My commencement essay was on "Wendell Phillips."

I wanted to go to Harvard college, but I had no money. However I was given a scholarship by Congregational Churches to go to Fisk University in Tennessee. There I had a happy three years and then, having secured a Harvard scholarship I went there ~~and~~ was graduated in 1890, and stayed two more years in the Graduate School. The Slater Fund then sent me abroad for two more years' study, and in 1894 I was ready for my life work.

46-10-34

There opened before me four main lines of work and endeavor which over the years I ~~have come to~~ followed: First there was the search for the truth, especially as it related to Negro peoples. My idea was that what we call the Negro Problem was really a problem of ignorance; that first we should know the facts concerning race relations and from that come to conclusions concerning methods of settling these problems. I went to Atlanta University to teach history and sociology and give half my time to studies of the Negro's problems. In the next thirteen years we issued 15 studies which came to be known around the world. The idea back of them was to study one problem as thoroughly as we could the first year, and then ten years later to come back to a similar

I began with an intensive study of Negroes in Philadelphia then

study, with increased facilities and knowledge. The second year we would take another subject, and then repeat that ten years later, and so on through a cycle of ten different studies over a period of a century.

Of course this ambitious program was never realized. We did, however, keep it up for 13 years, and finally, when we had to give up it was because we could not collect the $5000 a year which the studies cost ~~and which~~ including my salary of $1200.

Meanwhile strong resentment was rising among colored people, especially among young men like Monroe Trotter, against the doctrines of Booker Washington. Trotter was jailed for heckling Washington at a public meeting. I strongly ~~resented~~ protested against this and eventually formed the Niagara movement in 1906. This organization ~~was~~ merged with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I came to New York in 1910 to become one of ~~the~~ the five incorporators ~~of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People~~ as an executive officer of the NAACP. Among the incorporators, besides myself was the grandson of William Lloyd Garrison, a liberal white woman, Mary Ovington, John Haynes Holmes, a militant minister of the Community Church, and ~~the~~ a young Jewish banker, Walter E. Sachs.

For forty years the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has organized and led the fight for Negro emancipation and for real democracy in this nation unlimited by restrictions of race and color. With fixing its basic methods and ideals I had much to do by lectures, and conferences, but especially by ~~my~~ editing the CRISIS magazine which I started on my own responsibility. The CRISIS sought to put special emphasis on two things, news concerning the colored people in America, the West Indies and Africa; and also concerning the peoples of Asia and the islands of the sea. These were arranged in little news notes in the section called

~~Thus the second [illegible] began~~
~~I turned from scientific search for truth to agitation~~
~~+ propaganda & made Americans realize the human~~
~~tragedy of the Negro problem~~

If you suggest some full cuts and publish regularly after 3 years

46-10-30

over

over

"Along the Color Line". Then the CRISIS tried to print pictures of colored people and their doings. Our covers became notable, and our pictures of graduates and of Negro children. Our total job was to make a clearer statement of the position of thinking Negroes concerning their place in America and their future in the world.

Between 1912 and 1930, the CRISIS was self-supporting, paying all salaries including mine; rent, production and distribution. It reached for a time a circulation of over 100,000 copies monthly and a cash income of over $70,000 a year. With the depression, its income fell off, and it no longer paid its cost but had to depend in part on subvention from the NAACP. This main organization continued to grow in influence and power.

Along with these two lines of effort -- search for truth and agitation for the rights of Negroes in the United States, arose naturally the effort to transmute my lifelong interest in Africa into action. This was brought into action as early as 1900, when the United States Government commissioned me to make a series of charts illustrating the condition of American Negroes for the Paris Exposition. By a series of charts and photographs we illustrated the increase in the Negro population, the roots of the African slave trade, education and illiteracy, landholding and home owning. There were thirty-two charts, five hundred photographs and numerous maps and plans. I received a gold medal for this exhibit. This exhibit attracted many Negro visitors from all over the world and some of them met in London and held a Pan-African Conference. After the First World War, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sent me to Paris to study the treatment of American Negro troops. I took advantage of the trip to attempt to start a Pan-African movement.

I attended the great World Races Congress in 1911 of which Felix Adler and I were American secretaries.

wide contest. In the fiftieth year after emancipation I wrote and staged a pageant in New York. It drew such crowds that I staged it in Washington, Philadelphia and finally in Hollywood Bowl. These efforts in art expression might ~~possibly~~ have released me from the provincialism of race consciousness and led me to become an artist. But the color line in the United States did not encourage this.

Writings which touched the African phase of my career were a little book on the Negro in the Home University Library in 1915, a novel protraying the strife between white and colored peoples called DARK PRINCESS in 1928 and a larger study of Negro history, BLACK FOLK THEN AND NOW, in 1939.

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46-10-32

1934 was the beginning of a ten year period at Atlanta University during which I finished and published BLACK RECONSTRUCTION; founded and for four years edited a quarterly review of race relations called PHYLON; reorganized on a broader scale my former studies of the Negro problems; planned an Encyclopaeda of the Negro after being chosen by a notalbe group in 1936, Editor-in-Chief.

sprang from French Huguenots who came to America, merged with Africa in the West Indies, and then returned to the valley of the Hudson. My grandfather Alexander represents them, and his son, Alfred. The black Burghardts were brought to the velley of the Hudson by the Dutch in the 17th century, where they lived over 200 years. My mother Mary Burghardt married Alfred Du Bois, and here they are with me, their only child.

As a child I went through the public schools of Great Barrington earning some money outside school hours by mowing lawns and splitting kindling. I was graduated from High School in 1884. This is my class, of which I was the youngest. Here are some of my textbooks. My commencement essay was on Wendell Phillips.

I wanted to go to Harvard College, but I had no money. I was, however, given a scholarship by Congregational Churches to go to Fisk University in Tennessee. There I had a happy three years and then, having secured a Harvard scholarship I went there, graduated in 1890, and stayed two more years in the Graduate School. The Slater Fund then sent me abroad for two more years' study and in 1894 I was ready for my life work.

There opened before me four main lines of work and endavor which over the years I followed: First there was the search for truth, especially as it related to Negro peoples. My idea was that what we called the Negro Problem was really a problem of ignorance; that first we should know the facts concerning race relations and from that come to conclusions concerning methods of settling these problems. I went to Atlanta University to teach history and sociology and

46-10-31

46-10-17

~~Insert~~

For ~~forty~~ years after the close of the Civil war the youth of America were taught by the best ~~of the~~ historians ~~and social reformers philosophers of the day~~ that after Emancipation vindictive ~~social~~ elements in the North forced Negro suffrage on the South and put in political control over white people a mass of ~~ignorant and~~ half-civilized Negroes, most of whom were incapable of taking part in civilized government. That these Negro stole and squandered public funds, sank into crime, ~~raped women~~ and carried on such a ~~perhaps~~ parody of modern democracy that in self-defense the white South by ~~secret and .....~~ violent methods were compelled to dis-franchise them and reduce them to a subordinate caste.

After the publication of Black Reconstruction in 1937 this fantastic ~~and~~ mis-interpretation of history became no longer possible.

Meanwhile Strong resentment was rising among colored people especially among young men like Monroe Trotter, against the ~~policy and some of the~~ doctrines of Booker Washington. ~~Because of a public effort to compel~~ Mr. Washington to answer certain questions concerning the Negro and the ballot ~~Africans~~. Trotter was ~~arrested and put in~~ jailed for heckling Washington at a Boston meeting. I strongly resented this and ~~in~~ out consequence wrote to a number of ~~colored~~ persons through the United States, and in 1906 eventually formed the Niagara movement. This organization ~~held meetings in 1906, 7, and 8, and then~~ was merged with the NAACP. ~~From the formation of this organization in 1910~~ I came to New York in 1910 ~~for two jobs:~~ to become one of the five incorporators of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Among these incorporators beside myself was the grandson of William Lloyd Garrison, a liberal white woman, Mayy Ovington, John Haynes Holmes, a militant minister of the ~~Community~~ Church, and ~~the~~ young Jewish banker, Walter E. Sachs.

For 40 years the NAACP has organized and led the fight for Negro emancipation ~~and~~ and for real democracy in this nation unlimited by restrictions of race and color. With fixing its basic methods and ideals, I had much to do by lectures, and conferences but especially by my ~~founding and~~ editing the Crisis magazine which I started on my own responsibility

the Crisis ~~tried~~ sought to put special emphasis on two things, ~~first on~~ news concerning the colored people, ~~concerning Negroes.~~ in America, the West Indies and Africa, and also concerning the peoples of Asia and the islands of the sea. These were ~~first~~ arranged in little news notes in the section of the ~~Crisis~~ called ~~the Horizon~~ we called "Along the Color Line". ~~Later it was called the Horizon.~~ It be-

Then the Crisis tried to print pictures of colored people and their doings. Our covers became notable, and our pictures of graduates and of ~~little~~ Negro children ~~were widely praised.~~ Our final job was to make a total cleaner statement of the position of thinking Negroes concerning their place in America and their future in the world.

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I attended: the great Races Congress in 1911, of which Felix Adler and I were American secretaries; and

I ~~therefore~~ proposed that the subject of the future of Africa and particularly of the German colonies be considered at the Versailles conference. I consulted Col. House and other Americans. And I ~~told~~ asked the American Peace Commission ~~I want~~ to call a Pan-African Congress in Paris. They said it was impossible, ~~that martial law was still in force~~ and that the French government would not permit it. ~~The American Secret Service kept me in sight, but~~ I turned to the French government through ~~I went to~~ Blaise Diagne, the Black under-Secretary of War who had secured the 75,000 black troops to defend Paris, ~~and he said that we could have the~~

He secured the consent of

~~conference~~ congress. He saw Clemenceau, the Prime Minister, ~~and~~ our State Department refused to issue passports being sure that Clemenceau would not allow the Congress. But Clemenceau allowed it, because France at that time was being defended by 280,000 black troops. But the Negroes of the various ~~black~~ countries of the world, including the United States were not allowed to come to the Congress ~~nor were their friends allowed to come from England or America.~~ Nevertheless ~~But at a cost of $750~~ a Congress of 58 delegates was assembled, ~~They passed resolutions and what they said was widely read.~~ in Paris in 1919

From that beginning we went further. In 1921 we held a large and important congress, meeting successively in London, Paris and ~~Bercelles.~~ Brussels We had representatives from all over the world, some two hundred ~~in all,~~ and ~~And~~ aroused not only the interest of Europe, but the opposition of the imperial powers countries. In 1923 we ~~tried to have~~ had a small third congress in Lisbon, Portugal. ~~The meeting was interesting but small, and from that~~ There I went to Africa as Special Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to Liberia ~~ex~~ on the occasion of the second inauguration of President King. I tried in 1925 to have a fourth Pan African Congress in Tunis, but the French would not allow it so that finally the Congress was held in New York, interesting but small. There were no further attempts to hold a congress until 1945 when we met in Manchester, England, and there was present Nkumah, the Prime Minister designate of the Gold Coast, and Kenyatta, who has been accused of fomenting unrest in Kenya. There were a number of other representatives from Africa,

I made between 1915 and 1953 seven visits to islands in the West Indies predominantly inhabited by peoples of Negro descent.

high school teacher. She has a daughter.

Along with all my efforts, as a sort of obbligato, ran my writings. ~~I think at bottom~~ fundamentally I had always conceived myself as a writer as well as a scientist, and certainly much more so than as agitator or propagandist. During the era of my scientific search for truth I published my book on the slave trade, my series of Atlanta studies, and the PHILADELPHIA NEGRO. During the period of agitation for Negro rights I published five larger and more distinctly Negro works in addition to twenty annual volumes of the monthly, CRISIS magazine. These included a book of essays, THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK, my biography of JOHN BROWN, a novel of the cotton crop called THE QUEST OF THE SILVER FLEECE, a further volume of essays called DARKWATER, and a consideration of the gifts which black folk had made to American civilization.

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I thought younger men should carry through. My resignation was received with regret and demands for me to reconsider. But I was 66, my active years I thought had passed and John Hope a fuller world now offered rest

My writing in itself, subtly and molecully divided itself into recording ~~and interpreting of~~ facts and efforts to do this with taste and literary skill and also to achieve art in other ways. For instance I wrote plays and poems, and once in a little theatre movement which I helped promote in Harlem, my Krigwa Players won second prize in a nation-wide contest. In the fiftieth year after Emancipation, I wrote and staged a pageant in New York and repeated it in Washington and Philadephia and finally in Hollywood. This line of effoert in art expression might easily in another person or another era have released me from my provincialism of race consciousness and and let me try to become an artist. But the Color line in the United States did not encourage this and encourage such contributions & the Crisis & the darlings of some of the starver readers. My poem on the Atlanta riot was widely quoted, and

Naodmaitovw

Along with my main activities went other efforts quite as important and even more human. For instance I began my family life, by marrying while still teaching at Wilberforce in 1896 Nina Gomer of Iowa, of Negro and Alsacian descent.

We lived together 53 years and had two children, but lost the little son in infancy. The daughter still lives and is a junior high school leader She has a daughter

2 Along with all my ~~lines of~~ efforts as a sort of ~~obbligato~~ ran my writings. I think at bottom I conceived myself as a writer as well as a scientist, and certainly much more so than an agitator or propagandist. During the era of my scientific search for truth I published my book on the slave trade, my series of Atlanta studies, and the Philadelphia Negro. During the period of agitation for Negro rights I published five larger works in addition to 20 annual volumes of the monthly, Crisis magazine. These included a book of essays, "The Souls of Black Folk", ~~literary and emotional~~; my biography of "John Brown"; a novel of the cotton crop called "The Quest of Silver Fleece"; a further volume of essays called "Darkwater", and a consideration of the gifts which black folk had made to American civilization. This culminated in "Black Reconstruction" in 1935, which belonged in a sense to the activities of my Search for Truth.

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Writings which touched this phase of my career were a little book on the Negro in the Home University Library in 1915; a novel portraying ..... the strife between white and colored peoples, called Dark Princess in 1928, and two larger studies of Negro history, Black Folk Then and Now in 1939, and

~~I was however the more minded to leave despite the kindest pressures to remain, because I was offered~~ a chance to return to my scientific career with larger opportunity for teaching and writing. I therefore returned to Atlanta University in 1934 for a ten year period in which I finished and published Black Reconstruction; founded and edited for four years a quarterly review of Race Relations, Phylon; arranged to reorganize on a broader scale my former studies of the Negro Problems; planned an Encyclopaedia of the Negro of which I ~~had been~~ was chosen Editor-in- Chief in 1936 by a notable group.

I travelled around the world that year to study race ~~relations self themselves about~~ relations at first hand; published a partial autobiography & apology for my life in 1940, "Dusk of Dawn"

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W e ha v e hacjsie t dienc s e c We ns ar

Through the Cooperation of Southern Negro College and the advice of the leading sociologists of the Nation

While I was carrying out these plans and speaking & and my eye on their development, I was suddenly retired for age on a salary of $150 a month & to be reduced after five years

which made it impossible thereafter to reject the legends that ignorant and venal Negro freedmen were the cause of the disasters which followed the Civil War. Also during this period

I was thrilled and bitter. Not only was my life work interrupted but for the first time in my career I faced the problem of bread and butter. I had been so much. My family was always well housed and clothed My daughter received good secondary & college training and a teacher's degree from Columbia We had travelled a bit. But my income was and I owned no debts. But my income had always been around and at best had never exceeded $5000 a year. My working troops and working troops my wife and I lost my life insurance which a colored company had taken in. Our only asset was a comfortable seven room college home in Baltimore. I was 60 became 76 years old; but in health and vigor and good for 10 years more

45-10-20A

On my return to New York, I first went to Haiti to lecture on education on invitation from the government. I then wrote Color: Democracy as a Protest against Negro discrimination and colonialism. My request for help from several Funds was freely refused but I published a pamphlet about it and made friends scholarly. When the UNO met at San Francisco

the Directors of the NAACP were commisioned by the Govern ent to appoint a consultatr. They named me and later added Walter White and Mary Bethune. In San Francisco, I wrote a column for the Chronicle, sent statements and petitions to the officials and interviewed delegates. Some meetings were also held. Returning to New York, I became interested in the new Progressive movement. I did not join the party so as not to involve the NAACP in politics, but I exoressed my own convictions

The same year, 1945, I went to Manchester, England to attend a Fifth Pan-African Congress called by the African delegates to the Paris Trade Union meeting. Here I preside and met Nkrumah, now prime minister designate of the Gold Coast, West Africa and Kenyatta, later condembed in Kenya

I was next involved in a sucession of Peace congresses as fear of a Third World War increased. I attended and spoke at the Waldorf-Astoria conference: then I went to

Another ~~crisis~~ change ~~faced~~ came to me in 1948, ~~as~~ which was inevitable, because of the great crisis which the world faced in the second half of the century. It was becoming clear that a rich and powerful civilization could no longer allow the majority of mankind to be poor, ignorant and sick. Efforts spread every where to change these conditions through increased social control of wealth. My thought and efforts were growing in sympathy with this world development. But the NAACP had long been trying to settle only one social problem, that of Negro equality in the United States. On no other social reform was there unity of thought in its ~~ranks~~ membership. Moreover the nation now began to move toward reaction toward ~~nearly~~ in every social reform, and to regard war as inevitable. I had no power to alter the policy of the NAACP and made no effort to do so. But despite my disclaimers, when I favored a Third Party movement, attacked colonial policies and talked peace, the NAACP was blamed for what I was saying. It was hinted to me that I had been recalled to the NAACP not to work but to rest. I did not and could not take this advice and as a result, I was dismissed in 1948. I took an unpaid position in Paul Robeson's Council on African Affairs and went on with my work

Only change toward wealth control, purchasing with accident & capitalism with union Labor health peace alienate minimum support

When liberals and progressives called a Peace Conference in 1949 I took part eagerly. Later that same year I attended the great Peace Conference in Paris, and then along with twenty- five prominen t Americans I was invited to attend the Peace Conference in Moscow, ~~Russia.~~ I was the only one of the twenty five who accepted, but I went there and on my return visited Poland and Czechoslovakia.

In America I helped to organize a Peace Movement and became President of the Peace Information Center, which was designed to let the people of America know how the Peace Movement was spreading in the world and particularly to circulate the Stockholm Appeal against atomic weapons. As a result of this I and other officials of the Peace Information Bureau were indicted as "agents of a foreign principal". We denied that we were agents, but were taken to court where I was handcuffed, finally we were all acquitted of this absurd charge.

During the indictment and trial I and Shirley Graham were married. We then toured the United States to raise funds for the defense of the five defendants. A committee under Alice Citron corresponded over the world, and the support which we received was universal and astonishing.

This, then, in general outline, is my life and work. And I am deeply grateful to you who have consented to listen to its portraiture.

I wrote in 1949 a comparative study of the United States and the Soviet Union for which I have not yet secured a publisher. Presently I am trying to finish a novel which will contain Black Reconstruction in fictional form ? Years from 1876 to 1954

46-10-25 In 1915 when the new edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica was planned, I was asked to write on the American Negro and wrote an article in which I again declared that the Negro had helped the south during Reconstruction

Then I changed my work and turned as I hoped for a short time to propaganda, to agitation, to trying to impress upon the American people the need to give attention to the problems

46-10-26 I worked on it while I was at Harvard and at the University of Berlin, and finished it at Wilberforce University. I took my doctor's degree in 1895 and in 1896 my thesis was published as the first volume of the new Harvard Historical studies. At the University of Pennsylvania I began my first sociological survey of the Negro, which was published as the Philadelphia Negro in 1899. On this work I outlined my plan for a hundred years of study of the Negro problem.

and not hindered. The editor refused to publish this in the form in which I had written it, and I declined to let my contribution be used.

So now on return to Atlanta University I began again to study Reconstruction and the result was the book, "Black Reconstruction". It must be noted, that since the publication of this book it has been impossible to continue the theory that the Negro was simply a thief and a fool after emancipation. Writers today are compelled to admit that it was the Negro who established the public school as an institution in the South, that he began a new social legislation, that the Constitutions which he helped form and pass were used in the Southern states for a generation after the Negro had been given the vote, and that a fair interpretation of the Negro's role would prove that he tried under difficult circumstances to establish democracy in the United States as it never had functioned before, with a sound economic base. During the ten years which I spent at Atlanta University I founded a new quarterly magazine, "Phylon" for the general study of race problems. It began publication in 1940 and I edited it for four years. Then I began to try to re-establish my all-embracing plan for a general study of the Negro problems. I secured the consent of nearly all the Negro colleges in the south to make Atlanta University the center of a new, continuous and all-embracing study of the Negro race in America, using their departments of Social Science, and having them take part in a general conference on methods in social science and studies in race relations which would be held annually at Atlanta University and would be attended by the leading students of sociology in the United States and later in the world. I succeeded in getting this scheme established. We held two conferences, and were reaching out for funds and better methods when, without notice, I was suddenly retired from my professorship at Atlanta

46-10-27

In 1896 I went to the university of Pennsylvania as Assistant in Sociology and began my career as student of social problems and writer. Here are my books.

First came "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade". It was my doctors thesis

1935
1864
41

46-10-28

wide contest. In the fiftieth year after emancipation I wrote and staged a pageant in New York. It drew such crowds that I staged it in Washington, Philadelphia and finally in Hollywood Bowl. These efforts in art expression might have released me from the provincialism of race consciousness and led me to become an artist. But the color line in the United States did not encourage this.

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Meantime I published two more books, one [1952?]

46-10-13 a novel on the economic problems of the south called "The Quest of the Silver Fleece" and the other which indicated my continued interest in Africa: It was published in 1915 in the Home of University Library and went through many editions. Also to illustrate my interest in Africa and race relations came a series of conferences in Europe. These were preceded as early as 1900 by the exhibit illustrating the work of the American Negro in the Paris exposition U.S.

~~and other parts of the world. I~~ 46-10-13

I continued to publish books. A volume of essays called "Dark [1952?]
Water" in 1920, "The Gift of Black Folk" in 1924, and the novel, "Dark Princess" in ~~19~~ 1928 in which I tried to indicate a union of colored peoples

(1)

The Life of W. E. B. Du Bois, 1868-1953

It is strange what small things determined the course of human lives ~~influence our life~~. My life for instance has been conditioned ~~from childhood~~ by the color of my skin. This fact, trivial of itself was of cosmic importance in the eyes of the world in 1868. ~~Thereafter it became the main fact of my existence and guided all I ever tried to do~~

So strongly did color and race absorb my thought that

Fifty years ago, when I wrote the Souls of Black Folk I said "The Problem of the Twentieth Century is the Problem of the Color Line". This has been proven true, although of course not nearly as clearly and logically as I had in mind. We can however see today how the ~~main part of the white~~ Western European world is becoming ranged against the colored peoples of Asia and Africa and how ~~problems of color outline the great problems of our day. Naturally~~ differences of color and race ~~do not of course cause but~~ serve strongly to outline the deeper problems of our day.

~~Thus~~ Naturally I soon learned that my skin was dark was because of my African descent and I began early to take special interest in Africa. The facts ~~about Africa~~ I had to learn as any stranger would, ~~and~~ I read and I became ~~e~~motionally stirred by ~~certain~~ revelations of Negro art. ~~The~~ Like the Negro folk songs which I first learned from hearing the Hampton Institute singers ~~were a tremendous revelation of beauty.~~ Later in life I saw specimens of ~~Black~~ African plastic art and ~~handi~~ of handwork. I learned what a decisive influence African ~~of~~ art had had on ~~modern~~ modern art ~~in Europe~~. I saw ~~realized~~ that the African artisan was so schooled in appreciation of beauty that he was never content to make a tool which was simply useful. It also had to be carefully ornamented, as in the case of this paddle, ~~and~~ these Congo knives, ~~and~~ this extraordinary suit of armor. Iron was notably first worked by Negroes and this

11-15-11-96

suit of chain armor, hand-wrought by black Sudanese in Africa at least five hundred years ago. Every litte iron circlet of the 25,000 which it contains is made by hand. And here are chains ofr slaves. But they were made in England ----

...ine comes from two streams. One, predominantly European, sprang from French Huguenots who merged with Africa in the West Indies and then returned to the valley of the Hudson. My grandfather Alexander represents them and his son Alfred. The black Burghardts were brought to the valley of the Hudson by the Dutch in the I7th century, where they lived 200 years. My mother Mary married Alfred and here they are with me as infant. I married in I896 a wife with whom I lived 53 years until 1950 when she died. We had two children. The little boy died in infancy. The daughter lives and has a daughter. As a child I went through the public schools, earning some money outside school hours by mowing lawns and splinning kindling. I was graduated from High School in I884. This is my class, of which I was the youngest. Here are some of my textbooks. My commencement essay was on "Wendell Phillips."

I wanted to go to Harvard to college, but had no money. I was given a scholarship by the Congregational Church to go to Fisk University in Tenn ssee. There I had a happy three years and then having secured a Harvard scholarship I went there and graduated in I890, and stayed two more years in the Graduate School. The Slater Fund then sent me abroad for two more years study and in I894, I was ready for my life work.

There opened out before me four lines of work and endeavor which over the years I have come to follow: First there was the search for the truth, especially as it is related to Negro peoples, then historical

My idea was that what we call the Negro problem was really a problem of ignorance; that first we should know the facts concerning race relations and from that come to conclusions concerning methods of settling these problems. I went to Atlanta University to teach history and sociology and give half to studies of the Negro's problems. In the next thirteen years we issued 15 studies which became to be known around the world. They varied the idea back of them was to study one problem as thoroughly as we could the first year, and then ten years later to come back to a similar study, with increased facilities and knowledge. The second year we would take another subject, and then repeat that ten years later, and so on through a cycle of ten different studies over a period of a century.

Of course this ambitious program was never realized. We did, however, keep it up for 13 years, and finally, when we had to give up it was because we could not collect the $5000 a year which the ...st and which included my salary of $1200.

Curtis 92-4

94 - Wilberforce
96 - U of P { Delegate, Chicago
97 - Atlanta
— Conferences { 1903 Brown '09, 1905
— books
— lectures
Teaching
N.M. 1908 ?
Europe Paris 1900

Diegels 97-1910

Death of Wife
Friends { Hope, Penn. Palmer, Mrs Herndon, Crogman, Turner

Tuskegee 1909 — conference

1910 - N.Y.
CUAD
20 years - 705 - 69-5th
Del
Nash - Shelby Johnson

Atlanta { white, Dunbar, Slum 7, Negro, Gift '24
Books { Princess, 1906, 1914
Europe 18 Paris After, 21 After, 23 After, 28 Rome, 36 Germ

The Reserve
Lynching & Burning
Riots
Lectures
Pageant { 1913, 15, 16, 2

Car 1918-1944
8. 8300
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A 25
50
23,100

Policies
NAACP
BTW
Social Equality
Colored
After
Local
Your People
Crooked Cocktail
Library Lectures
Krigwa
Theatre
Spingarn, Villard, F. Kelley
Crisis - NAACP
Orientation

B[illegible]
[illegible]
Policies
Policy Conservation
Ads & Depression
50 years
Civic club
other clubs
Snowden
Tammany
Pastures
Books
Roosevelt's last speech
Atlanta Baha
National Meetings
Resolutions
Cook
Visitors

Auditorium
1921
1943
Phono
Radio 1935-44

Health Diphtheria - 1916
Food & Clerk
South
Action & attitude

Wineland & Barry

The Library WEB Dubois
1868 - 1945
Women { Mother - grandma, Mrs Green - actress, Mrs Herndon - Amboh, Allison - wool, Christmas - Beach, Grell - wool, Louise - Youth, Mrs. Lewis, Miami Beach, Va, Europe

Wife, Child, Grandchildren

Du Bois sent to Poland Dec. 1958

TO POLAND

by W.E.B. Du Bois

I have been to Poland three times. The first time was 59 years ago, when I was a student at the University of Berlin. I had been talking to my schoolmate, Stanislaus Ritter Von Estreicher. I had been telling him of the race problem in America, which seemed to me at the time the only race problem, and the greatest social problem of the world. He brushed it aside. He said, "You know nothing, really, about real race problems." Then he began to tell me about the problem of the Poles, and particularly of that part of them who were included in the German empire; of their limited education; of the refusal to let them speak their own language; of the few careers that they were allowed to follow; of the continued insult to their culture and family life.

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I was astonished; because race problems at the time were to me purely problems of color, and principally of slavery in the United States and near-slavery in Africa. I promised faithfully that when I went on my vacation that summer I would stop to see him in his home at Krakow, Poland, where his father was Librarian of the University.

I remember now my schoolmate, Stanislaus. He has long been dead, and I hear he died refusing to be a stool pigeon for the Nazis in conquered Poland. He gave his life for a great cause. How broad it eventually became! How much he realized that behind the Polish problem lay the Jewish problem, and that all were one crime against civilization, I do not know.

I remember now one scene in Poland over a half century ago. It was of worship in a Catholic Church. The peasants were crowded together and were grovelling on their knees. They were in utter subjection to a powerful hierarchy. And out of that, today they have crawled and fought and struggled. They see the light.

Thirteen years after that I passed again through Poland and Warsaw. It was in the darkness, both physically and spiritually. Hitler was supreme in Germany, where I had been visiting for five months, and I sensed the oncoming storm.

I passed through Warsaw into the Soviet Union just three years before the horror fell upon that city.

Then finally three years ago I was in Warsaw again. I have seen something of human upheaval in this world; the scream and shots of a race riot in Atlanta; the marching of the Ku Klux Klan; the threat of courts and police; the neglect and destruction of human habitation. But nothing in my wildest imagination was equal to what I saw in Warsaw in 1949. I would have said before seeing it that it was impossible for a civilized nation with deep religious convictions and outstanding religious institutions; with literature and art; to treat fellow human beings as Warsaw had been treated. There had been complete, planned and utter destruction. Some streets had been so obliterated that only by using photographs of the past could they tell where the street was. And no one mentioned the total of the dead, the sum of destruction, the story of crippled and insane, the widows and orphans.

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The astonishing thing, of course, was the way that in the midst of all these memories of war and destruction, the people were rebuilding the city with an enthusiasm that was simply unbelievable. A city and a nation was literally rising from the dead.

I trust that the people of Poland realize how much hope their suffering and effort gives today to the inhabitants of the United States.

I remember studying in school of the partitions of Poland and of the way in which a great nation had been destroyed. We were given to understand then, in the late 19th century, that no Polish nation would ever rise again.

At that time and since we have regarded ourselves as the fortunate people of the earth, free to think and act; with adequate income among the majority of our workers, and with Peace as our object and practice.

Today all this is changed. Our civil liberties are curtailed. Our right to think and act is less than ever before, and we face the bleak prospect of a

determined effort among the fascist masters of Big Business to make this a nation promoting war and strife over the whole world. Color discrimination is less than it once was and we fight daily to abolish it, but it still dominates the nation so that Americans of African descent are given less education, poorer housing and greater exposure to disease, and receive less income for more and harder work than white Americans.

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In the midst of this situation the determination of Poland to rise from the dead, her marvelous accomplishments in rebuilding her industry, and especially in the unification of her people without class distinctions, is a great inspiratic

I wish I could visit your country again to see what has happened since 1949; but I am a prisoner in my native land and am not allowed to travel outside. Nevertheless, I can send you my congratulations and thanks, and my hope that you will continue to be an example to the United States of America of a free and prosperous democracy which is learning how to produce and distribute wealth for the welfare of all and not simply and mainly for the agrandisement of the few.

FOR PRAVDA March 10, 1953

STALIN AND AMERICAN NEGROES
by W.E.B. Du Bois

The death of Joseph Stalin shocked 15 million American citizens of Negro descent in a peculiar way. Stalin had unequivocably advocated Peace while all other rulers voiced two words for War to every one for Peace. These Negroes want peace for more reasons than whites. To this black group, war for 200 years has meant fighting for a nation which did not recognise them as part of it. As slaves they fought to free America from England; as slaves and serfs, they begged to fight for the abolition of slavery and gained permission only after studied humiliations. In the First World War, they had to fight Americans harder than Germans for recognition as soldiers and citizens; and while this battle was less fierce in the Second World War, it was still a battle against segregation and color discrimination. The American Negro has been unswervingly loyal to the United States when loyalty was a bitter pill, but he wants now to fight for it without being compelled to surrender his self-respect. Above all, he wants Peace. If, therefore, Stalin was for Peace, he was for Stalin.

With the war in Korea came a new turn in this old dilemma. Koreans were Colored People. They suffered from white nations, the same discrimination and contempt as Negroes suffer. Moreover, American Negroes know that Joseph Stalin, son of a serf, had worked as Commissar

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of Nationalities to make the Soviet Union the one modern state which outlawed race discrimination. Even if this legislation did not always work perfectly, the Negro knew it worked better than the pogroms of Czarist Russia or the caste laws of South Carolina. Thus the American Negro was drafted into the Korean war and obeyed because it was his duty as a citizen. But he writhed and still writhes under the humiliation.

Then a new paradox fronted him when in Africa, his own kin began to revolt. Would American Negroes be asked to fight African Negroes in defense of the increasing investment of American wealth in African land, materials and cheap labor? Negroes know of the capital which their nation has poured into Malan's South Africa and of the kind of state which he proposes to build on the color-bar. Will American Negroes be asked to surrender their basic loyalties to uphold reaction and tyranny in their ancient Motherland? And if they do, can they ever hold up their heads among men?

It was not sensible for the new Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, to tell Negroes that the revolt of Africa was part of a Soviet plot to surround America. Negroes may be largely ignorant because of lack of schools, but they are not that ignorant. They know and know too well why Africa revolts: the British slave trade, American slavery; hunger, caste, disease and bitter exploitation today. Against any summons to fight with white Europe against black Africa and indeed

against continued war with Asia, the American Negro raises final protest. He sorrows that the great man, Joseph Stalin, who spoke for Peace and against Race Discrimination, today lies dead in Moscow.

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Du Bois Defense de la Paix July 29, 1953

AMERICA AND PEACE

Let me look back with you over the short history of America whose youth and late rush to world influence must be considered. Singular good fortune has repeatedly spelled doom for these fortunate isles. Prodigal gift of rich and endless land has nurtured greed. Strong and willing labor has invited slavery. Rivalries of race and cultures have quickened talent, until, mad with our very prosperity, we let Liberty choke Equality and Brotherhood die at birth. Yet we drew continual strength from all the world; from Asia came Faith; from Africa, Work with Song; from Europe, Civilization. In such a new world of singular opportunity with freedom of movement and freedom of trade over unprecedented stretches of territory, we have grown rich and healthy, powerful and keen, with rare technical mastery of the forces of nature and a reckless self-confidence born of youth and inexperience. Blind to history and ignorant of human nature, we see Life as the strife of Individuals and have small concept of the age-old social bodies or of the eternal Society of Man.

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America of today lightly forgets that she was once a colony dominated by an empire and gained autonomy only by violent revolution; by throwing off just such bonds as she now helps to impose on peoples of Asia and Africa. Wildly and erratically down the years our ways have wandered: from conquest of the wilderness to conquest of Mexico; from domestic serfdom to a system of industrial slavery stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

That leadership which the masses must find if they survive, came to us from time to time because of our unhampered and often lawless freedom, but never reached peaceful, consistent and planned progress. We threw off dictatorship of property and religion. We spread common school education and approached universal suffrage, limited by slavery and color of skin.

Then in blood and destruction we emerged into a vision of democracy unlimited by race, religion or wealth. Again our triumph spelled doom. The freedom which we thought we had gained for black mankind became freedom for the exploiter of land and labor. In the last half of the 19th century individual wealth, however gained, became more important in popular esteem than human freedom, and the new industry became the master and not the servant of the new democracy.

But even American individualism had to yield to social compulsion as the Frontier closed on our western borders. The free west became owned and ordered. The individual highwayman of industry could not longer ride at will. Exploitation of labor and Raw Material became instead a matter of more intense effort and more subject to integrated and planned capitalism. The flow of cheap immigrant labor dwindled, the black freedmen began to fight for the freedom that was eluding them, white labor began to organize against capital. But Labor was divided: Irishman against Negro and German against Scandinavian and foreign-born against native. On new and intricate skills and machines climbed the mechanic and the white collar worker; over all ruled the Manager and over him the Financier.

We became a money-mad people, ruled increasingly by corporate wealth and ruthless in our methods of gain. Freedom became license and democracy a matter of barter and sale. Yet there was intelligence and vision enough for fierce battle for reform in the last quarter of the century and the United States entered the 20th century determined to stand with the progressive forces of mankind in Science, Government and Humanity with Labor poised to hearken to Europe and fight for socialism.

As the fight of Labor grew more intense and the labor vote forced the rate of profit down and raised wages, a vision of a path to new profits came to American capital. This path was not new; it was very old, but it seemed

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Then the Old World, led by two mad men, tried to achieve new world domination. Britain, France and the United States joined Hitler and Mussolini to rebuild colonial imperialism. But the new masters asked too high a price, although Britain and France made every effort at accommodation, and deeply sympathized with the Fascist plan to arrest Communism. But in America poverty, unemployment and despair spread so far that Franklin Roosevelt displaced the old individualism with a new socialism and under

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There crept into our polity, beside differences of race and culture, new class distinctions of rich, middle-class and poor; investors, employers, technicians, skilled laborers and common laborers, beside criminals. Managers displaced employers; better paid labor shared in exploitation of poorer paid, and all American labor exploited Negroes and colonial peoples. Organized finance directed industry, distributed capital and planned economy. Having actually lost least by war and destruction, American Industry started after the great depression of the thirties to reorganize world trade and industry and replace Great Britain as banker of mankind. But it met two stun-

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This change of outlook and aim, which never would have occurred under Roosevelt, developed to full orientation under his accidental successor, Harry Truman. Truman was a provincial western politician, without broad learning or wide experience. He had no thought of ever questioning the absolute superiority of the American Way of Life. Under the direction of Big Business, Truman completely reversed the policies of Roosevelt. He became suspicious and inimical toward the Soviet Union; made war in Korea and announced the Truman doctrine of armed limitation of the spread of communism. Trade, industry and finance through tighter and more conscious control of the whole economy of the nation began to plan an anti-socialistic world. The Hitler plan of thought control was further developed. The old American folklore of pioneer enterprise, individual initiative and reward of private prowess was emphasized. News gathering and distribution, broadcasting, publication of books, periodicals and newspapers came increasingly under the centralized control of organized capital.

Public opinion was skillfully aroused to suspect and hate the Soviet Union and to oppose her designs by a military preparedness surpassing anything the world ever knew. A false scare of imminent war nearly forced universal military service through Congress and did accomplish wide drafting of youth into the military forces. As opposition developed skillful efforts began to silence it. Confessed informers, liars and traitors were publicized and re-

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warded, while advocates of peace and friendship were intimidated. Teachers and writers were dismissed; radicals, progressives and liberals jailed; congressional inquisitions, unhampered by the usual legal limitations was installed, and the pulpit either silenced or taken into loud alliance. Never before in America has there been such suppression of freedom of thought and expression of opinion.

When you judge the United States today, bear this in mind. Not the America of intelligence and courage is forcing war on the world, but the America half-informed and deliberately misled which regards such a gathering as the World Peace Council as a conspiracy against civilization and seriously sees in socialism and communism plots to overthrow the American Way of Life. Thus an hysterical nation is blundering toward a resurgence of religious dogma and is turning a Prince of Peace into a God of War. What happens? It is hard to paint the present scene in America in conceivable tones. May I essay. I select from an endless list of specific cases ten which illustrate our spiritual Reign of Terror:

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1. There is scarcely in the land a University or college from which there has not been dismissed either from long service or from the start of a promising career, one or more professors, accused of "sympathy" with "communism."

2. The Attorney-General of the United States has drawn up a long list of organizations, which, without hearing evidence or giving reasons, he declares are "subversive" because of some connection past or present with Communistic or Socialistic ideas. Alleged membership in any of these organizations can mean loss of job or benefits of public housing.

3. From the public schools of New York and a dozen other large cities, successful teachers of ten, twenty or more years have been summarily dismissed for belonging to some "subversive" organization or for refusing to say whether or not they ever belonged to the Communist Party.

4. The eleven official heads of the Communist Party are in jail not accused of illegal acts but because communist writers have at various times and places wrote of revolution and since this government is declared in present danger, these leaders are in jail for what they might sometime do. Fifty other Communist leaders are under sentence and temporarily free on bail.

5. The strong defense of labor unions which Franklin Roosevelt established has been sabotaged by new laws and administration. Aggressive labor unions have been outlawed and their leaders persecuted. On the Atlantic coast the handling of cargoes involve crimes of all sorts. On the Pacific coast stevedores are well organized and social benefits available. This was achieved by Harry Bridges ten years ago. Ever since, Bridges has been persecuted as a "Communist". Year after year this persecution has persisted with varying charges. The government has used as witnesses well-known liars and stool pigeons. The case is going to be brought into court again by the Federal Department of Justice.

6. A notable leader of the United Nations Organization was Alger Hiss, a promising young man who had occupied responsible government positions. On the testimony of a confessed traitor Hiss was arrested and accused of betraying the secret data to the Soviet Union. He was tried and the jury disagreed. They were publicly assailed. He was arrested and tried again. This time he was convicted ~~xxx~~ by virulent public opinion and then by jury, and given a jail sentence. Prominent Americans attested their belief in his integrity. Although now eligible for parole he has been denied it on account of "public opinion."

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7. Frederick Field, descendant of two of America's outstanding families, himself one of America's experts on Asia, who strongly sympathized with the new Chinese Republic, was sent to jail because he refused to reveal the names of contributors to a bail fund which was used legally to keep accused persons out of jail until tried.

8. The Rosenbergs, hard-working young parents of small children, have been executed. They were not tried for treason but for conspiracy to give secrets to the Soviet Union ~~in time of peace~~. It was never proved that they either knew atomic secrets or revealed them. At the time of the alleged action we were at peace with the Soviet Union. Their accusers, who themselves confessed treason, furnished no proof against the Rosenbergs beyond unsupported assertion. One of them was never punished, the other given fifteen years, while the victims were sentenced to death. Up until the last minute of their lives they were promised commutation of sentence if they would "confess" and name their "co-conspirators". They steadfastly refused and denied their guilt.

9. When a group in Chicago planned a Memorial Meeting for Stalin a crowd entered the hall, beat the participants and while police looked on, burned Peace literature in the streets.

10. A wounded American prisoner in Korea wrote his mother in California of his good treatment and the desire for peace. Comrades signed this letter and his mother read it at a Peace Rally. She was subjected to a series of persecutions. When the soldier was released he was segregated and not allowed to communicate with his family.

The underlying cause of this sort of action, of which I have indicated only a few samples, is caused by the extraordinary propaganda which had led America to believe:

That universal selfishness brings total prosperity.

That without private profit Industry cannot carry on.

That poverty for most men is inevitable.

That most persons and especially colored peoples are incapable of civilization.

That the United States is in danger of violent overthrow by foreign attack.

That Socialism is a fool's dream and Communism a scoundrel's conspiracy.

* *

Intelligent America knows better than this but intelligent America is afraid of losing status and the chance to earn a living. The schools teach but a minimum of elementary economics and students are avoiding history and the social sciences and crowding into physics, chemistry and "business". No progressive thinker and few liberals can get books published or broadcast or can lecture on public platforms. Such persons cannot travel on American passports unless they swear not only that they are not and never have been Communists, that they do not and never have belonged to any of the "subversive" organizations", but they must also convince the Department of State that they will not while abroad support or encourage any policies of the "Communist Movement", anywhere.

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This is the situation in which we find ourselves. We have not yet been able to better it. We have tried to bring the matter to political decision in the last two presidential campaigns. Our first leader deserted the cause. The Progressive Party ticket in the second campaign was disfranchised in twenty-two states and in the rest it was refused public hearing to such extent that our candidate and platform were almost unknown. Since the campaign the Government has started a remorseless effort to imprison and impoverish our recent candidate, Vincent Hallinan, by seizing his property and accusing him of income tax fraud over a period of five years.

Organized religion in this nation, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish, is with a few exceptions determined on war with Communism especially in the Soviet Union and China. Thus the united voice of religion is against Peace; and liberal priests, ministers and rabbis are in danger of ouster. Recently a bishop of the largest Protestant union of Churches spent twelve hours before a Congressional committee protesting that the first duty of the church was to fight Communism. He finished by recommending for investigation the chairman of the one organization in his own church who had dared to defend me when my advocacy of Peace had brought indictment by the Federal courts as a "foreign agent."

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Our intellectual leadership in university, platform and literature is almost entirely submissive or silent save in lone cases like that of Albert Einstein. The recent pronouncement of the Association of University Professors for freedom of speech was a shameful apology for red-baiting.

The new administration, headed by a general, is dominated by business men interested in war and colonial expansion and rich by their profits. It began with a threat to attempt the dismemberment of the Soviet Union by bribery and suborning of treason. It threatened to annul the treaties and understandings which ended the Second World War; it is striving to arm Germany, Japan and Western Europe in firm pact to join the United States in military alliance against the Soviet Union; it denies recognition to China.

For a century and more the United States has had vigorous peace movements, religious and civil. Today there are corporations endowed with millions of dollars dedicated to forwarding peace among the nations. Yet the only active ones who today actually work for peace, even with the Soviet Union and China, are the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship and the American Peace Crusade. Both are threatened with listing as "subversive" by the Government. The Peace Information Center of 1950 was closed by government persecution as agent of a "foreign Principal". The Quakers still resist war but are very moderate and refuse all cooperation with other agencies. Thus the organized peace movement in this nation is almost literally scared to death. Yet it is not dead and it will never die.

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In this dark hour what can be done? Nothing but unswerving determination to persist in appeal to the intelligence and conscience of America. Emphasis on the great Truth that only by union of Communist social ideals and American mechanical skill can this world be saved. One day this fact must force itself on the United States. Until then, have pity on us, Mankind, and patience with us.

I speak as an American, and as an American who wishes for America fulfillment of its most glorious destiny. I wipe away all memory of ill to my people of the Negro race. I forget things hard to forget and remember

only how many peoples have found beneath the Stars and Stripes hope and Sanctuary. I stand myself too near Eternity not to cling to firm belief that one day the United States of America, struggling with her own soul today as once she strove to emancipate four million slaves, will again fight down suspicion and distrust, repudiate greed and devote her skill and wealth not to murder but to more abundant life for all men.

Once in the dawn of this century British and American capitalists sent out the steamship Titanic, as a mechanically perfect machine; so perfect that it defied God, ignored warning and arrogantly drove straight into the icy jaws of Death. Today, Americans dream that with the Atom bomb, with Japanese and German soldiers, the United States will rule the earth, with the aid of colonial peoples conquering each other for America. But we know in our hearts that this dream is mad. With the sympathy of the wiser world we will yet seek the light and find it, without violence and without war.

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Du Bois Defense de la Paix July 29, 1953

AMERICA AND PEACE

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Public opinion was skillfully aroused to suspect and hate the Soviet Union and to oppose her designs by a military preparedness surpassing anything the world ever knew. A false scare of imminent war nearly forced universal military service through Congress and did accomplish wide drafting of youth into the military forces. As opposition developed skillful efforts began to silence it. Confessed informers, liars and traitors were publicized and re-

warded, while advocates of peace and friendship were intimidated. Teachers and writers were dismissed; radicals, progressives and liberals jailed; a congressional inquisitions, unhampered by the usual legal limitations was installed, and the pulpit either silenced or taken into loud alliance. Never before in America has there been such suppression of freedom of thought and expression of opinion.

When you judge the United States today, bear this in mind. Not the America of intelligence and courage is forcing war on the world, but the America half-informed and deliberately misled which regards such a gathering as the World Peace Council as a conspiracy against civilization and seriously sees in socialism and communism plots to overthrow the American Way of Life. Thus an hysterical nation is blundering toward a resurgence of religious dogma and is turning a Prince of Peace into a God of War. What happens? It is hard to paint the present scene in America in conceivable tones. May I essay. I select from an endless list of specific cases ten which illustrate our spiritual Reign of Terror:

1. There is scarcely in the land a University or college from which there has not been dismissed either from long service or from the start of a promising career, one or more professors, accused of "sympathy" with "communism."

2. The Attorney-General of the United States has drawn up a long list of organizations, which, without hearing evidence or giving reasons, he declares are "subversive" because of some connection past or present with Communistic or Socialistic ideas. Alleged membership in any of these organizations can mean loss of job or benefits of public housing.

3. From the public schools of New York and a dozen other large cities, successful teachers of ten, twenty or more years have been summarily dismissed for belonging to some "subversive" organization or for refusing to say whether or not they ever belonged to the Communist Party.

4. The eleven official heads of the Communist Party are in jail not accused of illegal acts but because communist writers have at various times and places wrote of revolution and since this government is declared in present danger, these leaders are in jail for what they might sometime do. Fifty other Communist leaders are under sentence and temporarily free on bail.

5. The strong defense of labor unions which Franklin Roosevelt established has been sabotaged by new laws and administration. Aggressive labor unions have been outlawed and their leaders persecuted. On the Atlantic coast the handling of cargoes involve crimes of all sorts. On the Pacific coast stevedores are well organized and social benefits available. This was achieved by Harry Bridges ten years ago. Ever since, Bridges has been persecuted as a "Communist". Year after year this persecution has persisted with varying charges. The government has used as witnesses well-known liars and stool pigeons. The case is going to be brought into court again by the Federal Department of Justice.

6. A notable leader of the United Nations Organization was Alger Hiss, a promising young man who had occupied responsible government positions. On the testimony of a confessed traitor Hiss was arrested and accused of betraying the secret data to the Soviet Union. He was tried and the jury disagreed. They were publicly assailed. He was arrested and tried again. This time he was convicted by virulent public opinion and then by jury, and given a jail sentence. Prominent Americans attested their belief in his integrity. Although now eligible for parole he has been denied it on account of "public opinion."

7. Frederick Field, descendant of two of America's outstanding families, himself one of America's experts on Asia, who strongly sympathized with the new Chinese Republic, was sent to jail because he refused to reveal the names of contributors to a bail fund which was used legally to keep accused persons out of jail until tried.

8. The Rosenbergs, hard-working young parents of small children, have been executed. They were not tried for treason but for "conspiracy" to give atomic secrets to the Soviet Union. [redacted] It was never proved that they either knew atomic secrets or revealed them. At the time of the alleged action we were at peace with the Soviet Union. Their accusers, who themselves confessed treason, furnished no proof against the Rosenbergs beyond unsupported assertion. One of them was never punished, the other given fifteen years, while the victims were sentenced to death. Up until the last minute of their lives they were promised commutation of sentence if they would "confess" and name their "co-conspirators". They steadfastly refused and denied their guilt.

9. When a group in Chicago planned a Memorial Meeting for Stalin a crowd entered the hall, beat the participants and while police looked on, burned Peace literature in the streets.

10. A wounded American prisoner in Korea wrote his mother in California of his good treatment and the desire for peace. Comrades signed this letter and his mother read it at a Peace Rally. She was subjected to a series of persecutions. When the soldier was released he was segregated and not allowed to communicate with his family.

The underlying cause of this sort of action, of which I have indicated only a few samples, is caused by the extraordinary propaganda which had led America to believe:

That universal selfishness brings total prosperity.

That without private profit Industry cannot carry on.

That poverty for most men is inevitable.

That most persons and especially colored peoples are incapable of civilization.

That the United States is in danger of violent overthrow by foreign attack.

That Socialism is a fool's dream and Communism a scoundrel's conspiracy.

* *

Intelligent America knows better than this but intelligent America is afraid of losing status and the chance to earn a living. The schools teach but a minimum of elementary economics and students are avoiding history and the social sciences and crowding into physics, chemistry and "business". No progressive thinker and few liberals can get books published or broadcast or can lecture on public platforms. Such persons cannot travel abroad on American passports unless they swear not only that they are not and never have been Communists, that they do not belong and never have belonged to any of the "subversive" organizations", but they must also convince the Department of State that they will not while abroad support or encourage any policies of the "Communist Movement", anywhere.

This is the situation in which we find ourselves. We have not yet been able to better it. We have tried to bring the matter to political decision in the last two presidential campaigns. Our first leader deserted the cause. The Progressive Party ticket in the second campaign was disfranchised in twenty-two states and in the rest it was refused public hearing to such extent that our candidate and platform were almost unknown. Since the campaign the Government has started a remorseless effort to imprison and impoverish our recent candidate, Vincent Hallinan, by seizing his property and accusing him of income tax fraud over a period of five years.

Organized religion in this nation, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish, is with a few exceptions determined on war with Communism especially in the Soviet Union and China. Thus the united voice of religion is against Peace; and liberal priests, ministers and rabbis are in danger of ouster. Recently a bishop of the largest Protestant union of Churches spent twelve hours before a Congressional committee protesting that the first duty of the church was to fight Communism. He finished by recommending for investigation the chairman of the one organization in his own church who had dared to defend me when my advocacy of Peace had brought indictment by the Federal courts as a "foreign agent."

Our intellectual leadership in university, platform and literature is almost entirely submissive or silent save in lone cases like that of Albert Einstein. The recent pronouncement of the Association of University Professors for freedom of speech was a shameful apology for red-baiting.

45-11-119

The new administration, headed by a general, is dominated by business men interested in war and colonial expansion and rich by their profits. It began with a threat to attempt the dismemberment of the Soviet Union by bribery and subornation of treason. It threatened to annul the treaties and understandings which ended the Second World War; it is striving to arm Germany, Japan and Western Europe in firm pact to join the United States in military alliance against the Soviet Union; it denies recognition to China.

For a century and more the United States has had vigorous peace movements, religious and civil. Today there are scores of organizations, corporations endowed with millions of dollars dedicated to forwarding peace among the nations. Yet the only active ones who today actually work for peace, and peace with the Soviet Union and China, are the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship and the American Peace Crusade. Both are threatened with listing as "subversive" by the Government. The Peace Information Center of 1950 was closed by government persecution as agent of a "foreign Principal". The Quakers still resist war but are very moderate and refuse all cooperation with other agencies. Thus the organized peace movement in this nation is almost literally scared to death. Yet it is not dead and it will never die.

In this dark hour what can be done? Nothing but unswerving determination to persist in appeal to the intelligence and conscience of America. Emphasis on the great Truth that only by union of Communist social ideals and American mechanical skill can this world be saved. One day this fact must force itself on the United States. Until then, have pity on us, Mankind, and patience with us.

I speak as an American, and as an American who wishes for America fulfillment of its most glorious destiny. I wipe away all memory of ill to my people of the Negro race. I forget things hard to forget and remember

only how many peoples have found beneath the Stars and Stripes hope and sanctuary. I stand myself too near Eternity not to cling to firm belief that one day the United States of America, struggling with her own soul today as once she strove to emancipate four million slaves, will again fight down suspicion and distrust, repudiate greed and devote her skill and wealth not to murder but to more abundant life for all men.

Once in the dawn of this century British and American capitalists sent out the steamship Titanic, as a mechanically perfect machine; so perfect that it defied God, ignored warning and arrogantly drove straight into the icy jaws of Death. Today, Americans dream that with the Atom bomb, with Japanese and German soldiers, the United States will rule the earth, with the aid of colonial peoples conquering each other for America. But we know in our hearts that this dream is mad. With the sympathy of the wiser world we will yet seek the light and find it, without violence and without war.

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THE FREE WORLD FOR CORPORATIONS

Beginning January 20, 1953, the United States is going to be governed by corporations or at least by men who represent them and by whom they have been trained. These men believe in freedom for corporations — freedom to initiate industrial enterprises and to conduct them with a minimum of interference from government or trade unions. They especially want free initiative for new enterprise and new invention. The object of their work and plans is to make profit for the corporations. The things which these corporations make and the work they do, are secondary to the profit they make. They make steel, they build automobiles they bore for oil, they buy and sell goods; but in no case is what they do and make of the first importance. Of first importance is that the income from their effort shall be greater than the expense. They do not try to make the best steel or the most efficient cars or the most usable minerals or groceries, but only as good as will yield a profit. No profit no corporations.

36-10-144

The corporations which have now taken over the government of the United States are included among the Free Persons for whom the nation will strive. They are among the persons for whom the Peace Crusade will fight. Freedom to their minds is freedom for corporations to make profit.

There is however a catch in this argument which bothers some people and ought to bother all. And that is that corporations are not persons like other individuals. They are not free agents who think and feel. They are artificial persons whom we pretend are real and agree to treat as persons. Such artificial persons are created by governments; they are the creatures of the State. If now they essay to rule the State, will that make any difference? It might. First, are the aims of creator and created the same? The individual wants food, clothes and shelter; family and children; education, art and literature, leisure and dreams. Corporations want profit. They argue that through profit and only through profit individual will get all this, but here many individuals demur. They point out that corporations have no feelings, can only be punished by lowering their profit and conduct their business by monarchical or oligarchical methods. While the State conducts its business by democracy, or tries to. What happens now when the corporation runs the State, i.e. oligarchy controls democracy? Some say that what happens is War -- class, civil, and World; frustration and confusion; loss of freedom; but of whose freedom? ours or that of the Corporation? At any rate if the State creates the corporation and the corporation rules the State, certainly we can hardly expect the State to rule the Corporation. Q.E.D., certainly then, the people will not rule the United States in 1953. The Corporations will

But cry the Doubters, the Corporations will not actually rule, only their representatives who are ~~fooling and~~ good men. But

but whose traing and whose orders will these good men follow? Whose thought and ~~ideals training~~ have they adopted or rather have adopted them? Who pays them now and holds their future then chelsea future in their hands. Above all in whom do they really believe -- in the worker and voter, or in the (industrial) captain of industry and the imperial rule of world ~~encircling industry~~? What do they really think of America? Is it popular elections and ~~a~~ trade unions with strikes and bargaining or is it Big Business? ~~ruling the world~~. What they think they'll do.

embracing world-rule over slaves and "Niggers"

~~Which raises Negro to dea~~

decides on the role of Negroes and guides fate of nations

uncertain, largely ignorant

Beginning in January, 1953, the United States government is going to be run by Business. The Secretary of State will be a corporation lawyer, largely interested ~~and trained~~ in ~~formulating corporation industry on a~~ world wide scale; the defense program ~~which will conduct the equipment of the armed forces of the nation,~~ now expending three-fourths of our huge national income for war will be in the hands of General Motors, which includes some of our greatest ~~industrial~~ corporations. Our law enforcement agencies will be in the hands of the Chase National Bank and ~~affiliates~~ similar institutions & corporation lawyers. Agriculture will be guided by big farming agencies and the many interests of the Interior will be in the hands of general business and banking corporations.

This according to many ~~past~~ thinkers in the past will be an ideal set-up. I clearly remember when the nation sighed for business men in politics instead of professional politicians, ~~professional men~~ and theorists. This they said would make government simple direct and easily understood. It was keep it from straying into fields with which it should have nothing to do and where it too easily got muddled and went wrong

Government we said then was essentially simple:. Most matters of human interest could be attended to best by the individuals concerned: a man worked at whatever pleased him and earned the income his efforts deserved. He bought property and used it as he wished. He begot and raised children and educated them. All there was for government to do was to preserve order, prevent fraud ~~cheating~~ and take care of a few -- the fewer the better -- matters of convenience: making roads, carrying mail and teaching the children of the poor, so that they could read and write.

A large number of us attributed most our current ills to unwise attempta to exceed this necessary minimum of government functions. This was a clear political program easy to understand and teach ~~in elementary schools.~~

There was one catch. Human beings are interested in knowing something about the world - its past, it differences in space, its laws and forces; they want to rest and travel, listen to music and see pictures and statues; they want to indulge in romance and dreams, to play games and see plays & make all sorts of experiments Now if these and similar things are done -- and in some way, among all people and at all times and in all places they are and will be done, who will do them? Plainly because they cannot be left entirely to individuals, they involve action in groups, the ~~use~~ occupy of space and time, use of materials which are scarce and above the call for all money. Yet if men live and live in communities, towns, families, cities and nations, some how these needs of man must be attended to and they call for more than individual effort. ~~But~~ If we reduce government to its simples terms of of keeping the peace and stopping cheating and to the fewest and simplest cooperative efforts there is a vast field of civilized work which must be done like highways, bridges and flood control; universities and scientific research; administering ~~publicly owned~~ the common wealth of slaves & contracts & corporate directing cooperative industry and determining how the results shall be distributed. For these reasons governments today without exception are trying

to do far more than establish police and courts. They are planning TVA's, running universities and vast scientific experiment stations; they are establishing museums, organizing corporations, which are not individuals nor mortal; they build ships and railroads, airplanes; markets and stock exchanges ~~and markets~~ and control ~~over~~ wages, income and expenditures. In fact a modern government seeks to do all that men want done and do not or cannot do as individuals.

Presicely, says Mr. Eisenhower, is our mistake and we are going to put government back to its simple task and run it as a business. For Business, say the Philosophers whom we put in power last November, has but one object and that is ~~xx~~ to make money. Successful profit is sucessful busines. An author writes literature a musician composes music, a preacher talks about right and wrong; But a business man makes money. If he does not he is no business man. Now says our new president we'll run this government ~~like~~ as a business and get business men to do the job. We will take in enough money to pay our bills and no more . Our bills will be for ~~necessary~~ expense and that will not include music, art, higher education and science and it will have ~~nothing~~ to do with wages, income and ownership and use of natural resourses.

Very well. But the query remains: who in such case will attend to what government does not give ~~notice~~ and about which bankers, merchants, manufacturers know nothing and yet which mankind ~~demand~~ must be done?

Let the People do these things themselves. But who are the people? Is not the Government the People or could it not be if it were so minded? And if it could and would be, just how could Dulles serve the man who needs higher wages? And what would be the function of the Chase National Bank in stopping Crime or of Dewy, the Kingmaker in stopping World War.

CALIFORNIA, 1953

1953

CALIFORNIA, 1953

I have been in California again. The famous but capricious California weather has been perfect: 14 days of golden sunshine for my eight lectures on Africa and Peace while Shirley talked twelve times. We began in Los Angeles, February 15, Five hundred persons chiefly colored listened to me in the Elks Auditorium in the afternoon and at night a thousand crowded Fritschman's Uniterian church and a hundred or more overflowed. On Tuesday and Wednesday two receptions followed in private, one under the Arts, Sciences and Professions. On Friday came the unbelievable dinner -- 850 plates at $10, with 200 who could not get in

On the 21st to San Francisco and that night 750 persons in Ambassador Ballroom with many standing. On Monday an interview over Radio KPFA, a subscription cooperative with no advertising. Then a meeting at Taylor Magnolia Church, Oakland. It was crowded to the doors and many stood. Wednesday we spent with the Hallinans on their lovely estate and with their six lusty boys. At night I spoke at Berkeley for the Peace Seminar of the University of California The unitarian church just outside the campus was filled with students and teachers.

36-10-1

In all I addressed about three thousand persons, of whom perhaps a third were colored. I talked on revolt in Africa and outlined the ruthless capitalist exploitation; once I dwelt on West Africa and again on present prospects for peace. Once I gave a lesson in elementary economics and outlined socialism and warned Negroes of class struggle beginning within the Negro race in the United States. Almsot all I said was well-received, usually with deep sympathy I pulled no punches. I think the Peace sentimen on this coast is definitel rising and the witch hunting has reached its limit even in the schools. But it is not yet dead. Most men, black and white are still scared for their jobs and they have ample reason. The Government is persecuting the Hallinans for daring to run for Progressive policies. The Trade Unions are compelled to fight back bitterly. But California is still a land of ideas and courage.

Of course I played. I saw thebroad Pacific, the Castles of Hollywood; the Muir Woods and Mount Tamalpais. I crossed the Golden Gate on fairy bridges and dined on Fisherman's Wherf. It was all a hopeful interlude in a world that needs hope as seldom begore

TRADE UNIONS AND COLORED WORKERS

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TRADE UNIONS AND COLORED WORKERS

by W.E.B. Du Bois

In 1950 I spoke to the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers on "Trade Unions and Colonies." Since then so much has happened that I venture to write this article along the same general theme.

Until recently labor unions have felt no interest in colonial problems. The reasons are obvious. Colonial peoples are strangers to the average American or British worker. They are strange in appearance, in color and hair, stranger in culture, in clothes and homes, in language and religion, in folkways. They easily appear as curiosities and caricatures. This is the reason that when labor came into political control of Great Britain little change was reflected in the colonial policy of the Empire. It was still based on ignorance, poverty and disease for black and brown, out of which came luxury and power for the rich, and high wage for white labor.

Today when the British Labor Party is out of power its attitude toward the increasing urgency of colonial problems has been disappointing. It has made some protest against mass murder in Kenya by landless natives, and it has assented to independence in West Africa; but it has shown no enthusiasm in opposing the Rhodesia Federation, the overthrow of the constitution in British Guiana, and the removal from power of Kabaka in Uganda. It has taken no real stand against the situation in South Africa.

The organization, therefore, of the gold and diamond mines of South Africa became a world pattern. Black laborers were brought from all parts of Africa by force, fraud and promise. They were held in the mines, worked under force, whipped, and paid 25¢ a day. Their family life throughout South Africa and even Central Africa was broken up. All efforts to unionize these workers were opposed not simply by the mine owners but by the white workers, since the white workers received high wages and a privileged position because the wages of the

blacks were so low. Trade unions not only refused to admit Negroes, but agitated to keep Negro unions from being formed or legally recognized.

It is easy to see how this mass of more than eight million workers have been put in practical slavery to 1½ million white exploiters and paid wages varying from 10¢ to $1 a day. On the other hand, the white people of Africa are not the sole exploiters. In 1949 the Union of South Africa received 90 million dollars as a loan from the United States, and the Wall Street Journal predicts that in the next five years the United States will furnish a billion and a half dollars for South African mining and industry. The Morgan and Rockefeller interests have been investing in South Africa for a long time. The Ford interests began investing 25 years ago. General Motors has recently built a 20 million dollar plant there. General Lucius Clay, recently head of the "Freedom" movement in the United States, is director of the corporation which in three years made nine million dollars profits in the Union of South Africa. Firestone, Goodyear, General Electric, have all been increasing their investments since the end of the Second World War, until today most of the invested capital of South Africa comes from America.

The United States Consul General in the Union of South Africa said in August, 1930, "This country has a greater future than almost any young country in the world." The Vice-President of the General Steel Casting Corporation, one of the largest manufacturers of railway equipment in the United States, has visited South Africa three times in the last five years. He said in August, 1950, that he considered South Africa had unlimited potentiality for development. "I can see it going ahead with great speed, for it is so rich in so many kinds of raw materials. The South Africans are a great people."

In the United States the millions of yellow, brown and colored workers of colonial countries have had little effect on thought or policies. When the American trade unions withdrew from the World Federation, few of their members

know that one underlying reason was because the white British unions wanted to control and speak for the colored unions, while the Africans wanted independent voice and action. We joined Britain in rejecting this demand. However, in our own nation, an analagous demand that Negroes, living chiefly in the South, be either denied union membership or segregated began to disappear before Negro migration north and their entrance into industrial competition with white workers. Then came the discovery that Negroes were men as good or bad as other men and as worthy of union brotherhood.

Since then Negroes have joined unions in increased numbers. But the fact that the union movement has not become strong in the South and the consequential lower rate of wages there, have led many industries to take advantage of this and move out of the high wage districts of the North into the South. More favorable climate, laws made for the advantage of Big Business, large natural resources and huge subsidies from the federal government, have increased the problems of labor in the United States because the white Southern worker excludes the Negro worker in many of the most important industries.

White and black workers of the world are still separated and unacquainted, but not nearly so widely as 100 years ago. The first time I went to Europe travel took two weeks; the last time it took 18 hours. When I went to Africa in 1923 it required a month of travel. I could make the trip tomorrow in 24 hours. But if physical distance has thus lessened, industrial ties of work and wage, of trade and commerce have equally clamped the imperial powers and the colonial world together. This is true in food supply and clothing, but especially in metals. Metals are the basis of civilization. Primitive man used stone, wood and bone for tools and weapons, but started on the road to civilization when copper and iron, gold and silver, bronze and brass came into knowledge and use. Their discovery and use made history.

Today metals are indispensable for three uses: structure, as in the case

of iron; transmission of power as in the case of copper; and chemicals as in the case of petroleum oil. The increase in the use of these materials during this century has been amazing: Pig Iron has increased in use from a half million tons in 1900 to over 100 million tons today; copper from 18,000 tons to 2 million; This shows not only miraculous increase in the industrial use of metals from wells and mines, but the way in which a new world of industry and labor is threaded together. Of the bonds of industry you are more or less aware -- ten groups control the copper of the world; despite owning our own iron mines we imported three million tons in 1930 and much more in 1950. We import minerals of every kind which laborers of other nations and continents mine, dig and process. Those laborers are your colleagues and fellow workers. What you earn depends on what they earn. Their standards of living indirectly determine yours. The greatest reserves of copper in the world are in Africa; the iron around Lake Superior is 50% pure, but the iron which we are just beginning to import from Liberia is 70% pure and the ledge from which its fabulous supply comes is leased for 80 years to an American corporation. Negroes who mine this iron get less than a dollar a day and have no union.

Labor was once led to believe that the ignorance and inefficiency of colored labor was natural and incurable and that white labor had a right and duty to ride on their backs. Today this theory has been proven false. Degradation of black labor does not increase the wage or strengthen the position of white labor; on the contrary it is the cause of the inability of white labor permanently to better its condition and make labor as such respectable and decent, capable of high education, contributing to civilization, art and science. The plight of the workingman in China, Africa and the West Indies is your problem as well as his, your duty even more than his, for you stand on the ramparts of a new world of infinite possibilities while he climbs out of its staggering foundations which

have been erected on the corpses of his fathers.

This brings us face to face with a fundamental contradiction. The hard and dirty work of the world has got to be done. The better it is done, the more carefully and effectively, the better the world will be. Whatever work is necessary and beneficial should be performed because and only because the world needs it and the reward of the laborers should be what he needs in order to be a healthy, intelligent and well-rounded man, no more, no less. Unnecessary work should not be permitted, and reward beyond reasonable need as well as starvation wage should be illegal.

Men must come to realize that it is not the kind of work that a man does which should settle his social status, but the necessity of the work, the training for doing it well, and the reward which all honest, necessary work deserves.

When by invention and machine hard toil, lifting and digging, and repulsive conditions can be avoided, the results of such invention should go to all.

What then, the world wants and what gradually it is coming to realise as its ideal, is a distribution of the necessary work of the world among men carefully prepared in mind and body to do this work and to do this work for the benefit of a better and higher manhood and not simply as their sole means of survival. When this stage is reached there must be no social degradation or compulsory poverty, ignorance and disease attached to the performance of necessary work.

Higher training for the gifted; leisure for human beings, is possible now and where these are lacking something is wrong with our intelligence and organization. This ideal is abroad in the world, but it is being held back and kept down by the status of colonial peoples who have been, more than workers in civilized lands, oppressed and distorted by poverty, ignorance and disease. No fight for the eventual improvement in equality of the workers in the United States, France and Great Britain will be successful until they cease to be pulled down

and kept back by the conditions in Africa, Asia and the West Indies and by conditions in our own South.

If the ideal of the white American worker is to become rich and not have to work, or if he aims to be well-off and let the world's darkies do the drudgery at starvation wage while he does pleasant labor which yields hi leisure and a car, then he is in for disappointment. The yellow, brown and black laborer will share the advance of labor or by competition prevent it. And that advance is not toward idle wealth or superior lordship over serfs. No, it is sharing the world's work and drudgery as equals, with equal leisure and happiness in a world decent for all and not simply for a favored few.

AMERICAN NEGROES AND THE ELECTION OF 1954

1954
Draft and fragments

AMERICAN NEGROES AND THE ELECTIONS OF 1954

by W.E.B. Du Bois

One of the difficult questions of the new year is that of the political action of Negroes in the critical elections of this year. It will be pointed out, as so often in the past, that the Negro voter will hold the balance of power in the congressional elections of this fall as well as in the presidential election of 1956. This fact is significant, however, only if Negroes vote substantially as a unit.

41-3-89

Before the election of 1912 the Negro vote could be counted as almost solidly Republican. But this was of less importance than might seem, because most Negroes lived in the South where they were disfranchised. In the election of 1912, because Taft had surrendered largely to the lily-white South and Wilson had made gestures toward the Negro, their vote was split; most of it still went Republican, but a small proportion went Democratic.

Wilson's failure to live up to his promises of "ungrudging justice" to black folk, and the crazy effort of the Bourbon South to celebrate the return of the Democrats by making color caste national, threw the Negro vote back to the Republicans in the next four elections. In the election of 1928 the Negro was ignored and insulted to an unprecedented extent by both Hoover and Smith; but his vote had increased in power and effectiveness by the emigration which made his political power a reality in the North. Politicians in states like New York, Michigan and Illinois had to calculate with it.

Moreover, the economic aspect of the Negro problem, in contrast to merely the political, began to press for attention. In 1932, then, the Negro vote began to go Democratic, in a revolt which represented the revolt of Northern worker, black and white, against Hoover and the Republicans. The socialism of Roosevelt's "New Deal" was exactly what the Negro needed. He was struck

down by the depression of the thirties and suffered worse than any other class of Americans. Roosevelt's efforts did not give him complete justice but he did gain. His northern city poor were saved from actual starvation; his unemployed got some of the opportunities of the WPA, and a few got into the CCC. In the South the benefits to Agriculture went to the white landowners more largely than to the black tenants, and relief funds went overwhelmingly to whites. Negroes were almost excluded from the benefits of the TVA. But in the North where the Negro vote was still increasing in number and organization, the Negro benefitted much by the New Deal.

In the far-reaching and ambitious attempt to reorganize the whole stature of American industry by the National Industrial Recovery Administration, the Negro made effort and strong propaganda to get better wages, more and more varied employment and more consumer recognition. When mass organization of the working classes was made possible by the CIO Negroes began for the first time to pour into the union movement from which hitherto most of them had been excluded. A revolution of political allegiance followed when in the elections of 1944 and 1948 the Negro vote went almost solidly for the Democrats in the North, and even Negroes in the South, as the White Primary began to fall, showed signs of going Democratic. Republicans sneered that this was simply thanks for bread and butter which was quite true, but it illuminated for Negroes a new conception of politics; votes might be used not simply for appointments for a few leaders, not even simply for civil rights as a matter of change in laws, but for getting bread and butter, decent housing, and in general a higher standard of living necessary to any real citizenship.

This realization of the use of the ballot for economic uplift was blurred in the elections of 1948 and 1952, first by foreign war and then by the intense propaganda that prosperity lay in war with the Soviet Union

41-3-90

and in suppressing Communism. The mass of Negroes and their leaders paid but minor attention to the fight against Communism because they did not understand it. But back of the smoke and fury which these matters seemed to raise among white folk, shrewd black thinkers began to narrow and concentrate their drive for increased Negro civil rights and social recognition. Their success was great, and in the election of 1954 this bids fair to continue to be the strongest political line of the Negro voter.

41-3-92

What can the two parties offer the Negro for his support? The Republican party represents Big Business, not only in the North but expanding rapidly in the South. It needs the Negro vote now cast in the North and the increasing Negro vote which will soon be doubled in the South. If they offer to pay for this with overthrow of job discrimination and segregation they may lose the Southern white vote. The action of Eisenhower shows his frustration on this point: he gives off shore oil to Big Business in the South and appoints the most notorious Southern Negro hater in politics to the UN which faces increasing problems on the color line. ~~He as yet dares nothing to attract the Negro vote;~~ He has made no major Negro appointment and said no word about civil and economic rights except slow and vague changes in military racial practices. He has, however, let his Attorney General join in the attack on race segregation in schools. If the Supreme Court decrees this, it will cost the Republicans the Southern white vote and probably gain them the bulk of the black vote north and south.

The Democratic party which gained the Negro vote by the New Deal, retained it under Truman by his promises of a national FEPC policy and increased civil rights. But Truman did nothing to implement this promise, although Negro civil rights increased during his term. This was not, however, due to Democratic party policy. Today Stevenson has not by word nor deed made

a single gesture toward the Negro vote. His political thought, through his grandfather, is Southern; he touches the race question by waving the long discarded Red Shirt of Reconstruction, saying no single word on FEPC, disfranchisement or civil rights, and advocating war with the Soviets so far as his own lukewarm belief permits.

Meantime, half concealed by mists in the rear, lies uneasily that pertinent question: have American Negroes any interest in war with the Soviet Union or does the American Negro problem touch in any way the spread of socialism in the world or in the triumph of Communism? On this matter many ~~most~~ Negroes of education and knowledge of world affairs are discreetly dumb. Some ~~They~~ have suffered already from red-baiting and fear it. By joining the witch hunt many of them are making their present jobs secure and even gaining new and unexpected positions both in politics and industry. Recently the president of one of the largest Negro state colleges refused to let the students hold an NAACP meeting on his campus. When friends remonstrated he said with sly pomposity: "That is my stragedy!" My friend, who was present, agreed.

Most Negro newspapers do not discuss the most discussed question in the world today: Socialism; and join in wholesale and uncritical condemnation of Communism in the Soviet Union and China. A few Negro leaders follow the red-baiting American mob and shriek for war and the overthrow of Communism by force and violence.

Even these, however, have found it increasingly difficult to keep silent at the persecution of certain Negro leaders of proven integrity. Paul Robeson is one of the most gifted of Negroes, with a lovable and frank disposition known to all American Negroes. Negroes have found it pretty hard to condemn him for saying exactly what nine tenths of them believe, namely that American Negroes should never fight the one nation among civilized peoples which has made the color line illegal. Ben Davis is known as an honest,

41-3-93

sincere worker for the civil and economic rights of working people, black as well as white. In the fullness of his young manhood he languishes in a "Jim Crow" jail today, not because he has done nor is accused of doing any illegal act. He is disgraced and dishonored by a decision of the Supreme Court which will go down in history as one of the most unjust decisions on record. The Negroes of the United States almost to a man, and their newspapers, are sitting in shamed silence at his crucifixion. If the Democratic or Republican parties expect to win on this record of Negro persecution they stand on an insecure platform and they know it.

41-3-94

But all this hides and obscures the real problem which may not be discussed in the next campaign because money and fear can prevent discussion of this as well as of other pressing problems; and that is, what interest have American Negroes in Socialism and in one of the paths for complete socialism, Communism. Some Negroes, myself included, and most liberal whites used to assume that Negroes, from the lessons of slavery and caste, would as they progressed quite naturally range themselves with the liberal and even radical causes. We had to be reminded that American Negroes are human with all human foibles; that today with all their phenomenal progress they are still as a mass ignorant and poor, and peculiarly prone to be influenced by money, power and current public opinion. ~~The majority~~ Numbers of them today therefore are following the red-baiting and witch-hunting tactics of their white fellow citizens. There is, however, the saving remnant, and it will grow. These Negroes know and think and dare speak. They know that the hope of the world is Socialism, that steadily the whole civilized world is moving inexorably toward socialism, and that the recent uplift of American Negroes was implemented by the socialism of Harry Hopkins in Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal.

Public taxation to furnish capital for industry; public relief,

public taxation to give farmers sufficient income to raise the food we all need,' public control of great river systems for public good and not simply for private profit; organization of workers, consumers, competitors, managers, for public welfare and not for the increase in the number of millionaires, — all this is Socialism and this the New Deal tried to accomplish. Admit it did not wholly succeed; admit it made mistakes, especially in not attacking the political power of Big Business,' nevertheless what it did was a magnificent effort which America will not soon forget and whose reversal and end was the chief casualty of the Second World War.

How shall the world achieve the socialistic organization it must have for civilization to succeed and grow? There are as many recipes as minds. But one great modern nation essayed Communism, that is, compulsory socialism directed by a group of dictators (for the good of the working class). They were assailed by every type of misfortune and had first to drive from power what all scholars regard as one of the most selfish, ignorant and dissolute religious organizations of the modern world. They succeeded in building a Communist state. How successful this state is, there is wide disagreement. I regard it as the most hopeful nation on earth. Dominant American opinion today regards it as a criminal conspiracy which must be overthrown by world war.

41-3-95

What voters and particularly Negro voters should discuss in the coming campaign, should be Socialism and Chinese and Russian Communism,' and the future of these great movements especially as they touch the Negro in America, Africa and the islands of the sea. Such open and fair discussion will be prevented by force and fear. Every effort will be made to force the Negro voter to believe without inquiry that Communism is a crime; that Socialism is a fatal mistake, and that only war and unlimited preparation for world war can meet these evils. This, if successful, will cut the thought and action of most American Negroes off from the main current of progressive thought in

the world, particularly among workingmen and especially among colored workers. Today American Negroes know almost nothing of the revolution which is transforming 400,000,000 of the Chinese, the worst exploited laborers in the world, into free, happy workers. Instead of this American Negroes will only hear of the necessity of murdering Communists in China, Indo-China and Korea, and driving and keeping out of jobs any Americans who honestly believe that the truth about Socialism is not being told in the United States. If we are not careful, American Negroes will find themselves on the wrong side of the great world movements of human progress, and regarded with astonishment by the civilized world as people too stupid to know their own best interests.

41-3-97

They will gradually be cut off from cooperation with the progressive forces of the world, and their artistic gifts and labor force will be added to the reaction which is triumphing in the United States. This will be loss to the white world, but it will critically hinder the colored and black world. The nationalist movements in the African world today were sparked by the American-inspired Pan-African movement early in this century. Today in the Caribbean, in West and East Africa, in South and Central Africa, black men are staggering to their feet. Against them is arraigned not only the greed of Britain, France and the United States, but in the United States, American Negroes are using their power or their inactivity to help caste in South Africa, exploitation in West Africa, and disfranchisement in the West Indies, and Central and South America. Few American Negro newspapers have defended the government which tried to raise the disgracefully exploited sugar workers of Guiana; we sent a ~~disgraceful~~ miserable pittance to support the slaves of South Africa in their resistance to Malan; and let the African Council on African Affairs which sent that be labelled as "subversive". We are willing to remain ignorant on evils in Uganda, the Sudan, the Belgian Congo and colored Central and South America.

But the whole American Negro group will not follow this misled

Mass
~~majority~~. Let the modern "Uncle Toms" follow American Big Business to its inevitable disaster, a ~~minority~~ group of us will insist at any cost on the right to know, to have our children taught the truth, to have the right to advocate peace and friendship even with Communists; to advocate the advance of the socialist state until the rule of private profit yields to the demands of public welfare, and until the color line absolutely disappears along with the exploitation of the poor workers of the world.

41-3-98

Above all, the American Negro does not ~~realize~~ understand that the next center of colonial revolt and racial uplift is going to be in Africa. The extent of upheaval in Africa is not realized today in America, but in every part of the dark continent Negroes are protesting: first, against the stealing ~~and segregation~~ of their land upon which they depend for making a living. This is most serious in Kenya and in the Union of South Africa. Secondly a demand for political representation extending all the way from membership in legislative bodies to full autonomy. In the new political organization in South Central Africa the Negroes are not adequately represented. They have practically no real representation in the Union of South Africa and Southwest Africa. Their representation is limited and indirect in the Belgian Congo. They are fighting for larger representation throughout the French Sudan and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and they are fighting for independence and autonomy in West Africa. All of these movements are in the same direction and in some cases they have flared to murder and violence; in all cases they must be taken account of by those who look forward to a new world.

American Negroes especially should in the elections of 1954 keep clearly in mind the attitude of the United States toward the problems of Africa. Unless Negroes keep these facts in mind

~~Manuscript July 1, 1953.~~ Change title to the

41-3-91

Eisenhower has made a few Negro appointments but they are not important so far as policy making is concerned or so far as having anything to do with solving any important parts of the Negro problemx. His one major contribution to Negro rights has been to let his attorney-general join in the attack on race segregation in schools. An unanimous Supreme Court has abolished school segregation, but it is a question as to how far this can be put down as the work of either party. Most of the members of the Court at present are Democrats. ~~The appointment of Chief Justice by Eisenhower can be acclaimed as a credit to the party. But~~ on the whole this decision is a result of concerted and long continued effort on the part of American Negroes, and not of any party policy

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TO THE AMERICAN NEGRO, 1954

After a long career devoted principally to the emancipation of the American Negro from partial slavery to full and equal citizenship, I claim the right to advise my people in this day of crisis -- of crisis greater I fear than most of them imagine.

The greatest question of our day is Communism. The American Negro is asked today to choose between two pictures of Communism. The first declares that Communism is a crime promoted by conspirators who are enslaving peoples for selfish reasons. The attempts have failed yet the Soviet Union threatens to overthrow the world and the United States, especially by force and violence. That persons who believe in Communism or cooperate with Communists deserve severe punishment; and that this nation should prepare to contain if not exterminate Communism by the greatest possible preparation of military force; an effort so great as to threaten the nation with a major financial disaster.

The second thesis says that Communism is an attempt to eliminate poverty, ignorance and disease among the majority of peoples, through efforts to achieve socialism by Communist methods; that Socialism has long been regarded as the goal of modern civilization by many great social philosophers; that the present Communist attempts to achieve Socialism are succeeding and spreading widely and are the hope of future civilization.

Both these statements cannot possibly be true. It would therefore be the natural reaction of honest persons asked to choose between them, or to modify them into more acceptable statements, to begin careful study of these beliefs so as to guide their thought and action toward

Right and Truth.

But today so violent is the belief ~~in~~ of many Americans in the first thesis, that any real study of Socialism or Communism is forbidden, any belief in it even if honest is regarded as a crime, and the nation is asked to forbid contrary opinions, curtail the democratic process of government, and ~~later~~ even to go to war in order to support a belief which the majority of Negroes and probably most whites today do not understand. It is asserted that we are in present danger of communist revolution by force and violence.

I am not writing to ask any American Negro or anybody else to embrace Communism. That is a matter for his individual intelligence and conscience and his knowledge of Truth. But I am saying, and saying with warning and deep conviction, that no patriotic American and no loyal descendant of African slaves, can for a moment consent without bitter protest to deny to any free ~~American~~ citizen the right himself to search for the truth, to make up his mind in accord with the evidence, and then to act within the law as he thinks right. If he thinks it his duty to defy the law, he must be ready to suffer the consequences.

With that firm belief, I am convinced that every Negro should make an attempt to learn what socialism and communism are; what they are trying to accomplish and what success they are having. Personally I believe that today Communistic nations are leading the world in the fight against poverty, ignorance and disease and against that worst of diseases, race prejudice. My belief is based on personal investigation and study. I ask no man to share this belief unless he makes similar effort to know. If and when he does, I recognize his full right to disagree with me.

I believe that the present hysterical fear of Socialism and Communism is the false propaganda of the selfish rich. Let me remind my

readers that today, in this nation every effort is being made by those in authority to prevent truth from becoming known; by use of misleading news reports and wrong interpretation of news; by keeping honest study of socialism and communism out of schools and colleges; by scaring social leaders into silence; by open use ~~ex~~ in court of stool-pigeons~~x~~ hired spies and confessed liars; by censoring books and periodicals; radio and television; and by slanting and distorting every source of public information so that it is most difficult if not dangerous for honest and well-meaning people to really know what is truth and what they should think.

35-9-35

Today the leaders of our industry and makers of public opinion are helping every reactionary movement in the world from land monopoly in Guatemala to race discrimination in South Africa.

It will be no service to this nation if 15,000,000 of its citizens, by ignorance or silence, help such effort toward making sincere search for truth and honest belief impossible in this country. Negroes ought to know better than to be party to such policies. Never forget that in this nation and others whenever a difficult social problem is faced, which usually touches income and property, there will be concerted effort to stop knowledge of the facts and discussion of the situation by strong public opinion and even by law. This was the case in the slavery controversy in the United States from 1699 to 1863. The repression led to bloody Civil War. For 90 years after the Emancipation Proclamation repeated effort was made to stop discussion of the status of Negroes by public disapproval, vicious slander and law. There is only one way to meet such tactics and that is by re-assertion of the right of American citizens to know and to think.

If this nation has sense enough to learn anything from history it should be that no great social problem can be settled by making it dangerous or illegal for people to study it, discuss it and to come to believe about it whatever they think right. This battle for freedom of opinion we once thought had been won and won forever in this land. Today we are told and told by threat, insult and punishment that Communism is something we must not study, must not know about, must not discuss and about which we have no right to hold honest opinions.

Sons of Africa, it is up to you; out of the bitter experience of your own past, to tell this nation that this destruction of elementary human rights is not only unworthy of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, but even ~~[redacted]~~ contrary to ordinary common sense.

(Signed) W E B Du Bois

35-9-36

August, 1954

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35-8-167

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35-8-168

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(signed) W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

35-8-120

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF NEGROES TO AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

1955

early draft Feb 1955

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF NEGROES TO AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

When peoples live together for centuries and share building a nation, there are no mathematical ways to deter mine just what each has contributed to the results. We can only speculate and reason concerning the various ways in which each group has halppd.

In the case of the American Negro there are seven or eight contributions; whihh it can be argued they have contributed.to the building up of the United States. First, as explorers and companions of explorers; secondly and perhaps greatest the gift of labor and hard work; third as soldiers to defend the country; then as builders of democracy, primarily for themselves but eventually for all Americans. The establishment of the idea of freedom for all citizens of a country, a contribution to song, to literature and art, and to what for want of a better word wemay call a Spirit.

Copy Gift Forword, I,II Also III

The legend that Negroes were in America even before Columbus has a basis in fact. The Negro countenance, clear and unmistakable occurs repeatedly in Indian carvings and in Mexican temples. There are evidences of Indian customs and of African traders. There was a Negro colony in Mexico which may have been instrumental in establishing the city of Mexico and its influence pervaded neighboring tribes and perhaps reached Peru. There is historical record that Alonzo, the Negro, piloted one of the ships of Columbus, although there has been also desperate effort to show that in that case Negro was a description rather than evidence of race.

During the period of exploration from the beginning of the 15th century Negroes were frequent in America They had permission to enter in ~~12~~ 1502. In 1 503 the government of Haiti was trying to prohibit them because they fled to the Indians and made trouble. When the new Sugar culture began in Spain and the canary islands it was transferred to the West Indies and Negroes brought as labor-

ers. But again, they incited the Indians to rebellion and actual rebellion began on Diego Columbus' plantation. There wasx a Negro priest in Mexico in ??1940 and a brotherhood of Negroes and one of Indians. Pizzaro was dragged to the cathedral by Negroes. A Negro was with Balboa when he discovered the Pacific Ocean, and thirty Negroes helped to direct 500 Indians in transporting material across the mountains. Cortez had Negro companions from Cuba to Mexico. And as early as 1528 there were at least 10,000 Negroes in the New World. They accompanied DeSoto. They were in Chile,and trained Negro artisans helped found St. Augustine in Florida in 1565 and other American towns.

38-11-20

Perhaps the one explorer on which we should dwell is the story of Steven Dorantes who sailed from Spain in 1527. He became eventually a leader of the expedition that went to discover the 7 cities of Cibola and eventually discovered what is now New Mexico.

But the great work of Negroes in America was as laborers.

HISTORY OF THE COCOA PRODUCTION ON THE GOLD COAST, B.W.A.

c. 1955

HISTORY OF COCOA PRODUCTION ON THE GOLD COAST, B.W.A.

undated

Export of cocoa from the Gold Coast:

1891	80 lbs.	$20
1900	536 tons	$135,000 - 5.2 of total export
1950	267,401 tons	$162,000,000 - 70% of total export trade

In 1879 William Tetteh Quarshie introduced cocoa bean from the Spanish island of Fernando Po.

Gold Coast dollar earnings from cocoa alone amounted to more than the dollar earnings of New Zealand, Pakistan and Ceylon.

Three big companies operated in West Africa at the beginning of this century: The United Africa Company of London; Holt Company of Liverpool, Zochonis & Co. of Manchester. There are about a dozen smaller firms in Britain and firms controlled by Indians, Syrians and Lebanese in the retail trade on the Gold Coast.

32-13-1

The African petty bourgeoisie consists of middlemen traders, shopkeepers, often acting as families, a thousand women hucksters and market venders.

The United Africa Company is the greatest monopoly. It is the biggest united in the worldwide Unilever commercial empire, and originated on the Gold Coast in 1879, being a combination of British firms. It became in 1882 the National Africa Company and in 1886 the Royal Niger Company. By 1893 the Royal Niger Company had swallowed up most traders and forced African middlemen out of business by trade licenses and marketing regulations and control of the police. In 1900 the Royal Niger Company distributed 145% of its capital to shareholders and became The Niger Company.

The Lever combine in 1920 secured control of the Niger Company. In 1929 Lever Brothers acquired the Niger Company and other corporations and formed the United Africa Company. This company now owns the shares of 40 companies and controlling interest in 25 other concerns.

During the last war it secured predominant interest in other commercial enterprises worth controlling, and branched into public works. The United Africa Company then became ~~the~~ a subsidiary of Unilever and Lever Brothers, with capital resources of $280,000,000 and interest in 300 companies. It is still expanding.

By controlling imported manufactured goods and food stuffs big firms charged consumers maximum prices and on the other hand, paid producers of cocoa and palm products minimum prices for their crops.

During the depression of the 30's these companies formed a pool and fixed a uniform price to be paid producers. In 1937-8 the farmers declared a boycott. They refused to collect or sell the cocoa beans. They stopped buying European goods. Customs revenues fell, textiles designed for export from England dropped from 39 million square yards to 14 million square yards in six months. The British sent out a commission of inquiry. The commission condemned big business methods. The British government set up a West African Produce Control Board to buy all cocoa so as to eliminate the dealers and shoppers, but some like the United Africa Company acted as local buyers for the Board.

38-13-2

In 1947 the Gold Coast Marketing Board was established to take general charge of buying, grading and selling cocoa and to develop the cocoa industry. It had 12 members: 4 officials, 4 African farmers appointed by the government, 2 Africans nominated by the chiefs and 2 Europeans representing the Chamber of Commerce. The first Board made $40,000,000 profit during the war.

This Board was re-organised in 1951 with an official African majority. The profits had amounted to $159,000,000 by 1952, and arrangements were made to buy cocoa directly from the farmers.

Another Board has been established to deal with other crops like copra, palm kernels and coffee. A million pounds has been given toward the endowment of Gold Coast University College for cocoa research there and elsewhere.

Industrially the Gold Coast is backward. There are almost no secondary industries. They import matches, soap, cigarettes, leather, shoes, textiles, paints, bottles, sugar, corn meal, condensed milk, cement, gin, rum and chocolate.

The mining situation is worse than the cocoa. The Gold Coast has the second largest output of manganese in the world and has never contributed taxes to the country until a new proposal in 1955. The profits are fabulous. Gold, diamonds, and bauxite are mined.

38-13-3

THAT THIRD PARTY

1956 ?

THAT THIRD PARTY

By W.E.B. Du Bois

Friend wife regarded me disparagingly as she served the soup; it was split pea from a can, but reinforced and encouraged with home genius.

"So you're entering politics again."

I nodded dissent. The soup was very tasty.

"But you are advocating a third party."

"Yes."

"What chance has a third party?"

"Small, I fear."

"Then why on earth do you support it?"

"I must -- one never can tell when the change will come."

"Also, one never can tell when brambles will bear berries."

"Or shrimps whistle; but one can guess when third parties must come in order to avert disaster. I somehow sense the critical time. I cannot believe that the American people are stupid enough to bow much longer to the rule of the idiots now in Washington or to confine their choice in Albany to an heir of the Robber Barons or of the Rockefeller Oil Trust whose victims at Caracas yesterday spit in our faces.

"You can't imagine this? You who saw the communists jailed, the Rosenbergs crucified, Sobel persecuted, Saypool and Kaufman promoted, and you yourself handcuffed for talking peace."

With the roast which had delicious brown gravy I hastened to admit that I was naturally credulous. "I tried a third party and failed when Wallace lacked guts. I tried a second time when they put in prison Halinan, my candidate. I tried a third time and Marcantonio died deserted by his friends."

The Social Worker spoke up and said: "So, slapped down three times you hunt for another cheek?"

"I must. To live is to try. To try is often to fail. To fail is to try again. What else? That is life. A third party is due either by vote or by violence. I prefer a vote."

Here the lawyer after a second helping, butts in. As a rule I avoid lawyers; but this one helped keep me out of jail. I like him. He said:

"But the guys that you got about you -- can you trust them?"

"Why?"

"Because we agree."

"Entirely?"

"Oh, no -- naturally not - being human; but in essentials. You see, here we are seven - A Socialist, a Reformer, a Progressive, a Liberal, a Labor Leader, a Minister and a man who usually keeps still. We agree on seven points: -- no more war; cease preparation for war and atomic bomb testing; stop universal military service; justice to labor with fair taxation; abolish the racial color line; peaceful co-existence with socialist states; recognition of a citizen's right to vote for Communism."

"Is that all that these fellows believe in?"

"Oh, no -- each one believes in this and much more. For instance, the Socialist reverses Trotsky, hates Stalin and declares that the Soviet Union is not really a socialist state."

"And you agree with him?" "Oh, no, I say: "Trotsky and Stalin are dead, and will in all probability remain so. Call the USSR what you will, it has given the world the best educational system today in existence; it has established social medicine for two hundred million people; it has abolished unemployment; it has broken the grip on a nation of one of the worst systems of superstition and religious dogmatism the world has seen; it has planned industry successfully and advanced science miraculously. It

should be our aim to do as well as this and to do it if we can, in less time and at less cost. But at whatever time and cost, do it we must."

"Fine talk, but believe me, your socialist friends will spend more time bewailing the past than building the future. However, lets look at the Social Reformer."

"I know --- I've known him forty five years and forty six of these years he has spent climbing on and off the fence, trying to be liberal and conservative, Socialist and Capitalist, orthodox and radical. Almost all things to all men."

"Will he ever wholly support a great cause?"

"If enough others do; and enough others may."

Just then, the student arrived, in time for dessert and in time to throw in a word." "You have a Capitalist with you - surname "Progressive," - can he build Socialism?"

"He can certainly help and this one has helped. Indeed, Capitalism must help build the welfare state, even if it can never complete it, under privately owned capital. At any rate, I have more faith in the capitalist who works for public welfare than in the Socialist who practices private exploitation."

The lawyer returned to the fray. "And do you lean on Liberals?" he asked.

"As little as possible, yet we must lean somewhere. Liberals are avowed enemies of socialism, but firm friends of progress. They mean well and usually that is about all they mean. Nevertheless, the good intentions which pave Hell, are better than no pavements at all.

"And Labor?"

"Once the chief support and the hope of Socialism in America, until Big Business paid the unions to purge themselves of 'communism." Now labor unions with their leadership shorn largely of brins and character, with men like Harry Bridges and Ben Gold curcified, often become the people's bitterest enemy, guided by a Meany so aptly named, or a Reuther bound by webs of his own weaving."

"And the church?"

"Hopeless. A cardinal shrieks 'hate your enemies.' A bishop drives the Melishes from their fine social service and closes the church. A community church in New York becomes government informer to stop the courageous mouth of Fritchman in Los Angeles. Led by the President we all go to church and pray loudly while every profitable business helps raise millions to hire a handsome idiot stage religious revivals and talk harmless crap. Meanwhile, crime flourishes, stealing increases, murder spreads, families keep disintegrating,and children go to hell.

I managed to avoid the green salad, but the dessert was rhumbaba and it was delicious. Friedd wife was ominously silent, while I sipped and mused aboud, as the others politely pretended to listen.

"The free democracies of the West are disintegrating, Socialism increases, Communism spreads, France falls and we seem to follow. Out Senators are old and frightened, fat and ordered about by a pro-slavery south, owned by Texan oil millionaires and led by Eastland and Byrd. Our Congressmen are spry and active representatives of their own private business interests, while well-paid lobbies with the best brains in the land attend public business. We have lost our manners. Henry Cabot Lodge cannot even address the Soviet representative in the United Nations with ordinary courtesy. Big business is buying up our educational system and telling us what to teach..

The news agencies tell us what we may hear. The Department of Justice indicates what we may say. And the Department of State - where we may go. We just don't know how to use our freedom; so we gamble and take dope.

The teacher who is nice but timid and dares visit us but seldom, here laid down her spoon and sighed. She whispered:

"You are impossible."

"True," I beam. "And that is because I live in an Impossible World. Despite that, I refuse to commit suicide. I face Hoover and his secret police resurrected from the Medieval Inquisition. It blackmails Congress into giving endless money to snoop and hire liars at wages far higher than we pay teachers and artists and without Civil Service rules. The FBI gathers gossip, tittle-tattle guesses, and lies, in secret dossiers which scare the bravest. It can detect in hours treason against Big Business but is unable to discover the Ku-Klux-Klan in years. I face the Dulles brothers Spy Ring and Investment Trust backed by army, navy and airforce, with almost unlimited money and little accounting, supported by a monopolized press with scientific lying called advertising and legal stealing hailed as Free Enterprise.

"All this is frightening and I am far from serene, but somehow I cannot believe that the United States of America, once the greatest democracy on earty, will forever remain stupid enough to bow to this unreason."

I happened here to look across the table and saw stark Fear. It lay behind the eyes of the Man who was always Silent. I suddenly realized why he was silent: he was afraid, for his wife, his child, his job; for his own soul, now lost, which once dared poetry, satire and sketched cartoons; he was afraid for me. Yet he said no word and I made no reply. I continued to talk.

"The nation may awake this Fall. It may not. If not, we fail

and try again -- What?"

I'm not sure who spoke - it might have been me - or even Friend Wife:

"You are a definition of a Fool? Now, now, Good Folk, let's not get personal; this dinner was much too good."

Friend wife smiled and herded upstairs for coffee.

THE THEORY OF HUNGARY
or
THE SAGA OF HUNGARY

c. 1956

THE THEORY OF HUNGARY

By W. E. B. Du Bois

I have been in Hungary twice, in 1893 and 1936. From these brief glimpses, and from reading and listening, I have evolved a theory of Hungarian history. It is not completely accurate, for many data are missing, but I believe in the main it is true.

Once upon a time some fifteen centuries ago, there rushed out of the teeming East a hungry horde of Huns. Some drove west under Attila and sacked Rome. Other tribes called Magyars settled in the valley of the Danube. After 500 years one of their chiefs became a Roman Catholic and as Stephen became first king of Hungary.

Hungary became a feudal country with magnates and bishops holding vast tracts of land. Four-fifths of its inhabitants were serfs.

Over the West out of Constantinople swept a Renaissance of Learning; over Hungary dropped 150 years of that Turkish tyranny which the Eastern Roman Empire long resisted. A crusade against the Turks turned into a revolt against the Church; and Dozsa, a lesser noble, led the peasants in resistance. He was beaten and roasted on a red-hot throne and his peasant followers made to eat his flesh. As punishment, a new code said: "All peasants have lost their liberty.... They are placed under eternal servitude to their landlords." The Protestant Reformation which aroused West Europe passed most of Hungary by and in its stead came the reaction of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. There was now added to Slavic Hungary a new element, the Germans. The Hapsburgs came in 1526, and Hungary for two centuries was the seat of continuous battle between German and Slav, Turk and Emperor, magnate and noble, with serfs trodden underneath and almost forgotten.

As western Europe struggled to escape feudal serfdom, Hungary, tied by land entail and grants of estates and privileges, was keeping the noses of peasants in the rich mud of the great Hungarian plain.

For three centuries, revolt shook Hungary, but it differed from the type of

38-6-97

revolt in England and France. It was in essence the attempt of the middle class to wrest recognition from the magnates and to enjoy their privileges and their right to exploit the labor of the peasants. These lesser nobles, small landholders, professional men and employers called themselves the "Commons." They sat in the Hungarian House of Commons, but never regarded themselves as leaders of the peasants or laborers, but rather as rightful heirs of the Magnates. The Austrians spoke French and German; the lesser nobles spoke Latin while up to 1830, Hungarian was spoken only by peasants and not even taught in the schools.

The same pattern of strife kept recurring: a small but powerful group of magnates forming about five percent of the population and owning 85 percent of the land; a large group of lesser nobles, numbering a million and a half in the eighteenth century, posing as "the Commons. The lesser nobility formed in Hungary a much larger class than in neighboring states; Austria had one noble to every 300 inhabitants; Poland had one to every 68; but Hungary had one to every 20. These nobles sought the privileges of the magnates and exploited the mass of peasants and laborers, who were poverty-stricken, illiterate, and diseased.

38-6-98

The magnates struggled to keep from being overwhelmed by the mass of their slavic fellow subjects, and the Hapsburg monarchy helped them. The nobles fought the magnates and tried to form a slavic state separate from Austria; but usually they fought to take over the land and privileges of the magnates and seldom to enfranchise the peasants or to distribute monopolized land.

In fine during all these centuries of struggle, the mass of Hungarian peasants and workers had little leadership. At best the lesser nobles had used them to wrest privileges for themselves from the magnates; some without doubt pitied the peasants but few were their real leaders.

As late as 1896, after three centuries of strife, a peasant leader thus painted the plight of the Hungarian peasant:

"Come with me in the Spring and hoe for sixteen hours for twelve cents a day; eat dry bread and rotten bacon, sleep in a hole dug with his own hoe for six hours.

We work even longer in summer. On the putzsas four families, 20 to 25 people, live in one room. I have seen men collapsing on the street from starvation. Such things are not exactly calculated to make one enthusiastic about the Fatherland. Do our lords think we shall starve to death without a word?"

During the twentieth century peasants and workers writhed; 150,000 of them fled to America to become the worst exploited labor of the coal and iron mines. In 1905 and 1906, one hundred thousand serfs and laborers struck. The landlords invoked martial law, set soldiers to work on the farms, and tried to import Chinese coolies.

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A nephew of the Austrian Emperor killed in Yugoslavia, started the First World War. Two million Hungarians were mobilized and driven to the front by Austrian and German troops. The victorious Allies made their treaty of peace. Hungary lost 72 percent of her territory and 64 percent of her inhabitants.

With peace came revolution in Hungary. The whole organization of the country had collapsed and Count Karolyi, a great magnate, proclaimed a republic. Of Hungary's nine million population, half were peasants and three million of these landless. Predominantly agricultural, it was still semi-feudal. Landholding classes struggled to retain control. Karolyi said: "Only under the Russian shield can a Slavonic Europe feel safe." He wanted to reconstruct Hungary on a basis of ties to Slavs, replacing oligarchy with a federation of Slavic nationalities.

With the depression, came distress to Hungary. Millions in money were stolen; mayors of seventeen cities were convicted of theft. The Hungarian nobility joined Hitler, whom the Austrian monarchy had spawned and Hitler annexed Austria to Germany.

Meantime the revolution in Russia had established a socialist state despite the redoubled efforts of the Western world. This threat to capitalism called for renewed attempts to overthrow the Soviet Union. The consultations at Locarno in 1925, included plans for a mass attack on the Soviet Union. By 1928 this crystallized at a Paris meeting, where France, Germany, and Britain adopted a plan of attack, financed by the great Trusts. The financial collapse of the capitalist world in 1929, postponed

this and Japan started war in the East in 1931.

Disturbance spread over Europe as in Germany Hitler rose to power: Soviet pfficials were assassinated in foreign embassies; Trotsky in exile was in the pay of Hitler and began world-wide propaganda against the Soviet Union; the premier of Rumania was killed; the Croix de Feu began its Fascist activity in Paris; revolts inspired by Fascists broke out in Baltic and Balkan states and in the Ukraine; Nazi terrorists were active in Poland and Austria and in France the King of Yugoslavia and the French foreign minister were assassinated. Hitler became master of Germany in 1933 and marched straight to war. In 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia; in 1938, Hitler seized Austria; in 1939 he invaded Czechoslakia and Poland, and in 1940, Norway, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium. In 1940 Italy attacked France and Greece.

In a Europe seething with unrest, Karolyi began his reforms in Hungary by dividing his own huge estates. The magnates and nobles allowed Russian communism to take over the government so as to bring aid from the Allies. Karolyi resigned and the Hungarian Soviet Republic was born under Bela Kun and lasted four months. Hungarian nobles with Rumanian soldiers and western allied help drove out the Communist regime before it could start. Budapest was taken by the Rumanians and in 1920, Horthy, an admiral without a fleet, headed a kingless kingdom in Hungary from 1919 to 1944. He was backed by the Hungarian nobility, 980 of whom owned a third of Hungary. The White Terror began, Jews were tortured and killed.

38-6-100

United States citizens bought nine million dollars worth of Horthy securities and had loaned other millions to private industry. Our businessmen were interested in Hungarian government railways and banks. Seventy million dollars of Hungarian loans were subscribed to in the United States and by 1935, some fifty-three million of these loans were in default. Count Karolyi said that if American bankers ceased to loan money to the Horthy regime, it would fall. Other countries were involved: Shell Oil of Britain and thread and jute interests, and Swiss, Dutch, and Swedish interests.

Meantime the great magnates and the Catholic hierarchy proposed to settle matters

in Hungary by restoring the Hapsburgs and founding a powerful central federation of Catholic states. The young pretender Otto became of age in 1933. He was supported by the Pope and Mussolini and affianced to a daughter of the King of Italy. He visited the United States as a guest of Cardinal Spellman and met the President and J. Pierpont Morgan. Cardinal Mindszenty of Hungary was the official agent of this great change but the rise of Hitler halted his plans. When Hitler attacked Russia, Hungarian lords predicted that Russia would be conquered in six weeks. War was declared against Russia, the Allies, and the United States. Land and factory workers were shipped East to fight for Hitler and Horthy.

When, however, in 1943 Stalingrad was liberated and the Russian armies began to advance West, Horthy fled. Soviet troops occupied Hungary and a provisional national government was set up in 1946, representing all parties including the Communist.

38-6-1000

The new Socialist Hungarian government started on land reform. Since 12,000 landholders owned more than half the land, the government proposed that one-third of the agricultural land be given to 642,999 peasants, most of them landless or with plots too small for profitable cultivation.

Hungarian socialism started under severe handicaps: it lacked trained and experienced leadership; many of its leaders were still misled by the age-old desire to supplant the magnates and with no vision of the rise of the peasants and laborers; some wanted to exploit labor in the name of socialism; the Jewish element was suppressed and Austria, the West, and the Catholic church were warning against the Soviet Union and its designs.

Hungary became a socialist nation. The Land Reform Act of 1945 was "by far the greatest and most dramatic change in East Europe at the time." It involved 8 million acres or 35 percent of Hungary. Of this 60 percent went to peasants; 26 percent became state forest preserves; 11,000 acres were given to hospitals, rest homes,

and schools. In all 3,500,000 people were given land. In 1946, the largest industries and the large banks were placed under state control. There was much opposition but the Communist Party gradually gained and now turned to socialism in Education, small businesses and agriculture. Against the bitter opposition of the Church, the state took over the schools in 1948, with compensation for property losses to the Church. A three-year plan to balance industry was adopted in 1947. This plan raised the Hungarian standard of living higher than ever before in history; industrial production in 1950 as compared with 1938 was doubled. Agricultural production recovered from the post-war depression.

The opposition to this advance of socialism increased within and outside Hungary. The United States determined on the "containment" of further socialist development. The Marshall plan of 1947 combined subsidy for capitalists and boycott of socialist nations. The North Atlantic military pact was formed in 1949, and in 1946, Truman started his great spy system, the Central Intelligence Agency, with "unlimited authorith to spend virtually unlimited amounts of money for wholly unlimited purposes." It spent over a billion dollars a year and hired a hundred thousand people.

38-6-101

Meantime the United States gave the Hungarian magnates, the lesser nobles and the Catholic Church every reason to expect its active interference to change their government by arms and soldiers. Eisenhower and Dulles had promised active "liberation" in their campaign speeches. Leaders of rich corporations who had investments in Hungary and had lost them started a wide campaign of propaganda on Hungarian soil, and boasted of results. A well-known German spy organization placed its facilities at the disposal of the United States. In 1951 Congress appropriated $100,000,000 for the "liberation of the eastern nations of Europe" -- an act which the Soviet Union called "without precedent in the relations among states" and a "crass intervention of the United States in the internal affairs of other countries."

In the United States a "Crusade for Freedom" was started and received from

public gifts at least $60 million. Standard Oil, Ford Motors, and United States Steel were among the contributors. Other organizations were formed and in conjunction with the Government, they dropped, 1954 to 1956, on eastern Europe from West Germany, 500 million leaflets, four and a half million balloons, and in addition twelve million newspapers a month. They maintained fourteen newspaper bureaus from Stockholm to Athens and twenty-nine radio stations. An organ of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce says:

"No government official will admit it, but we are training men to be spies, saboteurs, specialists in the tougher forms of psychological warfare...they learn to blow up bridges, railroad trains and war plants, are taught to use all types of weapons, both U. S. and foreign... They learn secret methods of communication so they can get back what they learn. They merge into hostile populations and spread disquieting rumors, help to frame Russian stooges so that their own superiors will lose confidence in them."

38-6-102

The opposition of the Catholic hierarchy was bitter. In October, Cardinal Mindszenty refused to recognize the republic. He resisted land reform and state education. He declared that Darwin ought to have been burned at the stake.

The advance toward socialism in Hungary continued. The death rate was cut in half. A five-year plan of economic development was adopted. Illiteracy was drastically reduced. There were 60 percent of the children in school in 1938; in 1955 nearly 100 percent were in school a minimum of eight years. The 26,000 teachers rose to 40,000. Capital invested in housing, schools, health and welfare increased from 1165 million florints in 1950 to 2597 in 1952. At the same time the increased arming of the West, the devastation of Greece, the Korean War and the hundreds of American military bases induced Hungary to raise her military expenditure from 4 percent of her income in 1947-48 to 36 percent in 1952. From mass unemployment in 1930, the production of goods had doubled by 1955.

This rapid social change brought dissatisfaction, exacerbated by foreign propaganda. The peasants resisted as peasants did in France and Russia, being fundamentally capitalists and not socialists. The workers, tired of sacrificing to large

38-6-103

industry, demanded more housing and consumer's goods. The ruling Party leaders were not as good or experienced as those in the Soviet Union and tried force rather than persuasion; they suffered in public esteem because many were Jews. Yet they yielded to rising public opposition and readjustment began. Rakosi, builder of Hungarian socialism, who had been jailed and tortured, and was now old and ill, resigned and admitted his mistakes. Reform was so evident that the Western world was pushed to renewed effort to overthrow socialism in Hungary. Not only from without came pressure, but within appeared efforts to displace socialism by separatism. Writers and students made demands; none of these repudiated the fundamental socialism. But here the outside influences got to work. On October 23, came the clash. A socialist meeting of 200,000 insisted on a "socialist democracy" and not a "bourgeois democracy." Now, later at night, came evidence of disciplined disorder, anti-semitism, and force. Armed groups suddenly appeared and seized public places. The armed uprising was at hand and in vain the Party leaders and even the church appealed for peace and reason.

What happened in Hungary in October, 1956? Some Hungarians say: "The Horthy and gendarme officers who had long bided their time on our western frontiers had become very active.... gangs of criminals, released from jail,.... helped the counter-revolutionaries in their intentions... well organized armed bands brutally murdered hundreds of Communists, ordinary workers, peasants, intellectuals and progressives who fell into their hands." The leaders called in Soviet troops to save Socialism. War and offers to surrender socialism appeared. The West went mad, They demanded all. The United States and the Soviet Union took stands. Eisenhower gave Hungarian revolt $20 million while the Soviet Union offered to withdraw troops from Budapest on condition that external forces do not interfere in Hungary. But Nagy, the socialist leader, surrendered. He gave up the demand for socialism. He released Mindszenty and the Cardinal immediately asserted his headship of Hungary. White Terror burst again in Budapest. The Catholics demanded the abolition of land reform

and state education. Mindszenty demanded restoration of private property and repelled the socialist party leaders who were surrendering almost all.

The Soviet Union faced a perfect dilemma: if it kept hands off, the great magnates, the small landholders, professional men and employers; the investors using American funds and a large number of white-collar workers and Jew-baiters armed by American money and backed by the Catholic Church, would easily have overthrown the Hungarian government then in power. That government, as inefficient and inexperienced as it may have been, without a shadow of doubt represented the overwhelming mass of the Hungarian masses, long voiceless, ignorant, poverty stricken, and diseased. If before such an onslaught Hungary fell to Fascism, then all that terrific effort which had just overthrown Hitler would have been in vain; all of that struggle for socialism which lasted from 1917 to 1945, against the most powerful nations of the world, would have gone down the drain. The Third World War would have begun. It was the Crisis of the Twentieth Century. To the glory of the future of mankind, the Soviet Union rose to the occasion and won for Hungary, freedom to build socialism in its own time and in its own way.

Who was it that fled from "oppression"? First was a magnate who owned a hundred thousand acres. Second was Mindszenty who issued proclamations from the American embassy. Of the near 200,000 refugees who poured into Austria, a high authority told an American official that 70,000 were "criminals and adventurers" and less than 35,000 "freedom fighters."

The "freedom" they wanted was, as their pictures clearly indicated, freedom for exploitation of the mass of peasants and workers; freedom to spend money and enjoy life and freedom from any compulsion to sacrifice for the good of mankind.

38-6-164

THE SAGA OF HUNGARY

By W. E. B. Du Bois

I have been in Hungary twice, in 1893 and 1936. From these brief glimpses, and from reading and listening, I have evolved a theory of Hungarian history. It is ~~probably~~ not completely accurate, but I believe in the main it is true. This is my story.

Once upon a time some fifteen centuries ago, there rushed out of the teeming East a hungry horde of Huns. Some drove west under Attila and sacked Rome. Other tribes called Magyars settled in the valley of the Danube. After 500 years one of their chiefs became a Roman Catholic and as Stephen was called king of Hungary.

Hungary became a feudal country with magnates and bishops holding vast tracts of land. Of its five million inhabitants four million were serfs.

Over the West swept a Renaissance of Learning; over Hungary dropped 150 years of Turkish tyranny. A crusade against the Turks became a revolt against the Church; the Inquisition was introduced and Dozsa, a noble, led the peasants in revolt. He was beaten and 20,000 were killed. Dozsa was roasted on a red-hot throne and his soldiers made to eat his flesh. A new code said: "All peasants have lost their liberty by which they may move wherever they want to. They are placed under eternal servitude to their landlords." The Protestant Reformation which aroused most of Europe passed most of Hungary by and in its stead came the reaction of Catholic counter-revolution.

The Hapsburgs came in 1526, and Hungary for two centuries was the seat of continuous battle between Turk and Emperor, magnate and noble, with serfs trodden underneath.

As western Europe began to escape feudal serfdom, Hungary, by land entail and grants of estates and privileges was keeping the noses of peasants in the rich mud

of the great Hungarian plain. In the miserable villages built on nobles' soil, the idlers loafed and got drunk. European peasants were bad off, but Hungarian peasants were miserable.

Hungary found Germany a counter-weight to the masses of her Slavonic subjects. Without help of the Germans, the Hungarian lords could not have maintained their feudal rule.

Hungary therefore fought on two fronts, against the Turks and the Hapsburgs, but victories over the Hapsburgs were victories for Hungarian feudalism, not for peasants. They took place three times, and on each occasion the big landlords gained some special privileges in exchange for concessions to the throne.

In ~~1787~~ 1687, the Hungarian Crown was made hereditary in the male line of the Hapsburgs and the privileges of fidei commissa was granted the Magyar peers, which gave a landholder power over the distribution of his estate even after his death.

In 1723 the Hapsburg succession was extended to the female line and the right of entail extended.

Without help of the Austrians, the Hungarian lords could not have maintained their feudal rule. Hungary thus found Germans a counter-weight to the masses of her Slavonic subjects.

In the seventeenth century came the revolt under the Rakoczys which lasted from 1600 to 1711, ranged Hungary against the Hapsburgs and led to separation. But Austria triumphed in 1711 and the last Rakoczy fled to Turkey and died.

During the eighteenth century great lords formed 5 percent of the population and owned 85 percent of land. Ninety-nine percent of Hungarian people owned two percent of Hungary. The privileged castes increased. In Austria there was one noble to every 300 people; in Poland one to every 68; but in Hungary one to every 20.

Magnates and nobles were not taxed, and the lords had a monopoly of industry. Sheep began to replace men.

The French Revolution hastened Hungarian nationalism as did the reforms of Maria Theresa and her son. The Hungarian nobles, however, halted many of these reforms,

41-2-106

and the Hapsburg power increased after the Napoleonic wars.

In 1848, liberalism and Marxism swept over Europe, but the class struggle materialized only partially in Hungary. Moderate nobles under Szechenyi aimed at development along western lines. Radical nobles under Louis Kossuth sought independence from the Hapsburgs.

Szechenyi said: "Nine million serfs and soldiers bear all our burdens." Both he and Kossuth were called "reds" and their books burned.

The nobles yielded and the Hapsburgs assented. An independent government was formed including Kossuth. All the ministers were nobles and it had no army. The Hapsburgs used the nobles against the serfs and the nationalities against each other. Emperor Ferdinand abdicated and Francis Joseph succeeded. He called in the Czar and the serfs died by hundreds of thousands; thirteen generals were executed, ten thousand soldiers hanged. Russian and Austrian armies ravaged Hungary. ~~Kossuth went to England and America for help.~~

In 1859 a poet led the fight for a federation of Serbs, Rumanians, Hungarians, and Slovaks. The magnates stole the revolution with a cry for "liberty" for the nobles, while Emperor and Czar crushed the peasants. The emperor's brother tried to set up a kingdom in Mexico during our Civil War, but Juarez and Lincoln balked the plan.

In 1896, a land worker accused of stirring up revolt said: "Come with me in the Spring and hoe for sixteen hours for twelve cents a day; eat dry bread and rotten bacon, sleep in a hole dug with his own hoe for six hours. We work even longer in summer. On the putzsas four families, 20 to 25 people living in one room. I have seen men collapsing on the street from starvation. Such things are not exactly calculated to make one enthusiastic about the Fatherland. Do our lords think we shall starve to death without a word?" ~~Six out of ten babies died before the first year.~~

The Dual Monarchy of Austria and Hungary in 1867 after the victory of Prussia

(see 3A)

was an alliance between Germans and Hungarian nobility which ranged Hungary against the Allies in the First and Second World Wars. During the twentieth century peasants and workers writhed; 150,000 of them fled to America to become the worst exploited labor of the coal and iron mines. In 1905 and 1906, one hundred thousand serfs and laborers struck in Hungary. The landlords invoked martial law, set soldiers to work on the farms and tried to import Chinese coolies.

A nephew of the Austrian Emperor was killed in Yugoslavia and this started the First World War. Two million Hungarians were mobilized and driven to the front by Austrian and German troops.

41-2-168

With peace came revolution in Hungary. The whole organization of the country had collapsed and Count Karolyi proclaimed a republic. Of Hungary's nine million population, half were peasants and three million of these landless. Predominantly agricultural, it was still semi-feudal. Landholding classes struggled to retain control. Karolyi said: "Only under the Russian shield can a Slavonic Europe feel safe." He wanted to reconstruct Hungary on a basis of ties to Slavs, replacing oligarchy with a federation of Slavic nationalities.

(see p. 4)

Karolyi began with land reform and divided his own huge estates. The nobles, incensed, denounced Karolyi and conspired to allow the Communists to take charge of the government in order to secure the sympathy of the Allies.

~~In March~~, Karolyi resigned and the Hungarian Soviet Republic was born under Bela Kun and lasted four months. Hungarian nobles with Rumanian soldiers and western allied help drove out the Communist regime before it could start. The foreign invaders damaged property and removed tools. Budapest was taken by the Rumanians and ~~in 1920~~, Horthy, an admiral without a fleet, headed a kingless kingdom in Hungary from 1919 to 1944. He was backed by the Hungarian nobility, 980 of whom owned a third of Hungary. The White Terror began, Jews were tortured and killed. The Hapsburgs twice tried to return but Horthy stopped them.

Meanwhile on June 20, the victorious Allies made their treaty of peace. Hungary lost 72 percent of her territory and 64 percent of her inhabitants.

In September, 1921, Hungary was admitted to the League of Nations.

With the depression, came distress to Hungary. Millions in money were stolen; mayors of seventeen cities were convicted of theft. The Hungarian nobility joined Hitler, whom the Austrian monarchy had spawned and Hitler annexed Austria to Germany. Attempts were made to form a Federation of Catholic states under the Hapsburgs.

Meantime, a conspiracy to restore the Hapsburgs was started. The heir Otto became of age in 1930 and was proclaimed legal pretender to the throne of Austria, Hungary and other places. He was supported by Mussolini and the Pope and was affianced to a daughter of the King of Italy.

In Hungary the Horthy prime ministers doubled the military police, destroyed newspaper plants, and burned books.

The landed aristocracy, consisting largely of second and third generation Austrians, thought Hungary should provide them with bread and butter. Systematic anti-Semitism was organized, and the "Numerus Clausus" kept Jews out of universities.

In Hungary, 2,242 persons owned more land than the other four million. The Horthy regime opposed land reform, and the Social-Democratic Party was not allowed

any activities among the four million landless farm laborers.

Hereditary xxx and class distinctions persisted. Great landholders paid less tax than the small landholders per acre, and the workers in factory and on the land paid proportionately 22 percent more tax than the rich. Only 25 percent of the rural population had a right to vote. Those voting against the government were liable to punishment.

Always in Hungarian history this division into three classes instead of two must be kept in mind: the Hungarian parliament had houses of nobles and commons; but the Nobles were great magnates and the commons were lesser nobles. The mass of laborers and serfs were not represented~~xxxxxxxx~~. Until 1830 the aristocracy spoke Latin, following the Church. Only the peasants spoke Hungarian and Hungarian was not taught in the schools.

Horthy consorted with the Axis. Hungary joined the anti-Comintern and resigned from the League of Nations. Jews were eliminated from political and economic life. Hungarian troops followed the Germans in invading Yugoslavia.

Then Hitler attacked Russia. Hungarian lords predicted that Russia would be conquered in six weeks. They talked about Bolshevik bestiality and the "Christian" crusade of Hitler. War was declared against Russia, the Allies, and the United States. Land and factory workers were shipped East to fight for Hitler and Horthy.

When, however, in 1943, the Russian armies began to advance West, Horthy fled. Soviet troops occupied Hungary and a provisional national government was set up in 1946, representing all parties including Communist.

In 1946, the new Hungarian government started on land reform. Since 12,000 landholders owned more than half the land, the government proposed that one-third of the agricultural land be given to 642,000 peasants, most of them landless or owners of tiny plots. This land reform would have stripped the Catholic Church of much of its property, ~~xxxxxxx~~ as it owned 1,128,000 acres of the best land and was the largest landholder in the country. The Church fought this distribution of land with all its power and fought for compulsory Catholic education. Catholic

judges refused to implement the law.

When Hitler fell, the United States agreed with the Vatican ~~primacy~~ policy of prompt restoration of the Hapsburg monarchy in a joint Vatican-American fight against Soviet Russia. Conditions were favorable in Hungary, where a Catholic Cardinal Primate was ~~ex~~ legally vested with feudal privileges, and appointed directly by the Pope. Because of his power to crown the Hungarian kings, he stood second only to the king himself.

Joseph Pehm, known as Joseph Mindszenty, had joined the Hapsburg movement ~~and in 1924,~~ was made Cardinal. He refused to recognise the Hungarian republic, and made contacts with Hungarian Royalists abroad, working through the American legation at Budapest. He informed American intelligence of his plans, claiming his right to become head of the Hungarian state, from which position he could restore the Hapsburgs. Otto had visited the United States before the Second World War. He was received by President Roosevelt, visited Cardinal Spellman, and talked with J. Pierpont Morgan.

41-2-111

After the World War, Mindszenty wrote to President Truman asking for military intervention to put an end to the Hungarian republic. He then came to the United States as guest of Cardinal Spellman. ~~He made acquaintance with oldy monarchists like Tibor Eckhardt.~~ He met the ex-Empress Zita ~~in Ottowa~~ and Otto ~~in Chicago~~. He brought back a list of ministers for the restored Hapsburg monarchy.

Otto, Zita, Spellman and Mindszenty worked out detailed plans on the assumption that the United States would intervene at the right moment. Mindszenty authorized Otto to represent Catholic Hungary in America despite the fact that there was a Hungarian minister in Washington. Mindszenty worked with Prince Paul of Esterhazy, one of the richest men in Hungary, representing the monarchists. The American Department of State co-operated.

For a long time, the Hungarian government avoided arresting Mr Mindszenty, but it acted in November, 1948. The Cardinal was charged with treasonable conspiracy, and sentenced to life imprisonment. Arch-bishop Grosz replaced Mindszenty and was arrested in 1951 and sent to jail for fifteen years.

In 1951 Congress amended the Mutual Security Act so as to use $100,000,000 "for any persons residing in or escaping from Hungary" or other Communist countries, in order to form them into military forces "to move in the direction of the eventual liberation of the eastern nations of Europe." The Soviet Union called this act "without precedent in the relations among states" and a "crass intervention of the United States in the internal affairs of other countries."

Senator Mansfield says that in addition to this the Central Intelligence Agency of the federal government was spending over $500,000,000 a year and employing eight to thirty thousand people. Time reports that the CIA is "engaged in a wide range of covert activities, espionage, aid to resistance movements and perhaps sabotage."

41-2-112

In the campaign of 1956, Dulles promised that if the Republicans won they would stir up resistance movements behind the Iron Curtain. Eisenhower emphasized to the American Legion in New York.

What happened in Hungary in October, 1957? Hungarians say: "The Horthy and gendarme officers who had long bided their time on our western frontiers had become very active...gangs of criminals, released from jail...helped the counter-revolutionarie in their intentions...well organized armed bands brutally murdered hundreds of Communists, ordinary workers, peasants, intellectuals and progressives who fell into their hands."

There was revolt in Hungary as there had been for a thousand years but it was not the simple revolt of oppressed against oppressor. In the Fall of 1956 Fascists fought against Communists, Jews fought against Fascists; magnates fought against nobles; nobles divided between leading serfs and laborers and joining magnates; the Catholic Church fought for magnates against peasants. It was a phantasmagoria of confusion.

The defeated fled across the border: among the first was a magnate who owned 100,000 acres of land; Mindszenty took refuge with the United States. Into Austria poured 170,000 refugees, among whom were 35,000 "criminals and adventurers" as the President of the Save the Children Federation testified. Less than 35,000 were

real "freedom fighters" and the freedom they sought was freedom from hunger and disease.

What was the duty of the Soviet Union? It hesitated. At long last this first ~~Communist~~ Socialist state had reached a phase where, secure from attack from abroad, it was able to support in comfort, although not in luxury, its growing population, with its children in school and its youth in college or learning a trade. Now at last the sterner discipline of its dictatorship could be loosened and that freedom of thought and taste which foreign aggression had held back for fifty years, could give place to new criticism and experiment. At this moment reaction led by the United States burst in Hungary.

41-2-113

As Shepilov said: "The victory of reaction in Hungary would have created a fascist state in the center of Europe which would have become a springboard for the international reactionary forces ~~and to take revenge on a European scale.~~"

Thereupon the Soviet Union in defense of socialism in Europe and Asia put down the Hungarian revolt and again the Hungarians reel forward. They have never had such trained, devoted, and self-sacrificing leadership as served the Soviet Union. They may yet achieve it.

Health was greatly, crime reduced, widespread
flowering, agriculture progress and homes built

1952

AN APPEAL AND PLAN FOR A REVIVAL OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY OF 1892.

1956 is the year of opportunity. Never since 1860 has there been such a need for a new party,- such cause for discontent and alarm. The paramount issue of today is the anti-communist drive, which, based on wholly fictitious assumptions, is aiming to destroy democracy both at home and everywhere else in the world.

This drive is based on the assumption that Russia plans military conquest of the entire world. Yet the Russian leaders have absolutely no motive for such a move, because they are on salary and all they could gain by foreign conquest would be higher wages. But where would such wages come from if their own and the conquered country had been destroyed by nuclear bombs? Moreover, the Russians are confident that a demonstration of their economic superiority through actual results will win the world to their ideas without war. CAN WE TRUST OUR DESTINY TO LEADERS WHO BELIEVE THE ANTI-COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA?

Yet on such absurdities as Russian military aggression is based the cold war, the expenditure of scores of billions of dollars and the ~~disrobe~~ attack on our liberties at home.

Again, Soviet Russia has never started a war or seized territory except in self-defense. It attacked Poland in 1939 to secure defensive territory without which Leningrad would have fallen to Hitler in 1941, and which the Finns had refused to sell. In 1939 it took from Poland practically only the territory east of the Curzon line, which had been granted to it by the Treaty of Versailles but which Poland had seized by war. Russia controls its western neighbors because before World War II the capitalist nations had taken control of them in order to attack Russia. Esthonia, Larvia, and Lithuania were seized as a defensive measure and because they had once been part of Russia. The Kurile Islands were taken as a prize of war and because they had once belomged to Russia.

As to China being an aggressor nation, it entered the Korean war only after extreme provocations, including threats to deprive her industries of the use of the Yalu dams.

At home, Anti-Communism is being used to crush liberal leaders and organizations by establishing precedents for transforming the United States into a Fascist dictatorship.

Abroad, under the banner of Anti-communism, the United States has become the best friend of Fascism and the most dangsrous enemy of democracy on earth. In Latin-American ~~countries~~ it has consistently promoted dictatorships and overthrown democracies, notably in Guatemala, where it backed the destruction of an agragrian democracy. It forced on Greece a Fascism as bad as Hitler's at a cost of $2,000,000,000. to American taxpayers, and it has helped Franco to keep his hated hold on Spain, while punishing loyal Americans for opposing him.

The entire world is looking to the American voters to free them from the exploitations of the United States.

Anti-communism has fastened upon the American youth UMT in its most vicious form, namely, conscription for foreign wars.

In addition to its anti-communist drive Special Privilege is making a gigantic raid on the public savings and the public welfare by intensified profiteering, by scandalous depletion of the U.S.treasury through tax write-offs, by a systematic drive to liquidate the small-farm industry, and by withholding appropriations for preventing forest fires, fllods, and food contamination, and for providing essential education.

But the supreme issue and menace today is the fact that so many party leaders and Presidential possibilities openly advocate nuclear war, and that both Democrats and Republicans joined in giving President Eisenhower the sole decision as to whether to drop stom bomba on China.

These bi-partisan leaders have influenced the American people to surrender the right to decide whether and when a nuclear war should be launched and whether our boys should be conscripted, ostensibly to combat Communism but actually to promote commercial exploiting interests in avoidable wars in Indo-China, Korea, or elsewhere.

The great abuses of today stem from Special Privilege through its control of both major parties. To correct them it would be necessary to seize control of one of those parties or to form a new party. Since the party control by Special Privilege comes from its wealth it would be madness for the poorly financed liberals to try to wrest control of either old party. Moreover, because of party loyalties and party antagonisms, it would be impossible to gather all the liberals into either old party. Hence the only hope of reform is to gather the full liberal strength into a new party, controlled by leaders who too altruistic to be bought and too courageous to be frightened.

No third party in American Hostory has been a failure when it had a really fundamental issue. The Anri-slavery parties brought about the Republican Party and the Prohibition Party goaded the politicians into giving the nation Prohibition before it was ready for it. The People's Party alarmed the Dempcratic Party into decl-ring for Free Silver before the country had been educated up to it. The LaFollette Party and the Progressive Party were flashes in the pan because their demands were not fundamental enough.

The issues outlined above would give a new party vitality enough tp persist until it achieved its aims.

Since there would be a bewildering divergence of views as to the exact nature of the new party, the most practical way of uniting all liberals would be to resurrect the People's Party.

Both logic and historical continuity suggest such a course, because that Party was winning the nation wihtout outstanding leadership until basely betrayed by Bryan in 1900, and because it stool for such fundamental ~~principles~~* issues.

The following would be the logical steps toward launching the new party in 1956:

I. THE PLATFORM.

(1) Peace. Since every war in History has been an effort to extend or to resist exploitation, the only hope of peace is to rid the world of the means of exploitation. This, we pledge our party to do as rapidly and as thoroughtly as consistent with sound economic principles.

(2) We pledge Government ownership and control of the Federal Reserve Bank and Government issuance of all money and control of credit.

(3) The immediate repeal of all cold-war legislation and the immediate release of Morton Sobell and all other prisoners* cold-war prisoners.
(4) Small Government banks where requested by the community.
(5) Progressive lowering of interest rates.
(6) Free and unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1.
(7) Government ownership and control of all publicutilities and monopolies.
(8) All revenue to be raised by graduated income tax and excise taxes on luxuries.
(9) Socialized medicine such as has proved so satisfactory in Britain.
(10) Negroes to be protected by Federal intervention when necessary.
(11) Immediate repeal of the Hartley* Taft-Hartley Act.
(12) The question of Parity to be left to a vote of the farmers.
(13) Preventable floods to be declared a form of murder and preventive measures to be taken accordingly.
(14) Forest fires can and must be prevented by dousing from airplanes.
(15) Appriate sufficent funds to abolish gangsterism.
(16) make election day a legal holiday.
(17) Lunatic asylum for all who advocate nuclear war.

II. ORGANIZATION.

The party can be organized by a volunteer Executive Committee, which should organize a National Committee by corresponding with
(a) Leftist Labor Leaders;
(b) Leftist Farmer leaders;
(c) The Methodist and other church Federations for Social Action;
(d) The American Rally, if it is still functioning;
(e) Liberal Magazines;
(f) Liberal educators, writers, and leaders;

III. THE CAMPAIGN.

(a) Fuse, if possible, with the American Labor Party, and the American Rally in support of Senator Langer;
(b) Organize write-in campaign where too late to get on the official ballot;
(c) Orgainze clubs for 1958 and 1960, in communities, counties, districts, states, colleges, etc..
These clubs should study books like Empire of Oil, High Treason, etc., and hold discussions and arrange public meetings.
They could and should affiliate with similar clubs in Britain.

The People's Party #### was as American and as spontaneous as the Declaration of Independence and as free from foreign ideology. To revive it would be a forward step toward achieving those ideals.

A-2

Anf Nkrumah is a great man. One of the towering figures of the modern world. Let none doubt this. As a statesman, De Gaule, Churchill, Adenauer, and Dulles rank beneath him. As an administrator, his accomplishment in the years since he sat as a despised black prisoner of a haughty England to yesterday when he became the first president of independent Ghana has been almost unbelievable. A retinue of ancient haughty chiefs have been brought to heeel includung the great Asantahene of Ashanta, a knight of the British Empire whose fathers conquered British armise five times in their vain quest of the Golden Stool. Nkrumah has out maneuversed a group of university trained African leaders who tried in vain to use or drive away this low-born peasnt who in their ver y faces organized a basic democracy among illiterate peasants and laborers an built a nation under their eyes which triumphed today in peace and prosperoty; with new industry, new housing, a new harbor larger than the Hamburg which once berthed the ships of the world; with new housing, the beginning of art and literature based on literature and art -incredibly old; all this amid white Britons whose contempt turned into respect and admiration even as they found themselves displaced by black men in every walk of life, rulership, administration, beautiful homes, schools and social precedence. But more than this: queitly, with no advrtisement, and little comprehension Nkrumah has accomplishmed a transformation of political life whic has puzzled the world since democracy was reborn i the Nineteenth century. That which becam in Britain, near sacred monarchy with democratically chosen premiership; in France , a Presidency , vaugue and respectable but with little power and a prime minister uncertain of tenutre; in the United States , a Powerful president headed one way, a stubboern house of repesentatives headed another and a senate owned by Big Business, headed a thrid or headed nowhere -- all this contradiction which has killed Democracy in the western world, has been logiclly set at ease by Nkrumah of Ghana in his new Constitution of in which the Predidency and Prime minister are merged in one person. This is the greatest political feat of the Twentieth Century

39-12-43

But the great battle of Nkrhmah is that against the entrenched trade and industrial monopolies of the modenr world. Already in Ghana is the great Lever Brothers industrial empire uneder its various names of. It has a tremendous hold on all Africa; there are Swiss, Dutch and German companies with a vast retail trade and capital from the whole Western world, esoecially the United Stat Britain and West Germany is seeking profitable investment in Ghana. Against this Africa began to fight begrore Nkrumah came to the fore. The Gold Coast farmers begn cocoa raising and fought the plantation plans of the Cadburys. A nation-wide strike forced the international cocoa-buying consortium to yield to the British government during the Second World War and cocoa became a governmet monopily. The Government tried to cheat the farmers but the new Nkrumah regime made gocoa a socialist devel pment which it remains today. A vast plan to make the great Volta river a source of power for manufacture and lighting is now a matter of bargaining between Nkrumah and the investors. Britain thot it had the matter tied up and then America a made its bid; now to the horror of the Western world , the Soviet Union is offering capital and technical help with China in the background.. Nkrumah keeps his international friendships but also he keeps his hands free. He builds his socialist state. he has opeened diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and hina and Khrshushev and he will exchamge visits soon.

34-12-44

Meantime comes the war in Congo; for War it is. The huge Belgian corpora with British and American capital whivh were making huge profit from coper unanium and a dozen otner materials in the Congo with cheap labor, little taxation and f ee land and materials ae not like to surrender tneir profit merely because political controll changes; they will "defnd" their local representatives by force of arms as long as possible; they will attempt to bribe native leaders as in the copper belt of Katanga and they will build their hopes on the United Nations if possible. But here Nkrumah outwitted t em He rushed Ghana troops into the Congo;he gave leadership to the Asian-African group in the Unitd Nation, while the Sovirt Union kept this from becoing a race

C A 7

war by offering aid of every kind to the Africans. Already the Western capitalists are in retrat but they are far from surrendering. They know that if Congo passes under African control, the day of white rule in Africa is done and black West Africa will face white South Africa for the final decision

39-12-45

I sit and see these fatal days in Accra. Above the planes flying low and loud are rushing southeast to Congo. Here I sit in a curiously miraculous land: the vegetation becomes animal in its living manifestations; the tall trees sudenly bloom in marvellous color at the top; vines write and grow and crawl and live ; the grasses blossom. I am told that in ceratain parts, the earth yawns and climbs, and snows and unplumbed depths appear and talk to man. All things grow and speak to each other and to us; it ix to an incredible extent a livin land , a land of life where planta are animals and animals human and human beings rocks and deserts which never yield

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Introduction to NkrumaH's address to the U.N. September 1960

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to Wm. Patterson
Sept. 28, 1960
(the only carbon)

41-3-148

KWAME NKRUMAH, A Word of Introduction

Since the convening of the Fifteenth General Assembly of the United Nations, there can be no doubt that Kwame Nkrumah is the Voice of Africa. That is that more nearly than any other living man he expresses the thought and the ideals of the dark continent and that this continent is stepping to the forefront in world affairs.

Africa in the second half of the Twentieth Century has attained unprecedented unity. In the ancient world, Africa was Nubia and Egypt. In the Greek era, Africa was Ethiopia on both sides of the Red Sea. In Roman times, Africa was Carthage and the North African hinterland. With the rise of Mohammedanism Africa became the Sudan and the center of power passed to the great black empires of the Mellestine, the Songhai and the Hausa, and their anteanaps. Then began the battle between West African culture and Sudan imperialism. African power and interest moved southward and eventually became the long march of the Bantus across the budding cultures of East Africa and over the realm of Zimbabwe and the rule of the Monomatapa. From here the use of iron spread to the world.

The slave trade to America disturbed and transformed the continent so that in the Nineteenth Century it seemed probable that the Negroes of the West Indies and the United States transplanted to a new world from their fatherland were destined to lead the Africans back into the world. Estevanico, Toussaint, Dessalines, Petion, Banneker and Douglass blased the way, but the industrial revolution reduced the whole dark world to the domination of Europe

in the Nineteenth Century and in the Twentieth Century the fight between colonial empires for the loot of Africa and Asia tore the world apart, and lifted partially the veil over the submerged peoples of the world. There came a new stirring of old centers of culture and in Africa Kwame Nkrumah came to the fore.

He was a black West African peasant of the Akan tribe. He was born in the British colony of the Gold Coast, on the Gulf of Guinea, West Africa in 1912. He was raised in the cultural patterns of his tribe and thus could think, speak and act as an African. He was educated in his own family and clan and then briefly in mission schools and finally in the secondary Government school at Achimota. He came to the United States for his secondary training at Lincoln University and the University of Pennsylvania. Returning to Britain he studied at the University of London, [redacted].

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I met him first in 1945 at the Fifth Pan-African Congress whose busy secretary he was. He was an earnest young man rather shabby in dress with few words and deep sincerity. After this Congress he tried to organize the growing number of African students in London and then was called to West Africa by the black intelligentsia to organize a popular movement. His employees eventually were dissatisfied with his work and tried to dismiss him, but he persisted, organized the young people, was persecuted, and jailed by the British but emerged as an elected member of the colonial parliament. He became leader of the largest popular party and last year he was elected President of the independent Republic of Ghana.

He has declared himself in his autobiography an evangelical Christian and a socialist. He started to build a state. He built roads and established schools and cared for the public health. He established a fine democratic government and in 1958 held andAll-Africa Congress which was in fact the Sixth Pan-African Congress to unite Africa. Gradually the world and Africa has begun to recognize Nkrumah's leadership. He stood beside Egypt against Britain and France and married an Egyptian woman. He took sides with Tunis and Morocco and defended Algeria. He has joined firm hands with Guinea. He was first to send troops to help the new Republic of Congo. He has refrained from joining either the capitalist or communist block but he recognizes the communist states and is willing to work with them in peace and progress. He would welcome China to the United Nations. He desires the help of capital from socialist countries or from private sources so long as there are no strings attached.

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When yesterday he addressed the United Nations Assembly the world listened and the delegates rose en masse to cheer him. He has been consulted on this visit by the President of the United States, Prime Minister of Britain, the Soviet Union, Cuba, Egypt and India. Only the American Secretary of State has criticised him and this is to his credit.

These are the words of his address to the United Nations Assembly. Read them carefully and know what Africa demands today.

W.E. B. Du Bois

Ethiopia Observer 11/60

41-3-175

SYLVIA PANKHURST

by W. E. B. Du Bois

I heard of the Pankhurst family in 1911 when I was attending a Races Congress in London. It ought to have been and was in many respects a great occasion bringing together many men of eminence and representatives of nearly all the races of the world. But it was too near the First World War to have the effect it deserved.

But to be in London in the summer of 1911 was a great opportunity and one thing which attracted us all was the great fight for women's suffrage being carried on by Emmeline Pankhurst. She had been arrested on her way to the House of Commons with a petition. A few months later she was put in Holloway jail and again later she was arrested for assault. She undertook a lecture tour in America and on her return she and her daughter Sylvia led a window breaking campaign for women's suffrage. In March 1912 she was sentenced to nine months in prison and up to the opening of the war she was fighting and being arrested.

I never met her, but after the First World War when I became interested in the Pan African movement I called upon her daughter Sylvia to help me in various ways: to get a hearing before Parliament, to get publicity in England and to get acquainted with persons of influence. I realized then and later that the great work of Sylvia Pankhurst was to introduce black Ethiopia to white England, to give the martyred Emperor of Ethiopia a place of refuge during his exile and to make the British people realize that black folk had more and more to be recognized as human beings with the rights of women and men.

My personal acquaintance with Sylvia Pankhurst was not great. I met her briefly several times , talked and corresponded with her and she took me to the House of Commons. I read regularly her periodical and argued over various points in African progress.

I have heard of her death with great sorrow and I am sure that the people of Ethiopia realize how staunch and brave a friend they have lost.

41-3-176

to Herbert Aptheker
Political Affairs
10/24/60

41-3-158

JANE ADDAMS

by W. E. B. Du Bois

I knew Jane Addams. I have several times been a guest in Hull House, Chicago and I have joined Miss Addams as a speaker. Especially I remember once in Philadelphia where we talked to 5,000 people. I was at Hull House when Madame Breshovsky, sometimes called the mother of the Russian Revolution, was a guest, and when Miss Hull made a gracious gesture over the smoking of cigarettes.

Twice Jane Addams contributed to the Crisis of which I was editor for a quarter of a century. In January, 1911 she wrote:

"I always find it very difficult to write upon the great race problem which we have in America. I think, on the whole, that the most satisfactory books on the subject are written by people outside of America." This is certainly true of two books, "White Capital and Black Labor," by the Governor of Jamaica, and William Archer's book entitled "Afro-America." Although the latter is inconclusive, it at least gives one the impression that the man who has written it has seen clearly into the situation, and that, I suppose, is what it is very difficult for any American to do.

"One thing, however, is clear to all of us, that not only in the South, but everywhere in America, a strong race antagonism

41-3-159

is asserting itself, which has various modes of lawless and insolent expression. The contemptuous attitude of the so-called superior race toward the inferior results in a social segregation of each race, and puts one race group thus segregated quite outside the influences of social control represented by the other. Those inherited resources of the race embodied in custom and kindly intercourse which make much more for social restraint than does legal enactment itself are thus made operative only upon the group which has inherited them, and the newer group which needs them most is practically left without. Thus in every large city we have a colony of colored people who have not been brought under social control, and a majority of the white people in the same community are tacitly endeavoring to keep from them those restraints which can be communicated only through social intercourse."

In November, 1912, she wrote again about the "Progressive Party and the Negro":

"By the simple device of appointing to federal offices colored men in the sections where there is no Republican party, these men elect themselves delegates to the national conventions and naturally repay their party by voting as their officeholding interests require. Certainly self-government is not being promoted by such political recognition on the part of the Republicans of the North any more than it is by the disenfranchising action on the part of the Democrats of the South. The Progressive convention took neither point of view and challenged at one and at the same time the traditional shibboleths of both parties.

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"When I asked myself most searchingly whether my Abolitionist father would have remained in any political convention in which colored men had been treated slightingly, I recalled an incident of my girlhood which was illuminating and somewhat comforting. I had given my father an explanation of a stupid decision whereby I had succeeded in bungling the plans of a large family party, and I ended my apology with the honest statement that I had tried to act upon what I thought his judgment would have been. His expression of amused bewilderment changed to one of understanding as he replied: 'That probably accounts for your confusion of mind. You fell into the easy mistake of substituting loyalty and dependence upon another's judgment for the very best use of your own faculties. I should be sorry to think that you were always going to complicate moral situations, already sufficiently difficult, by trying to work out another's point of view. You will do much better if you look the situation fairly in the face with the best light you have.'"

I know too how Jane Addams suffered when she ventured to criticize the United States when she told how American generals got their soldiers drunk before sending them into battle. And how in other ways she showed Americans as war-mongering and nigger-hating. Yet the memory of this great social worker has not been forgotten. It survives still in America as symptom of pioneer work in social uplift.

FLORENCE

Probably no other one place in the world has so many things of beauty done by human hands as Florence; there is Giotto's tower; the masterpieces of Michael the Angel, from Dawn & Night to the frown of David; there is Brueleschi's dome and Botticelli's Love and Spring; Raphael8s women and Titian's Beauty; Murillo's virgins and Ruben's War; and hundred's of other bits ~~of Beauty~~ buildings & monuments

In a sense one can trace the history of man by following the mad climb of the sodden masses from dirt to glory; from seizure of land to theft of food and shelter; murder and maiming. with now the uplift of one armed monster, one cunning deceiver, a mass of related families, a clan of aristocracy or the fatl fall of a tribe. In various ways the human picture changes, rises and drops. But ever as far as man has reached today, the majotiy of human beings are poor, ignorant, sick and the majority climb on them to comfort wealth and happiness. Most men still say that this is inevitable, that only thus can civilization progress. The Western world, Britain, France and North America for the most part believe this. But the East of Europe, most of Asia and increasingly Africa say No. . The Mass must rise, the aristocracy must yield, civilization is measured by the progress of the people

39-46-210

THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

There is today no national Peace movement in the United States. There are many leading citizens who believe in peace as an ideal; indeed the majority of the people of the United States want peace and know the desperate cost of war In the nineteenth century America led in peace movements and in this century had several endowments for work for peace. But American business men made huge profits from furnishing arms, food and labor during the First World War and dominated the production and trade of the world during the next twenty years. When Roosevelt wished to save the British empire from Hitler and Mussolini, United States business organizations had to be bribed to cooperate because they feared Socialism. They refused to allow the United States to join the Soviet Union against Hitler until Hitler attacked Russia. Then joining the Soviet Union they permitted the United States to give tardy help, while the Soviet Union crushed the armies of the Fascists. All America then expected peace and cooperation with the Soviet Union. But Roosevelt died and the military leaders and Big Business interests united to crush Communism with the newly discovered Atom bomb. The Soviet Union did not receive the reparations for the costs of war which she had earned; the United States refused her the loans which they granted other nations and demanded repayment of her war loans to the Soviet Union.

Relations worsened from 1945 to 1949. Then a national Peace Movement was organized in the United States, called the National Council of Arts and Sciences. It was composed of the majority of the best known citizens in artistic and scientific circles, and they secured cooperation from the leading persons of the Soiet Union and the modern European world. Then the United States government, now controlled by military leaders and big Business interests which now monopolized the press. These powerful persons represented the Soviet leaders as criminal conspirators and our peace leaders as traitors to their country or deceived. They persuade foreign immigrants from Socialist nations to demonstrate in New York and pray in the streets. Many Americans withdrew their support for peace, and many foreign vititors , like Picasso and Bernal were refused visas. Our invited guests were not allowed to travel outside New York, or to speak publicly, and even Shostakovich was refused permission to give a concert at Yale University. The national Council of Arts and Sciences was forced in to bankruptcy and was dissolved This was our last national Peace Movement. Later I attended the great Peace Congress in Paris and the All Soviet Congress in Moscow. Returning to the United States, I read the Stockholm Appeal and led an organization to inform Americans of what the rest of the World was doing for peace. I and my fellow officials of this Peace Information Bureau were thereupon ordered by the government to register as "Agents of a foreign Power". We refused and were indicted. We were threatened with five years impris-

onment and five thousand dollars fine. We appealed to the world. We colected $30,000 to pay the costs of our legal defense and finally secured not a verdict but simply a decision that our guilt was unproven . The case was therefor thrown out of court. Since then no peace movement has been formed. Even when I was granted the International Peace prize, no meeting could be organized for its pub presentation. There are advocates of peace in America but no open, organized mov movement, except the Communist Party, and that is illegal.

Americans are intelligent, good-hearted people. But for 16 years have been subject to a propaganda from a monopolized press which has used every method of science , literature and art to paint Communists as criminals and Commnunsm as a crime against Civilization. The average American today honestly believes Socialism and its aim, Communism as worse than war. They are therefo willing to train their youth for war and to spend more for past, present and future wars than for alleviating Poverty, curing ~~illne~~ diseases and training their children. The whole nation is frightened to death.

The only way to convince Americans that Communists want peace is to show them the high ideals and marvellous accomplishments of Communist nations. They must be converted by what they see and hear to a realization of the terrible mistake they are making.

A GLIMSE OF WESTERN EUROPE (1)

After a year in Communistic lands like the Soviet Union, China, East Germany and Czechoslovakia; and six months or more in nations, where socialism was widely practised and its further development not denied, like Sweden, Belgium, Holland and Ghana, I come for a month to that part of Europe where capitalism is still supreme in practice, despite a wide belief and even effort toward socialized life: that is, a week in Italy , a week in Switzerland, a week in Paris and one in London. These are nations which I have long known by visits, reading and study. In the last sixty-eight years I have visited them off and on and in this pregnant era of world history, I have known much of what they were thinking and doing. As a student I went through Italy from the lakes to Naples doing sights and galleries and seeing people; again in 1926, I glanced at the Italy of Mussolini; and now in 1960, I look down on the Forum, so strangely small and ragged, closed in by a raging , growing city; I stand in the Colloseum and am startled to think how few Romans could crowd in to view its sights. Somehow St. Peters looked tawdry, despite my memory of its world wide activity; I walked miles beside and beneath decorations that did not impress me until suddenly I came upon Michealangelo's ceiling, with God, angels, men and devils. I lingered long beneath this dim masterpiece of genius.

Florence is typical Italy; calm and quiet; the once mighty Arno, a dwindling stream, almost a brook; the Cathredral thought out in colored marble with a dome and Giotto's tower; and with the great works of Michaelangelo: Dawn, Night and David. Over all this dun-colored city, with its sense of beautiful line, was the sense of the impossibility of the mass of men; poverty, ignorance, and death was their end, and for this stood the Chrch with pity, alms, but no hope save death. After death rose the church to promise long rest. Built on this mass of men rose the Hero, the Well-born, the warrior, who supported the Artisan as he climbed toward Art. This alone lives today in georgeous perfection of form and color; but still the ignorant people, work, starve and die in war. There is a vast Rubens depicting the eternity of war, its murder, cruelty and filth; and for this Italy still stands. We ride by lovely vilas, tree-guarded, beflowered, silent and beautiful, often inhabited with starving aristocrats of the highest rank, or displacd by rich Americans. Tourists are the greatest industry of Florence

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and with then it comes gambling, guzzling, stuffing and bad manners, covered with gold. Whither is this quiet beauty of land and past going? What is its end and wish? I cannot guess, can Italy?

and dressed in Paris style

But Italy, obedient to the will of its longtime masters: Britain, France and Germany runs true to 19th century form and fears the Soviet Union despises China, ignores Africa, and looks om America with tolerant contempt softened by memory of of the wealth of Italian Americans

~~Then a day in Pisa~~

Italy has developed the individual genius, ~~until~~ back men believe that ability is and must be exceptional and seldom, and rage against the Russian and Chinese idea that human ability is normal if once the doors of poverty are opened. The Renaissance left the world believing that only the few deserve Life and that the privileged Few have the right to feed on the guts of the many. On this lie the civilization of Western Europe and North America still base their belief and make their last armed stand. The final game battle, the Last. To your tents, O Asia and Africa!

39-46-213

Rome = Church; Politics; Business
Florence = Heredity, Art, Tourists
Train Milan = The Workers,
monopolizing + trading beauty
Vulgarians Trade + ?
Exclusive
not wealth but poverty of other
Smartness + death somebody + lack of broad goal.
Only the select + yet the select alike not different
Love, hate, whores, virgins, slender legged slim, fat
clothed, naked, homo-sex, woman lovers
The Push up - Eng middle + Union
U.S. Reds + Blacks - Earth
Not only that others work but do your work destroy your idle +
machine or boredom or indulgence

Rome is a mighty memory, with a world-wide Religious organization which governs governments and has vast psychological influence on men everywhere; it is too the center of Italian politics and political power; it is a center of commerce and trade. It is crowded, breathless, nervous. Florence is heritage and family; art and tourists. The restless workers dominate Milan and Turin. I did not see south Italy and sicily, but church know how poverty rules there and crime

It is singular how in Florence and elsewhere in Italy Beauty is monopolized and even hidden; art is owned and kept from vulgar gaze. Sale is forced continually by death and loss of income; the influence of art especially in music and architecture seeps through and down but ~~ixxix~~ this is apraised as almost against Nature. Beauty should belong to Exceptional Few. The upward push of the mass is danger and degradation and yet this is history. This steady rebellion from below. This emergence of strength and ability from the mass is vulgar, but inextinguishable. Civilization is to the West essentially exclusive, something apart and to be kept apart lest it be lessened and lost to the owners of wealth, but the poverty of the mass is the goal of human culture. Only the Select are the real leders of mankind; yet no sooner do the Select achieve power than they imitate each other, countnance no deviation and frown on individual difference. There are singular contradictions current: Love, Hate, whores, virgins; pregnant, steriel; slim and fat;; homo-sexuals and women lovers; naked and over-dressed -- all these contradictions crowd on each other and co-exist.

Life is the age-old, ceaseless upsurge of the lowest masses of men toward attainment of equality with the highest that man has ever reached. Against this is the bitter, vicious recoil from even the thought of the rise of the dregas of mankind, for this surely is the death of the best, the failure of civilization. Such rise is moreover impossible the lowest cannot rise; yet it is the only path to culture, for up out of the mass comes ever the future, the best attainable. The upward push continually halts and holds. In England a middle class lifts itself half-way toward the aristocracy and becomes in itself a way of life. In Italy the peasant Artisan becomes the world artist and serves the great families who rule the earth. Yet who knows what has been lost in the sifting? How many Michaelangelos, and Da Vincis have been ignored and died in filthy jails and gitters or been murdered in battle? In America the wild wealth of a nation has gone into the hands of white workers who

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climbed on the bcks of black slaves and stole the lands and materials of red Indiansand now can pose as the best-paid workers in the world, into whose organized unions, chinks, niggers and not even dagos cannot enter. Even when such persons become rich, their aim is not only to do no work themselvs, but to force others to do the work which they themselves ought to do, while they idle sit in boredom for lack of something worth doing , or lose themselves and children in debauchery and indulgence which killed the civilization they are defendin ng against blck men and yellow

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Men today hate and fear the Soviet Union and China because these lands are really raising great masses of men whom Nordics have been treared to despise, to a level which will let them look Englishmen, French and Germans full in the face and outdo them?. Most of the Wset cannot conceive a civilization which include the vast majotiy of mankind; they hate the thought of it. Their religion rests on saints whose righteousness feeds on great crowds of sinners. They tach that mankind in essence is nasty, degraded, impossible fit only for hell. Thus the real war today between East and West is between believers and fighters for a white heaven on earth, and an earthly Hell for eastern Europeans, Huns and Balkanese, Chinese, Indians and negroes of every shade. Can an English aristocrat or rich shopkeper; a German soldier or scientist; a French exquisite, writer or thinker; an American millionaire, or trade union leader or an Italian descendant of Medici or their like -- can any of these even consider the poor, ignorant and sick folk who toil and cringe for their comfort and boasting called history, that this canaille will ever inherit their earth?

41-3-234

to Hiram Hadyn, ed.
American Scholar
10/5/60

2 carbons
HI

THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

In the fall of 1896, I went to the University of Pennsylvania as "Assistant Instructor" in Sociology. It all happened this way: Philadelphia, then and still one of the worst governed of America's badly governed cities, was having one of its periodic spasms of reform. A thorough study of causes was called for. Not but what the underlying cause was evident to most white Philadelphians: the corrupt, semi-criminal vote of the Negro Seventh Ward. Everyone agreed that here lay the cancer; but would it not be well to give scientific sanction to the known causes by an investigation, with imprimateur of the University? It certainly would, answered Samuel McCune Lindsay of the Department of Sociology. And he put his finger on me for the task.

If Lindsay had been a smaller man and had been induced to follow the usual American pattern of treating Negroes, he would have asked me to assist him as his clerk in this study. Probably I would have accepted having nothing better in sight for work in sociology. But Lindsay regarded me as a scholar in my own right and probably proposed to make me an instructor. Evidently the faculty demurred at having a colored instructor. But since I had a Harvard Ph.D., and had published a recognized work in history, the University could hardly offer me a fellowship. A compromise was hit on and I was nominated to the unusual status of "assistant" instructor. Even at that there must have been some opposition, for the invitation was not particularly cordial. I was offered a salary of $900 for a period limited to one year. I was given no real academic standing, no office at the University, ~~no official recognition of any kind, no~~

~~name was eventually omitted from the catalogue;~~ I had no contact with students, and very little with members of the faculty, even in my own department.

I did not hesitate an instant but reported for duty with a complete plan of work and outline of methods and aims and even proposed schedules to be filled out. My general plan was promptly accepted and I started to work, consulting Lindsay regularly but never meeting the faculty.

The Provost of the University furnished the following credentials:

"In connection with the College Settlement, the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania have undertaken the study of the social condition of the Colored People of the Seventh Ward of Philadelphia. The University has entered upon this work as a part of its duty and wishes to make the investigation as thorough and exact as possible. We want to know precisely how this class of people live; what occupation they follow; from what occupations they are excluded; how many of their children go to school; and to ascertain every fact which will throw light upon this social problem; and then having this information and these accurate statistics before us, to see to what extent and in what way, proper remedies may be applied. Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois is the investigator on behalf of the University, and I write to bespeak for him your cordial reception and earnest co-operation."

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The two years at Wilberforce had been my uneasy apprenticeship, and with my advent into the University of Pennsylvania, I began a more clearly planned career which had an unusual measure of success, but was in the end pushed aside by forces which, if not entirely beyond my control, were yet of great weight.

The opportunity opened at the University of Pennsylvania seemed just what I wanted. I had offered to teach social science at Wilberforce (where I had been teaching) outside of my overloaded program, but I was not allowed. (nevertheless) My vision was becoming clearer. The Negro problem was in my mind a matter of systematic investigation and intelligent understanding. The world was thinking wrong about race, because it did not know. The ultimate evil was stupidity. The cure for it was knowledge based on scientific (study).

At the University of Pennsylvania I ignored the pitiful stipend. It made no difference to me that I was put down as an "assistant instructor" and even at that, that my name never actually got into the catalogue; it goes without saying that I did no instructing save once to pilot a pack of idiots through the Negro slums.

Of the theory back of the plan of this study of Negroes I neither knew nor cared. I saw only here a chance to study an historical group of black folk and to show exactly what their place was in the community. I did it despite extraordinary difficulties both within and without the group. Whites said: Why study the obvious? Blacks said: Are we animals to be dissected and by an unknown Negro at that? Yet, I made a study of the Philadelphia Negro so thorough that it has withstood the criticism of sixty years.

I counted my task here as simple and clear-cut; I proposed to find out what was the matter with this area and why. I started with no "research methods" and I asked little advice as to procedure. The problem lay before me. Study it. I studied it personally and not by Proxy. I sent out no canvassers. I went myself. Personally I visited and talked with five thousand persons. What I could, I set down in orderly sequence on schedules which I made out and submitted to the University for criticism. Other information I stored in my memory or wrote out as memoranda. I went through the Philadelphia libraries for data, gained access in many instances to private libraries of colored folk and got individual information. I mapped the district, classifying it by condition; I compiled two centuries of the history of the Negro in Philadelphia and in the Seventh Ward.

It would have been a fine thing if after this difficult, successful piece of work, the University of Pennsylvania had at least offered me a temporary instructorship in the college or in the Wharton School. Harvard had never dreamed of such a thing: a half century later one of Harvard's professors said of a gifted Negro student: "We'd give him a position if he were not a Negro!"

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Eventually this brilliant man after serving in UNESCO successfully, committed suicide. What these institutions could not understand was that what I wanted was not a position in a white college, but a chance to teach Negro students on a high scientific level.

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(White Harvard) classmates of lower academic rank than I, became full professors at Pennsylvania and Chicago. Here in my case an academic accolade from a great American university would have given impetus to my life work which I was already determined to make in a Negro institution in the South. The thing that galled was that such an idea never even occurred to this institution whose head was a high official of the Sugar Trust. But I did not mention this rebuff. I did not let myself think of it. But then, as now, I know an insult when I see it.

At the end of that study, I announced with a certain pride my plan of studying the complete Negro problem in the United States. I spoke at the forty-second meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences in Philadelphia, November 19, 1897, and my subject was "The Study of the Negro Problems." I began by asserting that in the development of sociological study there was at least one positive answer which years of research and speculation had been able to return, and that was : "The phenomena of society are worth the most careful and systematic study, and whether or not this study may eventually lead to a systematic body of knowledge deserving the name of science, it cannot in any case fail to give the world a mass of truth worth the knowing." I then defined and tried to follow the development of the Negro problem not as one problem, but "rather a plexus of social problems, some new, some old, some simple, some complex; and these problems have their one bond of unity in the fact that they group themselves about those Africans whom two centuries of slave-trading brought into the land."

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I insisted on the necessity of carefully studying these problems and said: "The American Negro deserves study for the great end of advancing the cause of No such opportunity to watch and measure the history and development of a great race of men ever presented itself to the scholars of a modern nation. If they miss this opportunity -- if they do the work in a slip-shod, unsystematic manner -- if they dally with the truth to humor the whims of the day, they do far more than hurt the good name of the American people; they hurt the cause of scientific

truth the world over, they voluntarily decrease human knowledge of a universe of which we are ignorant enough, and they degrade the highend of truth-seeking in a day when they need more and more to dwell upon its sanctity."

Finally I tried to lay down a plan for the study, postulating only: that the Negro "is a member of the human race, and as one who, in the light of history and experience is capable to a degree of improvement and culture, is entitled to have his interests considered according to his numbers in all conclusions astto the common weal."

Dividing the prospective scientific study of the Negro into two parts: the social group and his peculiar social environment, I proposed to study the social group by historical investigation, statistical measurement and sociological interpretation. Particularly with regard to anthropology, I said:

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"That there are differences between the white and black races is certain, but just what those differences are is known to none with an approach to accuracy. Yet here in America is the most remarkable opportunity ever offered of studying these differences, of noting influences of climate and physical environment, and particularly of studying the effect of amalgamating two of the most diverse races in the world -- another subject which rests under acloud of ignorance."

In concluding, I said:

"It is to the credit of the University of Pennsylvania that she has been the first to recognize her duty in this respect and in so far as restricted means and opportunity hallowed, has attempted to study the Negro problems in a single definite locality. This work needs to be extended to other groups, and carried out with larger systems; and here it would seem is the opportunity of the Southern Negro college. We hear much of higher Negro education, and yet all candid people know there does not exist today in the center of Negro population a single first-class fully equipped institution, devoted to the higher education of Negroes; not more than three Negro institutions in the South deserve the name of 'college' at all; and yet what is a Negro college but a vast college settlement for the

study of a particular set of peculiarly baffling problems?

"What more effective or suitable agency could be found in which to focus the scientific efforts of the great universities of North and East, than an institution situated in the very heart of these social problems, and made the center of careful historical and statistical research? Without doubt the first effective step toward the solving of the Negro question will be the endowment of a Negro college which is not merely a teaching body, but a center of sociological research, in close connection and co-operation with Harvard, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, and University of Pennsylvania.

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"Finally the necessity must again be emphasized of keeping clearly before students the object of all science, amid the turmoil and intense feeling that clouds the discussion of a burning social question. We live in a day when in spite of the brilliant accomplishments of a remarkable century, there is current much flippant criticism of scientific work; when the truth-seeker is too often pictured as devoid of human sympathy, and careless of human ideals. We are still prone in spite of all our culture to sneer at the heroism of the laboratory while we cheer the swagger of the street broil. At such times true lovers of humanity can only hold higher the pure ideals of science, and continue to insist that if we would solve a problem we must study it, and there is but one coward on earth and that is the coward that dare not know."

From the University of Pennsylvania I went to Atlanta University in 1896 and stayed thirteen years until 1910.

The main significance of my work at Atlanta University, during the years 1897 to 1910 was the development at an American institution of learning, of a program of study on the problems affecting the American Negroes, covering a progressively widening and deepening effort designed to stretch over the span of a century. This program was grafted on an attempt by George Bradford of Boston, o one of the trustees, to open for Atlanta University a field of usefulness for city Negroes comparable to what Hampton and Tuskegee were doing for rural districts s in agriculture and industry. At the Hampton and Tuskegee Conferences, there came together annually and in increasing numbers, workers, experts and observers to encourage by speeches and interchange of experience the Negro farmers and laborers of adjoining areas. Visitors, white and colored, from North and South, joined to advise and learn. Mr. Bradford's idea was to establish at Atlanta a similar conference, devoted especially to problems of city Negroes. The first conference, emphasizing particularly Negro health problems, was held in 1896. Immediately the University looked about for a man to teach history and political science, and take charge of future conferences. I was chosen.

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When I took charge of the Atlanta Conference, I did not pause to consider how far my developed plans agreed or disagreed with the ideas of the already launched project. It made little essential difference, since only one conference had been held and a second planned. These followed the Hampton and Tuskegee model of being primarily meetings of inspiration, directed toward specific efforts at social reform and aimed at propaganda for social uplift in certain preconceived lines. This program at Atlanta, I sought to swing as on a pivot to one of scientific investigation into social conditions, primarily for scientific ends: I put no special emphasis on special reform effort, but increasing and widening emphasis on the collection of a basic body of fact concerning the social condition of American Negroes, endeavoring to reduce the condition to exact measurement whenever or wherever occasion permitted. As time passed, it happened that many uplift efforts

were in fact based on our studies: the kindergarten system of the city of Atlanta, white as well as black; the Negro Business League, and various projects to better health and combat crime. We came to be however, as I had intended, increasingly, a source of general information and a basis for further study, rather than an organ of social reform.

The proverbial visitor from Mars would have assumed as elemental a study in America of American Negroes -- as physical specimens; as biological growths; as a field of investigation in economic development from slave to free labor; as a psychological laboratory in human reaction toward caste and discrimination; as an unique case of physical and cultural intermingling. These and a dozen other subjects of scientific interest, would have struck the man from Mars as eager lines of investigation for American social scientists. He would have been astounded to learn that the only institution in America in 1900 with any such program of study was Atlanta University, where ona budget of $5000 a year, including salaries, cost of publication, investigation and annual meetings, we were essaying this pioneer work.

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My program for the succession of conference studies was modified by many considerations: cost, availability of suitable data, tested methods of investigation; moreover I could not plunge too soon into such controversial subjects as politics or miscegenation. Within these limitations, I finished a ten-year cycle study as follows:

1896, Mortality among Negroes in Cities

1897, Social and Physical Condition of Negroes in Cities

1898, Some Efforts of Negroes for Social Betterment

1899, The Negro in Business

1900, The College-Bred Negro

1901, The Negro Common School

1902, The Negro Artisan

1903, The Negro Church

1904, Notes on Negro Crime

1905, A Select Bibliography of the American Negro

I then assayed for the second decade a broader program, more logical, more inclusive, and designed to bring the whole subject matter into a better integrated whole. But continued lack of funds, and outside diversions (like the request of the Carnegie Institution of 1907 for a study of cooperation) kept even the second decade from the complete logic of arrangement which I desired; finally, my leaving Atlanta in 1910 and at last ~~the~~ the severing of my connection with the conference in 1914, left ~~the~~ the full form of my program still unfinished. I did, however publish the following eight studies:

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1906, Health and Physique of the Negro American

1907, Economic Cooperation among Negro Americans

1908, The Negro American Family

1909, Efforts for Social Betterment among Negro Americans

1910, The College-Bred Negro American

1911, The Common School and the Negro American

1912, The Negro American Artisan

1914, Morals and Manners among Negro Americans

With the publication of 1914, my connection with Atlanta ceased for twenty years. Although studies and publications were prepared by others at the University in 1915 and 1918, the war finally stopped the enterprise.

What I was laboriously but steadily approaching in this effort was a recurring cycle of ten studies in succeeding decades; with repetition of each subject or some modification of it in each decade, upon a progressively broader and more exact basis and with better method; until gradually a foundation of carefully ascertained fact would build a basis of knowledge, broad and sound enough to be called scientific in the best sense of that term.

Just what form this dream would eventually have taken, I do not know. So far as actually forecast, it had assumed in 1914, some such form as this:

1. Population; Distribution and Growth
2. Biology; Health and Physique
3. Socialisation: Family, Group and Class
4. Cultural Patterns: Morals and Manners
5. Education
6. Religion and the Church
7. Crime
8. Law and Government
9. Literature and Art
10. Summary and Bibliography

I proposed as I have said, to repeat each of these every ten years, basing the studies on ever broader and more carefully gathered data. Eventually I hoped to keep all the inquiries going simultaneously, only emphasizing and reporting on one particular subject each year. This would have allowed some necessary shifting or combination of subjects as time and developments might suggest; and adjustments to new scientific advance in fields like anthropology and psychology. The plan would have called in time for a large and well-paid staff of experts and a study of method and testing of results such as no group of Americans were engaged in at the time; beginning with a definite, circumscribed group, but ending with the human race.

The program however was weak on its economic side. It did not stress enough the philosophy of Marx and Engels and was of course far too soon for Lenin. The program ought to have been - and as I think would have been if I had kep on this work - the Economic development of the American Negro slave; on this central thread all the other subjects would have been strung. But this I had no chance to essay.

Social scientists at the time were thinking in terms of theory and vast and eternal laws, but I had a concrete group of loving beings artificially set off by themselves and capable of almost laboratory experiment. I laid down an ambitious program for a hundred years of study. I proposed to take up annually in each decade the main aspects of the group life of Negroes with as thorough study and measurement as possible,

and repeat the same program in the succeeding decade with additions, changes and better methods. In this way, I proposed gradually to broaden and intensify the study, sharpen the tools of investigation and perfect our methods of work, so that we would have an increasing body of scientifically ascertained fact, instead of the vague mass of the so-called Negro problems. And through this laboratory experiment I hoped to make the laws of social living clearer, surer, and more definite.

Some of this was accomplished, but of course only an approximation of the idea. For thirteen years we poured forth a series of studies, limited, incomplete, only partially conclusive, and yet so much better done than any other attempt of the sort in the nation that they gained attention throughout the world. In all we published a total of 2,172 pages which formed a current encyclopedia on the American Negro problems.

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These studies with all their imperfections were widely distributed in the libraries of the world and used by scholars. It may be said without undue boasting that between 1896 and 1920 there was no study of the race problem in America made which did not depend in some degree upon the investigations made at Atlanta University; often they were widely quoted and commended.

I had heartening letters from persons of eminence and character. William James wrote in 1907: "I have just looked through the last installment of your studies on the American Negro. I wish the portraits might have been better printed. But it is splendid scientific work." Frank Taussig of Harvard wrote the same year: "In my judgement no better work is being done in the country, and no better opportunity is afforded for financial support on the part of those who wish to further the understanding of the Negro problem." Booker Washington, who spoke at our conference on on the Negro artisan in 1911, said: "The whole country should be grateful to this institution for the painstaking and systematic manner in which it has developed from year to year a series of facts which are proving most vital and helpful to the interests of our nation." Professor E.R.A. Seligman wrote: "I take great pleasure in testifying to my very high appreciation of the studies on the Negro proglem which you have been editing for the past few years. They are essentially scholarly and that means sober

and temperate, and they are covering a field which is almost untilled and which is not apt to be cultivated by others." Jane Addams attended our conference in 1908 and commended our work.

Many periodicals mentioned our work:

London Spectator, 1900:

This work is being done with much intelligence, discrimination and assiduity at the instance and under the inspiration of Atlanta University.

School Review, 1902:

The work of this conference is constructive and merits hearty support.

Outlook, 1903:

No student of the race problem, no person who would either think or speak upon it intelligently, can afford to be ignorant of the facts brought out in the Atlanta series of sociological studies of the conditions and the progress of the Negro.

Publications of the Southern History Association, 1904:

The work done under the direction of the Atlanta Conference is entitled to the respectful and thoughtful consideration of every man interested in any aspect of the life of the American Negro.

South Atlantic Quarterly, 1904:

They constitute, so far as the reviewer can learn, the most important body of direct evidence ever published as to moral and religious conditions of our colored people.

N.Y. Evening Post, 1905:

The only scientific studies of the Negro question being made today are those carried on by Atlanta University.

It must be remembered that the significance of these studies lay not so much in what they were actually able to accomplish, as in the fact that at the time of their publication Atlanta University was the only institution in the world carrying on a systematic study of the Negro and his development, and putting the result in a form available for the sbholars of the world.

In 1909 I tried to start an "Encyclopedia Africana" and secured as members of the board of advisers the following distinguished scholars:

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Sir Harry Johnston, K.C.B., England
Prof. W.M. Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., England
William Archer, Esq., England
Miss Alice Werner, England
Dr. Francis Hoggan, England
Prof. Giuseppi Sergi, Italy
Dr. Karl Weule, Germany
Dr. J. Deniker, France
Major R.M. Daniel, Bechuanaland, Africa
Prof. A. B. Hart, L.L.D., Harvard
Prof. William James, L.L.D., Harvard
Prof. Hugo Munsterberg, L.L.D., Harvard
President G. Stanley Hall, L.L.D., Clark
Prof. A. F. Chamberlain, Ph.D., Clark
Prof. Franz Boas, Ph.D., Columbia

Sixty-two Negro scholars were on the Editorial Board, including:

Kelley Miller, A.M., (Howard)
H.O. Tanner, France
Richard T. Greener, A.B., Harvard
Charles W. Chesnutt
John R. Lynch, U.S. Army
W. S. Scarborough, L.L.D., Oberlin

and many others. I never was able to raise funds to carry this enterprise further forward.

In 1900 came a significant occurence which not until lately have I set in its proper place in my life. I had been for over nine years studying the American Negro Problem. The result had been significant because of its unusual nature and not for its positive accomplishment. I wanted to set down its aim and method in some outstanding way which would bring my work to the notice of the thinking world. The great World Fair at Paris was being planned and I thought I might put my findings into plans, charts and figures, so one might see what we were trying to accomplish. I got a couple of my best students and put a series of facts into charts: the size and growth of the Negro American group; its division by age and sex; its distribution, education and occupations; its books and periodicals. We made a most interesting set of drawings, limned on pasteboard cards about a yard square and mounted on a number of movable standards. The details of finishing these fifty or more charts, in colors, with accuracy, was terribly difficult with little money, limited time and not too much encouragement. I was threatened with nervous prostration before I was done and had little money

left to buy passage to Paris, nor was there a cabin left for sale. But the exhibit would fail unless I was there. So at the last moment I bought passage in the steerage and went over and installed the work. It was an immediate success. It occupied a small room, perhaps twenty feet square but the room was always full. The American press, white and colored was full of commendation and in the end, the end, the exhibit received a Grand Prize, and I, as its author, a Gold Medal.

About the same time, I approached the United States Commissioner of Labor. For several years I had been able to do now and then certain small studies for the Bureau of Labor, which had been accepted and paid for. It began with a proposal to Carroll D. Wright in 1897 for a study of the Negro in a Virginia town in 1898, which Mr. Wright authorised me to make on my own responsibility, promising only to print it if he like it. He did like it. This was followed by a major study of the Negro in the Black Belt in 1899 and among Negroes in Georgia in 1901, and I then approached the Bureau with a new proposal.

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I asked United States Commissioner of Labor, Neill, in 1906, to authorize a study of a Black Belt community. I wanted to take Lowndes County, Alabama, in a former slave state with a large majority of Negroes, and make a social and economic study from the earliest times when documents were available, down to the present; supplemented by studies of official records and a present house-to-house canvass of Negroes. I plied Commissioner Neill with plans and specifications until at last he authorized the study. Helped by Monroe Work, of Tuskegee Institute, and R. R. Wright, now a bishop of the A.M.E. Church, and a dozen or more local employees, I settled at the Calhoun School and began the study.

It was carried on with all sorts of difficulties, including financing which was finally arranged by loans from the University, and with the greeting of some of my agents with shotguns in certain parts of the county; but it was ~~eventually finished by hand with no~~

eventually finished. The difficult schedules were tabulated and I made chronological maps of the division of the land; I considered the distribution of labor; the relation of landlord and tenant; the political organization and the family life and the distribution of the population. The report was finished by hand with no copy, and rushed to Washington. It was criticised and I spent some weeks there in person, revising and perfecting it. It was finally accepted by the government, and $2,000 paid for it, most of which went back to the University in repayment of funds which they had kindly furnished me to carry on the work. But the study was not published. I knew the symptoms of this sort of treatment: in 1898, S. S. McClure had sent me to south Georgia to make a study of social situations there. He paid for the report but never published the manuscript and he afterward did the same thing in the case of Sir Harry Johnston.

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I finally approached the Bureau and tried to find out when it would be published and was told that the Bureau had decided not to publish the manuscript, since it "touched on political matters." I was astonished and disappointed, but after a year I went back to them again and asked if they would allow me to have the manuscript since they were not going to use it. They told me it had been destroyed!

It was of course crazy for me to dream that America, in the dawn of the Twentieth Century with Colonial Imperialism, based on the suppression of colored folk, at its zenith, would encourage, much less adequately finance, such a program at a Negro college under Negro scholars. My faith in its success was based on the firm belief that race prejudice was based on widespread ignorance. My long-term remedy was Truth: carefully gathered scientific proof that neither color nor race determined the limits of a man's capacity or desert. I was not at the time sufficiently Freudian to understand how little human action is based on reason; nor did I know Karl Marx well enough to appreciate the economic foundations of human history.

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I was therefore astonished and infinitely disappointed, gradually to realize that our work in the Atlanta conferences was not getting support; that, far from being able to command increased revenue for better methods of investigation and wider fields, it was with increasing difficulty that the aging and overworked President, with his deep earnestness and untiring devotion to principle, could collect enough to maintain even our normal activities. The conference had not been without a measure of success. Our reports were widely read and commented upon. On the other hand, so far as the American world of science and letters was concerned, we never "belonged"; we remained unrecognized in learned societies and academic groups. We rated merely as Negroes studying Negroes, and after all what had Negroes to do with America or Science? Gradually and with deep disappointment I began to realize, as early as 1906, that my program for studying the Negro problems must soon end, unless it received unforeseen support.

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By the second decade of the Twentieth Century, a legal caste system based on race and color, had been openly grafted on the democratic constitution of the United States. This explains why, in 1910, I gave up my position at Atlanta University and became Director of Publications and Research for the newly formed National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of which I was one of the incorporators in 1911.

From 1910 to 1934 I gave up almost entirely my attempt at making a scientific study of the Negro problems in America and devoted myself to propaganda in oder to convince Americans, black and white, that they must make a serious ethical effort to correct the wrong interest in the Negro problems and try to stop lynching and mob violence, encourage education, enforce the laws and make new laws. From 1910 to 1934 I carried on this work in cooperation with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and as editor of a small monthly magazine called the Crisis which eventually reached a circulation of 100,000.

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The Crisis, however, depended upon subscriptions for support and when the great depression fell upon the land the working people, especially the Negroes, were unable to support the Crisis further. I therefore resigned the editorship of the little magazine and turned again back to my attempt at scientific work in solution of race problems. I was induced to do this because my close friend John Hope had become President of a new Atlanta University which was a graduate school connected with several undergraduate colleges. It was endowed by the General Education Board and it seemed probable tha there could now arise in the South an institution of learning under the control of colored teachers which could have become a center of a new sociology of race problems.

In one aspect of the Negro problem in America, my program had limited success; that was its relation to the white working class. The Negroes were working folk — farmers, laborers, proters and servants. They belonged in the main to the "Have-nots" as over against the "Haves." Yet they were not regarded as an integral part of the American workers and I as a student of their plight and their efforts was continually treating them as a separate class instead of grouping them with the mass of workers. This was not because of any failure on my part to conceive of the Negroes as primarily workers whose chief interest lay in the working class. The fault lay at the door of the powerful forces in

the state which had separated the working class into antagonistic groups hating and fearing each other more than they fea ed their exploiters. In slavery days the poor whites hated and feared the black slaves. These slaves deprived the free white workers of land and livelihood; drove them to the hills and barrens or to the slums of cities; they were largely disfranchised and managed to make a living by fawning on slaveowners, becoming slave over-seers or bearing arms to keep black slaves from revolt. They protested bitterly against this condition.

To these poor whites, emancipation seemed not an opportunity for Negroes to rise to the status of free white workers, but rather the chance of white labor to climb on the backs of Negroes. The freedmen therefore was not only exploited by former slaveowners but even more by the up-struggling whites; and when white workers got the vote --blacks were disfranchised . A cast legislation put the Negro legally u der the feet of the white workers, limiting his work, his wages, his dwelling place and his personal freedom. In the eyes of the Negro the white worker became his chief enemy; he led the lynch mobs, insulted him on the streets and took the food out of his mouth.

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The mass of the Northern working class opposed slavery and wanted slaves emancipated. But they were largely foreign emigrants and many like the Irish met the competition of free Negro workers on arrival and fought for work in pitched battles. The newer emigrants were warned against Negro cheap competing labor and did not regard these dark strangers as fellow workmen. Employers threw white and black into competing groups. So that the National Labor Union representing the best of American labor, despite its brave repudiation of color discrimination was unable in 1869 to secure admission of Negro workers into unions. Negroes rebuffed, tried to form their own unions but had to start with the demand for political power. For this they depended onthe Republican party and that party reduced them to serfdom in 1876. The Northern Unions in tight craft organizations so segregated the Negro worker that in 1902, the older trades like miners, longshore-

men and cigarmakers admitted Negroes; but the newer and better paid trades, like blacksmiths, smelters, engineers, metal workers, boilermakers, electric workers, glassmakers, oil workers, textile workers and a host of similar unions admitted in the new century few or no Negroes. When, therefore, I essayed to study the Negro worker, I had no meeting ground with the white laboring class. I invited the secretary of the Georgia Federation of Labor to our conference and he spoke but his hearers knew that his federation discriminated against Negroes. We studied Negro employees in Southern factories. We corresponded with all the unions in the nation but with small result. The American working class remained split by the color line. My study therefore became a study not of a working class but of a small part of one and the relations of these groups became more important than relations between worker and employer.

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In 1934 John Hope and I set out to revive the old Atlanta University conferences and studiesof the Negro Problems. Hope sought unsuccessfully to obtain funds for this enterprise. After his death I tried to see if some co-operative plan might supply funds. Frederick Keppell of the Carnegie Foundation gave us money for preliminary work in 1940 and 1941. I called the "First Phylon Conference" in April 1941. A good cross section of Negro leaders in education attended. Reports were made from each state on the economic conditions of Negroes. I tried to sum up the current conditions in this statement:

I. a. If thirteen millionpeople starve to death, it is because they are stupid.

b. Many American Negroes today are virtually starving.

II. a. There is no such thing as lack of useful,needful work.

b. There is wide and dangerous lack of adequate wage and income for certain individuals.

III. a. Facing these paradoxes the world is changing its economic organization today to meet them and is planning further change.

b. We as a minority group must plan also, not in opposition but in intelligent accord with this general world planning.

IV. a. We must especially beware of propaganda and distortion as to the present economic conditions and changes in the world.

1. We must not assume that business enterprise and economic welfare are synonomous terms and assume that because a business is profitable it is for that reason beneficial to the race or nation.

2. We must not assume that because racial organization cannot hire thirteen million Negroes, it cannot and should not hire thirteen thousand or more.

3. Because, as a minority group, we must in the main conform to the national economic patterns, is no proof that we cannot by intelligent action influence these patterns to our advantage.

V. a. Finally, we must get at the facts by the latest scientific technique.

b. We must gather, study, test, and interpret these facts.

c. We must remember that the starvation of Negroes in the United States benefits nobody; that full employment at a living wage for all Negroes as well as allwhites is at once the greatest patriotism and the greatest defense against war and evil.

~~Atlanta University did not have funds to undertake any movement for investigation and publication.~~ I visited Negro institutions from Virginia to Texas in order to see what co-operation I could start.

I became convinced of several things: first, the role of the government-supported land grant colleges in the development of Negro education was going to be large and progressively increasing. Second, these land grant colleges needed a program for social science studies which is at present undeveloped.

Third, rapid changes are now taking place in the Negro ethnic group and even more momentous ones impend. The 2nd World War has upset conventional economy, exacerbated racial consciesness and already led to bitter clashes. The developments after the war are bound to add to these difficulties. There is one and only one fundamental and definitive way to meet this situation and that is to begin a systematic study of the essential facts of the present condition of the Negro race and to establish a way of continuing and making more complete and effective such a study. Then in the event the nation can turn its attention and energies to remedial measures, it will not be necessary to waste time in belated efforts to get at the essential truth.

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Careful and exact knowledge of conditions and changes then are imperative and ought to be in process of gathering now in order to be available during and after the war. Fourth, this should not be the conventional type of "social study" --an instantaneous photograph of a sample group; but should be planned so as eventually to approach the stature of a total study of a complete situation, continuously photographed, and re-photographed, measured and re-measured; so that our knowledge of the vast and momentous social experiment in race relations now making in the United States, would attain a completeness and authority that would be unquestioned and unquestionable and available in the post war world which will surely need this sort of information. I believe that here is a chance not only to serve the Negro race and America, but also to serve the world and social science in an unique way. Fifth, the Negro Land-Grant Colleges, distributed usually one to a state and manned by pr sidents chosen by boards of Southern whites, would in many respects be ideal centers of social studies in each state, on matters touching the condition in each state of the people for whom the school exists and for whose advancement the school was established. Each of these schools has proclaimed its aim to be the promotion of industry and lifting the social

status of Negroes. Any such program needs exact knowledge of facts for its foundation.

Sixth, such studies to be effective must be well done and in accord with the latest scientific technique. They must not sink to mere propaganda nor white-washing. Most of the land grant colleges are not at present equipped with personnel or funds for this work; a few are. All need expert advice and guidance, to integrate, synchronize and direct this work, and help in the proper interpretation of its results. Seventh, here is where the Negro private institution of higher learning could well cooperate with the states and call to aid the advice of other universities, north and south.

Three Negro universities seem best fitted for this work of guidance and integration: Howard, which holds to the federal government a position analagous to that of the land grant colleges to the states; Fisk, which has among Negroes the best equipped department of social sciences in the South; Atlanta, where the first attempt was made in America to carry on a scientific study of the Negro problems.

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My first step toward realizing this project was to seek to sell the idea to the Negro land grant colleges. I talked the plan over with President Banks of Prairie View, who was a former student of mine; who, as I knew, had long had some such collaboration in mind, and who had the best social science department among Negro land grant colleges. He was enthusiastically in favor. I then secured permission to present the scheme to the annual conference of the presidents of Negro land grant colleges at Chicago, November, 1941.

In 1935, the Federal Government was giving $18,000,000 annually to land grant colleges in Southern states, which had colleges separated by race. Negroes forming over a fifth of the population of these states received only about five per cent of this money. For some time the Negro colleges had been pressing for a larger share, but the reply had been that such work as research in agriculture

or chemistry was being carried on in the white colleges and that it was not necessary to duplicate this work in Negro institutions. It occurred to me that a careful program of race studies planned for the Negro colleges might be the basis for a demand for a much larger share of Federal funds. I therefore addressed the organization of Negro Land Grant College Presidents in October, 1941. I said:

"With a comparatively small group like that of the American Negro, in a country of great economic efficiency like America, and spurred by every high incentive, there is no real reason why cultivated brains among us may not guide the great mass of our folk to desired economic and cultural ends. This, of course, depends on the extent to which these potential leaders have the will to sacrifice their talent to this end; and also on the actual knowlege which they possess to guide the mass toward real progress and not back to out-worn reaction.

"The problem before us is this: to put fourteen million people to work so that they may receive an income which will insure a civilized standard of living; to make it possible for them to preserve their health; to keep crime down to a minimum and to educate their children; with the eventual object of giving this group sufficient leisure to advance by means of talented persons among them in science and art and cultural patterns. And with the further idea that in so far as these objects are successful, the group will become nearer to actual equality with their fellow Americans and to civilized people the world over, and will thus remove from color prejudice a very real reason for its perpetuation.

"How can the college help the community earn a living? First, it can train students for existent needs, for which the community now pays. Sometimes educational philosophers talk as though this were the one end of the college; and a situation could be easily imagined where that might be pretty nearly true; where you have settled normal culture and an arrangement of work which is suitable for that culture; and relatively stable economic organization. Under these circumstances

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if a college trained men efficiently for these jobs and at the same time supplied a broad cultural outlook toward the future it would come near doing its main work.

"The college today, however, must do more --far more--than prepare men for jobs at present in demand and socially needful. The college must anticipate the future needs of the community and prepare education to meet them.

"Unless the college goes further than training for current jobs and goes out to meet and cooperate with the community in such a way that the man awaiting and prepared to do a necessary future work for the community can be employed now according to his capacity; unless this is done, the college program is fatally handicapped and the community expanision is crippled. The same thing applies to work which although needed is not now available for Negroes and may not be during the present generation. In that case a careful survey of the possibilities among fourteen million people might give an opportunity to create such jobs within our own group or by cooperation with others. This even more than the other case, involves a broad study of the economic conditions among Negroes and possibilities of their organizations. It would call not simply for the efforts of one college with its immediate community or its state, but the cooperative efforts of the Negro educational institutions of the South.

"This leads us to the fact that if the college is to make real and advantageous approach to its community, either its local or its general community, it must be helped by a careful, broad and continuous study of the social and economic set-up of that community; that is, we must know as we do not know today, the existing occupations of Negroes; not in the vague and general and necessarily inaccurate report of the decennial census, but by minute and complete survey and study of counties, towns and cities where the Negro po pulation is resident. We must take such a beginning as Charles Johnson's regional study of Southern counties, extend the data to 1940 and then complete it and carry it on continuously from year to year. We must have a group to group and person to person knowledge

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person knowledge of the condition of the laboring masses, of their opportunities and hindrances. And this kind of study ought to be made in accordance with the latest scientific techniques and on a national basis. There is no reason why a study like that of Allison Davis, "The Deep South", should not be made over the whole South so that we could paint with descriptions, facts and figures, the real social condition of the American Negro. The interpretation of this knowledge and its interaction with past history and current trends must be the continuously and critically examined conclusions of the best trained students of the social sciences. We must not depend on the narrow experience and conventional standards of business men; we must not resort to untried panaceas or emotional utopias. This study must be increasingly a matter of science, carried out to its inexorable and tested conclusions.

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"We need in sociology, a race regionalism which will narrow and concentrate on our Negroes the general regional studies of the South. Instead of the occasional snapshot of social conditions which was the social study of yesterday, we must aim at a continuous moving picture of ever increasing range and accuracy.

"A national planning institute must annually gather up and compare and interpret this great body of facts. There must be provided for this work, sufficient research. And finally through a central office, there must be wide and carefully edited publication of results.

"It is not only illogical but it is an indictment of the Negro college that the chief studies of the Negro's condition today are not being done by Negroes and Negro colleges. The center of gravity as well as the truth of investigation should be brought back to the control of an association of Negro colleges; and this not for the purpose of creating aNegro science or purely racial facts; but in order to make sure that the whole undistorted picture is there and that the complete interpretation is made by those most competent to do it, throught their own lives and training.

"Under the leadership of these same colleges, the communities must proceed to act, explore, experiment and build. They must organise their spending power to the last dollar, realising that a carefully and intelligently spent dollar is a more powerful ballot than a vote for a coroner. Advantage must be taken of decentralised cheap power like the TVA to push a new era of home manufactures and producers' cooperation. The churches can branch into real social work; they might oganise free legal defense for every accused Negro; the secret orders can further transform their regalias, rituals, and parades into orphanages and student aid. We can have cooperative medicine and dentistry and field hospitals to replace private practice. We have an enormously fertile field for economic experiment here on the threshold of a new industrial era. All it needs is scientific study, personal character and coordinated intelligence guided by the colleges. It is for the inception and carrying out of this program that I am appealing to you today."

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I proposed that this body agree to the following general plan:

1. A continuous and intensive study of the Negroes of each Southern state by each of the Negro Land Grant Colleges.

2. Preparation for ability to do this scientifically by strengthening the division of Social Sciences in each institution (History, Political Science, Psychology, Anthropology, Sociology, Economics) and provision of time and funds for study and research.

3. Inauguration of a general program of subjects and methods of research, with annual conferences, at which experts and representatives of other colleges should be present. Periodical integration, interpretation and publication of results.

I suggested the following detailed program for each Land Grant College:

1. A division of the "Social Sciences," teaching History, Anthropology, Sociology, Economics, Psychology, Political Sciences.

2. The integration of this teaching into one closely articulated study of

A. History

History of Europe
History of Asia
History of Africa
History of America
History of the United States
History of the Negro people in:
Africa
South and Central America
United States
In each state.

B. Social Sciences

Social Institutions	)	(Modern world
Anthropology	)	(United States
Economic Organization	)	(among Americans
Government	)	(among Negroes
Psychological reactions	)	(among Negroes in this State

3. A study of the facts concerning the Negroes of the state by counties, subdivisions of counties, villages, towns, cities, wards, blocks and households. The study to be carried on by professors, instuctors, fellows, social workers, volunteers and affiliated organizations.

The study to includes number of individuals, family groups, character of homes, location of homes; occupation of persons, incomes, expenditures, age, marital relations, education, property and recreation.

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4. The scope of this study will include the observation and measurement of all facts and situations which have to do with the status of the Negro population in the state; becoming as funds and facilities increase, more and more intensive and compschensive, until at last it virtually means a checking of every Negro family in the state including their activities, institutions and organisations.

5. The study will use all available data as the basis of its work, including the federal census of 1940, all state censuses, all reports of the state, the county and its subdivisions, concerning education, occupation, dependency and delinquincy.

SPECIAL STUDIES OF

6. All organizations of Negroes or working with or for Negroes: details of work, including churches, lodges, cemeteries, clubs, etc; their property and budgets.

7. All business conducted by Negroes and among Negroes; character, amount, approximate money value.

8. Commercialized recreations, movies, billiard rooms, gambling, prostitution, etc.

9. Public recreation; parks, playgrounds, etc., number, upkeep.

10. The participation of Negroes in government as voters and officials; tax-payers, property holders; officials and administrative methods.

METHODS, INTERPRETATION AND PUBLICATION

11. The methods and scope of these studies to be outlined by an annual conference, with each college represented and outside experts.

12. The resulting studies to be collected, interpreted and made public for an annual state meeting and for appublic museum and laboratory of the social sciences with maps, charts, models.

13. All the college reports to be brought together, studied, tabulated, analyzed and interpreted and integrated into an annual joint report.

THE NORTHERN NEGRO

14. Arrangements to be entered into with private Negro instituions to join with departments of the social sciences in Northern colleges to make similar studies of northern Negroes.

RESULTANT BODY OF KNOWLEDGE

15. This body of knowledge, continuously added to, checked and reviewed; improved in method and object; tabulated, interpreted, and integrated, to be used as the basis of raising the standard of living and cultural pattern of American Negroes through education, work, law, and social action.

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RESULTANT WORK FOR SOCIAL UPLIFT

16. For every social problem, institutional failure, or individual maladjustment made evident, located and measured, organizations will then attempt to discover or promote in the locality and state, remedies in

EDUCATION: special kinds and specific methods; private, industrial, grup, state and national efforts.

SOCIAL UPLIFT WORK: by hiring thoroughly trained social workers; by group effort; by voluntary effort.

HEALTH: by physicians and dentists; by group medical care; by hospitalization; syphilis; by childbirth and child welfare efforts.

RECREATION: music, a folk theatre, playgrounds, library facilities, sports.

17. But of all these efforts, the college and community should concentrate their first and chief attention upon the problems of earning a living among Negroes, since these are fundamental to practically all other efforts. Attention should be paid especially to work now available, to openings for earning a living which may be made available, and for general economic re-organization, such as is involved in consumers' and producers' cooperation; whereby not only intelligent saving can be made in the expenditure of income, but that new occupations, especially in home industries and small manufactures, can be established among Negroes.

18. Every attempt should be made to use existing institutions and organizations among Negroes, for undertaking efforts at social reform as outlined above: churches, fraternal lodges, women's clubs, schools, and in many cases, private businesses, can be used for increasing employment, finding new employment, furnishing legal defense, furnishing direct relief, improving health, organising recreation, furnishing student aid and promoting consumers' and producers' cooperation.

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FIRST STEPS

19. An immediate attempt on the part of the college in each state to reorganize their budgets so as to provide a gradually increasing minimum of funds for this program:

A. For teaching the Social Sciences.

B. For giving trained teachers, time and funds for investigation.

C. For providing, at the earliest moment, for the employment of social workers and fellows for investigation and social uplift.

D. For a publication fund.

E. For laying down a present program with plans for future expansion.

20. Minimum requirements for initiating the programs:

1. One or two teachers of History.
2. One or two teachers of Anthropology and Sociology.
3. One teacher of Economics.
4. One teacher of Psychology, with laboratory.
5. A teaching Fellow with some time and funds for field work.
6. A Social Worker with whole time for investigation and advice.

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The Presidents of the Negro Land Grant Colleges received this proposal with favor and adopted this general plan, June 12, 1942:

To initiate a series of cooperative studies of the social condition of the American Negro and more especially of his economic situation during and after this war.

For this purpose they propose to use in their institutions the division of the Social Sciences including history, anthropology, sociology, economics, political science, psychology, and other cognate subjects so as to give their students unified knowledge of social conditions and modern trends.

In addition to this they propose to recommend the use of one or more of their qualified instructors, with sufficient time and funds for a series of social studies, whose subject, methods and scope shall be determined after conferences with executives and investigators in other institutions, and with outside experts in the social sciences, including students of conditions among the white population. This proposal is subject to the approval of the governing boards in the various states.

The ultimate object of such conferences and studies shall be to accumulate a body of knowledge, intensively pursued according to the best scientific methods, continuously added to, checked and reviewed; improved in method and object; tabulated, interpreted and integrated to be used as the basis of raising the standard of living and cultural pattern of American Negroes through education, work, law and social action.

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We propose that the results of these studies by each college in its own state or section of state, shall be brought together, periodically compared, edited and published annually in some convenient form for the use of students legislators and social reformers.

For these purposes of conference, investigation and publication we propose to set aside in our annual budget such sums as may be approved by the various state authorities.

This was signed by the Presidents of 20 Negro Land Grant Colleges and eventually by the Presidents of Atlanta, Fisk and Howard. Representatives of War Production Board, the American Council of Education, the North Carolina Institute for Research in Social Science commended the plan as did School and Society and the Journal of Higher Education.

The Journal of Negro Education said in an article:

"Briefly, Dr. W.E. B. Du Bois' proposal, agreed upon by the Presidents of the Land Grant Colleges, assumes first a core of social studies in each of our Negro colleges and graduate schools. It assumes that by internal

administrative and staff effort these may be internally unified and coordinated for a joint, continuous attack upon the problem of the study of the Negro population in the area surrounding each college. It assumes that, pouring into a central headquarters, yet to be designated, for review and analysis by a central board, yet to be chosen, there would be a continuous flow of raw data and completed studies. It assumes central coordination, synthesis and report of these studies. It assumes that by this great increase in knowledge, sound and rich and full, we would have materials wholly convincing as to the needs of local, regional, and national Negro populations. It assumes that with this knowledgewe could so increase our wisdom as to be able both to make Negro higher education very much better than it is in all aspects and we would have the facts at last on which to base valid requests for support from foundations, individuals, and local, state, and national governments. By knowing what the problems are we would know also how to arrange them in priorities and further , much better than we know now, how to attack them each in turn with some expectation of success.

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The plan was finally implemented by this vote of the Conference of Negro Land Grant College Presidents on October 28, 1942:

1. That Dr. W.E. B. Du Bois be designated the official coordinator of the proposed sociological studies to be instituted by the various land grant colleges.
2. That each President appoint from his faculty a liason officer to serve as the agent for continued implementation of the project. This officer to report progress and seek further cooperation from the administration and faculty: preferably, though not necessarily, he should be a social scientist.
3. That each President agree to try to find funds in the college budget to permit attendance of liaison officer at a methodological conference

to be called by Dr. Du Bois at a convenient time and place, after appropriate correspondence should have further clarified various issues.

4. That the Executive Committee at this meeting address itself to possible ways and means of further financing said study, conference or other aspectsof the program.

The 26th Atlanta University Conference met at Robert Hall, Morehouse College, Atlanta, April 19 and 20, 1943. It became the first conference of the Negro Land Grant Colleges, for coordinating aprogram of cooperative social studies. Among those present were:

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E. Franklin Frazier, Library of Congress

Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University

Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina

E. B. Reuter, University of Iowa

T. Lynn Smith, Louisiana State University

Edgar T. Thompson, Duke University

Donald Young, Social Service Research Council

Thirty four persons attended, representing thirty institutions. The sessionms lasted two days and consisted of exhibits, reports, addresses and conferences.

By special invitation , there were present at the conference, eight well-known sociologists, from leading American institutions. These persons, after observation and consultation, have written the following opinions on the possiblities of this agreement. The names are arranged in order of academic seniority.

Howard Washington Odum, Kenan Professor of Sociology, and Director of the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina:

"It seems to me that in two or threeways a strong, integrated program

for research in the land grant colleges would constitute an important step forward. In the first place, the area in which they work is still virgin and important, and their laboratories are adequate for genuine research and experimentation. They have a fine opportunity to combine the social studies with the physical sciences and to implement them in practical programs."

Edward Byron Reuter, Professor of Sociology and Chairman of the Department; College of Commerce, University of Iowa:

"The plan for cooperative studies to be carried on by the Negro Land Grant Colleges seems to me to be a very wise development and one that may lead to increasingly important results. It will make possible a pooling of resources -- of time, staff, and funds --to discover and make known information that now gets too little public notice."

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Edward Franklin Frazier, Professor of Sociology and Head of Department, Howard University; Consultant in Negro bibliography, Library of Congress:

"To my mind, the Conference was significant because it represented the broadening and deepening of the stream of a great tradition which owes much to you. Moreover, the Conference was a distinct success in that it brought together and stimulated men and women who have generally been forced to work in isolation. Even if no other conferences were held, I am sure that many of those who attended this one would return to their work with a feeling that they were engaged in a worthwhile endeavor and that they had the support and appreciation of their fellow workers.

Charles Spurgeon Johnson, Director of the Department of Social Science, Fisk University; Trustee of the Julius Rosenwald Fund; Chairman of the Race Relations Committee of the American Missionary Association:

"The fact that so large a number of persons were present without direct financial aid from an outside source pointed to a reserve of interest that might be counted on to carry along a coordinated movement among the colleges. Not to be overlooked, however, is the prestige of an established and admired

scholar in this field who has served as an effective catalyzing agent."

Donald Ramsey Young, Research Secretary of the Social Science Research Council:

"I have no doubt whatever concerning the value of your objective. There is need for the encouragement and guidance of social and economic research at the Land Grant Colleges, both in terms of the benefits which should be derived therefrom by the institutions and their faculties and also in terms of the practical social utility of the anticipated results."

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Edgar Tristram Thompson, Associate Professor of Sociology, Duke University: "I feel that you have a good idea and that you deserve support in your efforts to carry it out. I appreciate your including me among the invited sociologists and I feel that my efforts to contribute to the conference have taught me something."

William Earle Cole, Professor of Sociology and Head of the Department, University of Tennessee; Acting Chairman of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation:

"I think you are starting something which is very fundamental and which should go a long way in improving not only the Negroes of the South but other peoples as well. I was greatly impressed with what the Negro colleges have been doing and the prospects for the future."

Thomas Lynn Smith, Professor of Sociology and Head of the Department, University of Louisiana:

"I think well of your plan for promoting research work on the part of the social science personnel at the land grant colleges for Negroes.

"The advice of sociologists at institutions for whites should be sought from time to time as the work goes along; but not the extent that there is any tendency at any institution for the white man to determine, even by suggestion, what shall be done by the Negro."

A second Conference was planned for the Spring of 1944, and I wrote in July 1943:

"This whole plan will comeup for discussion and modification in the Second Land Grant College Conference in the Spring of 1944. The main consideration is this: The economic situation of the Negro during and after the present war is a matter of critical and vital importance. There is going to be increased race friction and finally want and unemployment in the midst of violent social change. At such time we want accurate and carefully made social measurements, tested techniques and the machinery for further investigation. There will be neither time nor disposition during times of turmoil to initiate new and calm investigation. If now we begin this nationwide study of economic and social conditions, it can be continuously pursued through storm and stress and after the post-war calm form a priceless guide to social survival and lasting peace."

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Many other commendations came from across the nation, from white and black. Especially was the new cooperation among Negro institutions noted with Atlanta University as the acknowledged head and center of work.

Then at the moment of triumph of this carefully thought out and carefully planned scheme, came catastrophe. Without notice to me of any kind, I was retired from my professorship and headship of the department of Sociology at Atlanta University.

This was not merely a personal disaster. It was removing from leadership the one person who because of age and long experience; because of works published and a wide acquaintanceship based on the relation of teacher and student, happened to be the person to whom the presidents of Negro Land Grant Colleges and other Negroes of influence were willing to entrust this cooperative venture. President Clement of Atlanta University had quarrelled with the Land Grant Colleges a few years past. So that many of them did not like him personally. Most of the others did not know him but they did know Atanta University and they knew me. They were willing to put this plan into thse hands but they would not consent to cooperate with President Clement. There were doubtless at other Negro institutions persons capable of doing this job, but they were not as well known and in any case my selection gained unusual agreement and Atlanta University unprecedented prestige as the center of this venture.

My sudden retirement then savored of a deliberate plot, although this cannot be proven. The retirement age at Atlanta University was sixty-five. But I was sixty-five when President Hope called me to the University. Nothing was said between us about the conditions of eventual retirement--due to my usual neglect of financial considerati ns and because my good health gave me not thought of stopping work at any near time. Hope must have mentioned the matter to Florence Reed, treasurer, but they reached no decision that I knew of. Later I opposed Miss Reed's election as president to succeed Hope; and the new plan gained me wide acclaim. Even the General Education Board which handled Rockefeller funds favored my plan. President Clement while supporting the plan was not enthusiastic. As a new young unknown president, perhaps he saw my reputation overshadowing him. Letters came to me; visitors asked for me and no doubt Miss Reed encouraged his jealousy. I was conscious that this might occur and tried to be careful. On all my plans I consulted him. All invitations went out in his name. His delays and small objections seemed petty and I said so. Perhaps I was too brusque and not

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diplomatic enough in this and did not take into account his inexperience and lack of understanding. Doubtless too he had no desire to stop the development of the plan, but had no idea that I was at least for the time being so necessary for its firm establishment.

Neither Miss Reed nor President Clement said a word to me about retirement; but at the meeting of the Board of Trustees in 1944, Miss Reed proposed that I be retired. President Clement seconded the motion and apparently with little or no objection the Board passed the vote. Presumably most of the members assumed that the matter had been discussed with me and had my agreement. No pension was mentioned.

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At any rate without a word of warning I found myself at the age of 76, without employment and with less than five thousand dollars of savings. Not only was a great plan of scientific work killed at birth, but my own life was thrown into confusion. I felt the world tottering beneath my feet and I fought back in despair. Finally the trustees gave me a year's full salary in lieu of my never having been given notice of retirement. Also after offering me a pension of $100 a month, they finally granted me $1800 a year for five years and $1200 a year thereafter.

A word from the poet Sara Teasdale expressed my mood:

"When I can look life in the eyes,
Grown calm and very coldly wise,
Life will have given me the Truth
And taken in exchange -- my youth."

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My youth? I laughed grimly. It was not my youth that I was losing; it was my old age; and old age was worthless in the United States.

There were some earnest attempts to carry the proposed program on. It was transferred to Howard University, with E. Franklin Frazier in charge. An excellent conference was held in 1945. But Frazier was not given funds for continuing the project and the Land Grant Colleges gradually ceased to cooperate. The whole scheme died within a year or two. It has never been revived.

The result of this action was disastrous; not merely to me but to the American Negro. Up unitl this time the Negro himself had led in the study and interpretation of the condition of his race in the United States. Beginning with 1914, with accelerated speed the study of the Negro passed into the hands of whites and increasingly Southern whites. There were colored sociologists and historians but they worked without coordinated plan, without adequate funds or under superiors who were not interested. Finally many Negro writers found it profitable to write that Business and the Government demanded and

not the whole truth. Until in the last decade 1949 to 1959 with increasing unanimity, the thesis has been defended in a thousand books and papers that the Civil War was not a struggle to preserve and spread the slavery of black workers, but a holy crusade to maintain the superior civilisation of white folk and today current historians can treat American history and take no account of American Negroes and their activities in the Twentieth century.

There was another loss in the giving up of this plan, which I have never mentioned. Here was an unprecedented chance for an experiment in Sociology; for measuring and classifying human action, on a scale never before attempted; it would be reasonably sure of adequate funds and the best of trained cooperation and nationwide if not worl-wide criticism. On such a base a real science of Sociology could have been built. The opportunity was surrendered and the whole science of Sociology has suffered. Indeed today there is no recognized field of Sociology; almost no one calls himself a Sociologist and few institutions grant a degree in sociology. I even had projected a path of scientific approach: I was going to plot out beside the world of physical law, a science of Sociology which measured "the limits of chance in human action." If this field proved narrow or non-existent, world law was proven. If not the resultant "chance" was what men had always regarded as "Free Will." Meantime as students of human action hesitated and waited, Psychology measured nervous reaction; Physics merging with Chemistry rose to enormous accomplishment and helped by vast provision of mathematics, recast our whole conception of the universe. Finally Biology revealed new realms of what we now can mae as nothing but Chance beyond the area of conscious mind. Sociology has been by-passed, and reduced to Social Work.

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THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

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In the fall of 1896, I went to the University of Pennsylvania as "Assistant Instructor" in Sociology. It all happened this way: Philadelphia, then and still one of the worst governed of America's badly governed cities, was having one of its periodic spasms of reform. A thorough study of causes was called for. Not bnt what the underlying cause was evident to most whites Philadelphians: the corrupt, semi-criminal vote of the Negro Seventh Ward. Everyone agreed that here lay the cancer; but would it not be well to give scientific sanction to the known causes by an investigation, with imprimateur of the University? It certainly would, answered Samuel McCune Lindsay of the Department of Sociology. And he put his finger on me for the task.

If Lindsay had been a smaller man and had been induced to follow the usual American pattern of treating Negroes, he would have asked me to assist him as his clerk in this study. Probably I would have accepted having nothing better in sight for work in sociology. But Lindsay regarded me as a scholar in my own right and probably proposed to make me an instructor. Evidently the faculty demurred at having a colored instructor. But since I had a Harvard Ph.D., and had published a recognized work in history, the University could hardly offer me a fellowship. A compromise was hit on and I was nominated to the unusual status of "assistant" instructor. Even at that there must have been some opposition, for the invitation was not particularly cordial. I was offered a salary of $900 for a period limited to one year. I was given no real academic standing, no office at the University, no official recognition of any kind; my

~~name was eventually omitted from the catalogue;~~ I had no contact with students, and very little with members of the faculty, even in my own department.

I did not hesitate an instant but reported for duty with a complete plan of work and outline of methods and aims and even proposed schedules to be filled out. My general plan was promptly accepted and I started to work, consulting Lindsay regularly but never meeting the faculty.

The Provost of the University furnished the following credentials:

"In connection with the College Settlement, the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania have undertaken the study of the social condition of the Colored People of the Seventh Ward of Philadelphia. The University has entered upon this work as a part of its duty and wishes to make the investigation as thorough and exact as possible. We want to know precisely how this class of people live; what occupation they follow; from what occupations they are excluded; how many of their children go to school; and to ascertain every fact which will throw light upon this social problem; and then having this information and these accurate statistics before us, to see to what extent and in what way, proper remedies may be applied. Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois is the investigator on behalf of the University, and I write to bespeak for him your cordial reception and earnest co-operation."

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The two years at Wilberforce had been my uneasy apprenticeship, and with my advent into the University of Pennsylvania, I began a more clearly planned career which had an unusual measure of success, but was in the end pushed aside by forces which, if not entirely beyond my control, were yet of great weight.

The opportunity opened at the University of Pennsylvania seemed just what I wanted. I had offered to teach social science at Wilberforce (where I had been teaching) outside of my overloaded program, but I was not allowed. (nevertheless) My vision was becoming clearer. The Negro problem was in my mind a matter of systematic investigation and intelligent understanding. The world was thinking wrong about race, because it did not know. The ultimate evil was stupidity. The cure for it was knowledge based on scientific study.

At the University of Pennsylvania I ignored the pitiful stipend. It made no difference to me that I was put down as an "assistant instructor" and even at that, that my name never actually got into the catalogue; it goes without saying that I did no instructing save once to pilot a pack of idiots through the Negro slums.

Of the theory back of the plan of this study of Negroes I neither knew nor cared. I saw only here a chance to study an historical group of black folk and to show exactly what their place was in the community. I did it despite extraordinary difficulties both within and without the group. Whites said: Why study the obvious? Blacks said: Are we animals to be dissected and by an unknown Negro at that? Yet, I made a study of the Philadelphia Negro so thorough that it has withstood the criticism of sixty years.

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I counted my task here as simple and clear-cut; I proposed to find out what was the matter with this areaand why. I started with no "research methods" and I asked little advice as to procedure. Theproblem lay before me. Study it. I studied it personally and not by Proxy. I sent out no canvassers. I went myself. Personally I visited and talked with five thousand persons. What I could, I set down in orderly sequence on schedules which I made out and submitted to the University for criticism. Other information I stored in my memory or wrote out as memoranda. I went through the Philadelphia libraries for data, gained access in many instances to private libraries of colored folk and got individual information. I mapped the district, classifying it by condition; I compiled two centuries of the history of the Negro in Philadelphia and in the Seventh Ward.

It would have been a fine thing if after this difficult, successful piece of work, the University of Pennsylvania had at least offered me a temporary instructorship in the college or in the Wharton School. Harvard had never dreamed of such a thing: a half century later one of Harvard's professors said of a gifted Negro student: "We'd give him a position if he were not a Negro!" ~~White~~

Eventually this brilliant man after serving in UNESCO successfully, committed suicide. What these institutions could not understand was that what I wanted was not a position in a white college, but a chance to teach Negro students on a high scientific level.

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White Harvard

classmates of lower academic rank than I, became full professors at Pennsylvania and Chicago. Here in my case an academic accolade from a great American university would have given impetus to my life work which I was already determined to make in a Negro institution in the South. The thing that galled was that such an idea never even occurred to this institution whose head was a high official of the Sugar Trust. But I did not mention this rebuff. I did not let myself think of it. But then, as now, I know an insult when I see it.

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At the end of that study, I announced with a certain pride my plan of studying the complete Negro problem in the United States. I spoke at the forty-second meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences in Philadelphia, November 19, 1897, and my subject was "The Study of the Negro Problems." I began by asserting that in the development of sociological study there was at least one positive answer which years of research and speculation had been able to return, and that was : "The phenomena of society are worth the most careful and systematic study, and whether or not this study may eventually lead to a systematic body of knowledge deserving the name of science, it cannot in any case fail to give the world a mass of truth worth the knowing." I then defined and tried to follow the development of the Negro problem not as one problem, but "rather a plexus of social problems, some new, some old, some simple, some complex; and these problems have their one bond of unity in the fact that they group themselves about those Africans whom two centuries of slave-trading brought into the land."

I insisted on the necessity of carefully studying these problems and said: "The American Negro deserves study for the great end of advancing the cause of No such opportunity to watch and measure the history and development of a great race of men ever presented itself to the scholars of a modern nation. If they miss this opportunity -- if they do the work in a slip-shod, unsystematic manner -- if they dally with the truth to humor the whims of the day, they do far more than hurt the good name of the American people; they hurt the cause of scientific

truth the world over, they voluntarily decrease human knowledge of a universe of which we are ignorant enough, and they degrade the high end of truth-seeking in a day when they need more and more to dwell upon its sanctity."

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Finally I tried to lay down a plan for the study, postulating only: that the Negro "is a member of the human race, and as one who, in the light of history and experience is capable to a degree of improvement and culture, is entitled to have his interests considered according to his numbers in all conclusions astto the common weal."

Dividing the prospective scientific study of the Negro into two parts: the social group and his peculiar social environment, I proposed to study the social group by historical investigation, statistical measurement and sociological interpretation. Particularly with regard to anthropology, I said;

"That there are differences between the white and black races is certain, but just what those differences are is known to none with an approach to accuracy. Yet here in America is the most remarkable opportunity ever offered of studying these differences, of noting influences of climate and physical environment, and particularly of studying the effect of amalgamating two of the most diverse races in the world -- another subject which rests under acloud of ignorance."

In concluding, I said:

"It is to the credit of the University of Pennsylvania that she has been the first to recognise her duty in this respect and in so far as restricted means and opportunity hälowed, has attempted to study the Negro problems in a single definite locality. This work needs to be extended to other groups, and carried out with larger system; and here it would seem is the opportunity of the Southern Negro college. We hear much of higher Negro education, and yet all candid people know there does not exist today in the center of Negro population a single first-class fully equipped institution, devoted to the higher education of Negroes; not more than three Negro institutions in the South deserve the name of 'college' at all; and yet what is a Negro college but a vast college settlement for the

study of a particular set of peculiarly baffling problems?

"What more effective or suitable agency could be found in which to focus the scientific efforts of the great universities of North and East, than an institution situated in the very heart of these social problems, and made the center of careful historical and statistical research? Without doubt the first effective step toward the solving of the Negro question will be the endowment of a Negro college which is not merely a teaching body, but a center of sociological research, in close connection and co-operation with Harvard, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, and University of Pennsylvania.

"Finally the necessity must again be emphasized of keeping clearly before students the object of all science, amid the turmoil and intense feeling that clouds the discussion of a burning social question. We live in a day when in spite of the brilliant accomplishments of a remarkable century, there is current much flippant criticism of scientific work; when the truth-seeker is too often pictured as devoid of human sympathy, and careless of human ideals. We are still prone in spite of all our culture to sneer at the heroism of the laboratory while we cheer the swagger of the street broil. At such times true lovers of humanity can only hold higher the pure ideals of science, and continue to insist that if we would solve a problem we must study it, and there is but one coward on earth and that is the coward that dare not know."

From the University of Pennsylvania I went to Atlanta University in 1896 and stayed thirteen years until 1910.

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The main significance of my work at Atlanta University, during the years 1897 to 1910 was the development at an American institution of learning, of a program of study on the problems affecting the American Negroes, covering a progressively widening and deepening effort designed to stretch over the span of a century. This program was grafted on an attempt by George Bradford of Boston, o one of the trustees, to open for Atlanta University a field of usefulness for city Negroes comparable to what Hampton and Tuskegee were doing for rural districts s in agriculture and industry. At the Hampton and Tuskegee Conferences, there came together annually and in increasing numbers, workers, experts and observers to encourage by speeches and interchange of experience the Negro farmers and laborers of adjoining areas. Visitors, white and colored, from North and South, joined to advise and learn. Mr. Bradford's idea was to establish at Atlanta a similar conference, devoted especially to problems of city Negroes. The first conference, emphasizing particularly Negro health problems, was held in 1896. Immediately the University looked about for a man to teach history and political science, and take charge of future conferences. I was chosen.

When I took charge of the Atlanta Conference, I did not pause to consider how far my developed plans agreed or disagreed with the ideas of the already launched project. It made little essential difference, since only one conference had been held and a second planned. These followed the Hampton and Tuskegee model of being primarily meetings of inspiration, directed toward specific efforts at social reform and aimed at propaganda for social uplift in certain preconceived lines. This program at Atlanta, I sought to swing as on a pivot to one of scientific investigation into social conditions, primarily for scientific ends: I put no special emphasis on special reform effort, but increasing and widening emphasis on the collection of a basic body of fact concerning the social condition of American Negroes, endeavoring to reduce the condition to exact measurement whenever or wherever occasion permitted. As time passed, it happened that many uplift efforts

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were in fact based on our studies: the kindergarten system of the city of Atlanta, white as well as black; the Negro Business League, and various projects to better health and combat crime. We came to be however, as I had intended, increasingly, a source of general information and a basis for further study, rather than an organ of social reform.

The proverbial visitor from Mars would have assumed as elemental a study in America of American Negroes -- as physical specimens; as biological growths; as a field of investigation in economic development from slave to free labor; as a psychological laboratory in human reaction toward caste and discrimination; as an unique case of physical and cultural intermingling. These and a dozen other subjects of scientific interest, would have struck the man from Mars as eager lines of investigation for American social scientists. He would have been astounded to learn that the only institution in America in 1900 with any such program of study was Atlanta University, where ona budget of $5000 a year, including salaries, cost of publication, investigation and annual meetings, we were essaying this pioneer work.

My program for the succession of conference studies was modified by many considerations: cost, availability of suitable data, tested methods of investigation; moreover I could not plunge too soon into such controversial subjects as politics or miscegenation. Within these limitations, I finished a ten-year cycle study as follows:

1896, Mortality among Negroes in Cities

1897, Social and Physical Condition of Negroes in Cities

1898, Some Efforts of Negroes for Social Betterment

1899, The Negro in Business

1900, The College-Bred Negro

1901, The Negro Common School

1902, The Negro Artisan

1903, The Negro Church

1904, Notes on Negro Crime

1905, A Select Bibliography of the American Negro

I then assayed for the second decade a broader program, more logical, more inclusive, and designed to bring the whole subject matter into a better integrated whole. But continued lack of funds, and outside diversions (like the request of the Carnegie Institution of 1907 for a study of cooperation) kept even the second decade from the complete logic of arrangement which I desired; finally, my leaving Atlanta in 1910 and at last ~~the~~ the severing of my connection with the conference in 1914, left ~~the~~ the full form of my program still unfinished. I did, however publish the following eight studies:

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1906, Health and Physique of the Negro American

1907, Economic Cooperation among Negro Americans

1908, The Negro American Family

1909, Efforts for Social Betterment among Negro Americans

1910, The College-Bred Negro American

1911, The Common School and the Negro American

1912, The Negro American Artisan

1914, Morals and Manners among Negro Americans

With the publication of 1914, my connection with Atlanta ceased for twenty years. Although studies and publications were prepared by others at the University in 1915 and 1918, the war finally stopped the enterprise.

What I was laboriously but steadily approaching in this effort was a recurring cycle of ten studies in succeeding decades; with repetition of each subject or some modification of it in each decade, upon a progressively broader and more exact basis and with better method; until gradually a foundation of carefully ascertained fact would build a basis of knowledge, broad and sound enough to be called scientific in the best sense of that term.

Just what form this dream would eventually have taken, I do not know. So far as actually forecast, it had assumed in 1914, some such form as this:

1. Population, Distribution and Growth
2. Biology: Health and Physique
3. Socialization: Family, Group and Class
4. Cultural Patterns: Morals and Manners
5. Education
6. Religion and the Church
7. Crime
8. Law and Government
9. Literature and Art
10. Summary and Bibliography

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I proposed as I have said, to repeat each of these every ten years, basing the studies on ever broader and more carefully gathered data. Eventually I hoped to keep all the inquiries going simultaneously, only emphasising and reporting on one particular subject each year. This would have allowed some necessary shifting or combination of subjects as time and developments might suggest; and adjustments to new scientific advance in fields like anthropology and psychology. The plan would have called in time for a large and well-paid staff of experts and a study of method and testing of results such as no group of Americans were engaged in at the time; beginning with a definite, circumscribed group, but ending with the human race.

The program however was weak on its economic side. It did not stress enough the philosophy of Marx and Engels and was of course far too soon for Lenin. The program ought to have been - and as I think would have been if I had kep on this work - the Economic development of the American Negro slave; on this central thread all the other subjects would have been strung. But this I had no chance to essay.

Social scientists at the time were thinking in terms of theory and vast and eternal laws, but I had a concrete group of loving beings artificially set off by themselves and capable of almost laboratory experiment. I laid down an ambitious program for a hundred years of study. I proposed to take up annually in each decade the main aspects of the group life of Negroes with as thorough study and measurement as possible.

and repeat the same program in the succeeding decade with additions, changes and better methods. In this way, I proposed gradually to broaden and intensify the study, sharpen the tools of investigation and perfect our methods of work, so that we would have an increasing body of scientifically ascertained fact, instead of the vague mass of the so-called Negro problems. And through this laboratory experiment I hoped to make the laws of social living clearer, surer, and more definite.

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Some of this was accomplished, but of course only an approximation of the idea. For thirteen years we poured forth a series of studies, limited, incomplete, only partially conclusive, and yet so much better done than any other attempt of the sort in the nation that they gained attention throughout the world. In all we published a total of 2,172 pages which formed a current encyclopedia on the American Negro problems.

These studies with all their imperfections were widely distributed in the libraries of the world and used by scholars. It may be said without undue boasting that between 1896 and 1920 there was no study of the race problem in America made which did not depend in some degree upon the investigations made at Atlanta University; often they were widely quoted and commended.

I had heartening letters from persons of eminence and character. William James wrote in 1907: "I have just looked through the last installment of your studies on the American Negro. I wish the portraits might have been better printed. But it is splendid scientific work." Frank Taussig of Harvard wrote the same year: "In my judgement no better work is being done in the country, and no better opportunity is afforded for financial support on the part of those who wish to further the understanding of the Negro problem." Booker Washington, who spoke at our conference on on the Negro artisan in 1911, said: "The whole country should be grateful to this institution for the painstaking and systematic manner in which it has developed from year to year a series of facts which are proving most vital and helpful to the interests of our nation." Professor E.R.A. Seligman wrote: "I take great pleasure in testifying to my very high appreciation of the studies on the Negro proglem which you have been editing for the past few years. They are essentially scholarly and that means sober

and temperate, and they are covering a field which is almost untilled and which is not apt to be cultivated by others." Jane Addams attended our conference in 1908 and commended our work.

Many periodicals mentioned our work:

London Spectator, 1900:

This work is being done with much intelligence, discrimination and assiduity at the instance and under the inspiration of Atlanta University.

School Review, 1902:

The work of this conference is constructive and merits hearty support.

Outlook, 1903:

No student of the race problem, no person who would either think or speak upon it intelligently, can afford to be ignorant of the facts brought out in the Atlanta series of sociological studies of the conditions and the progress of the Negro.

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Publications of the Southern History Association, 1904:

The work done under the direction of the Atlanta Conference is entitled to the respectful and thoughtful consideration of every man interested in any aspect of the life of the American Negro.

South Atlantic Quarterly, 1904:

They constitute, so far as the reviewer can learn, the most important body of direct evidence ever published as to moral and religious conditions of our colored people.

N.Y. Evening Post, 1905:

The only scientific studies of the Negro question being made today are those carried on by Atlanta University.

It must be remembered that the significance of these studies lay not so much in what they were actually able to accomplish, as in the fact that at the time of their publication Atlanta University was the only institution in the world carrying on a systematic study of the Negro and his development, and putting the result in a form available for the scholars of the world.

In 1909 I tried to start an "Encyclopedia Africana" and secured as members of the board of advisers the following distinguished scholars:

Sir Harry Johnston, K.C.B., England
Prof. W.M. Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., England
William Archer, Esq., England
Miss Alice Werner, England
Dr. Francis Hoggan, England
Prof. Giuseppi Sergi, Italy
Dr. Karl Weule, Germany
Dr. J. Deniker, France
Major R.M. Daniel, Bechuanaland, Africa
Prof. A. B. Hart, L.L.D., Harvard
Prof. William James, L.L.D., Harvard
Prof. Hugo Munsterberg, L.L.D., Harvard
President G. Stanley Hall, L.L.D., Clark
Prof. A. F. Chamberlain, Ph.D., Clark
Prof. Franz Boas, Ph.D., Columbia

Sixty-two Negro scholars were on the Editorial Board, including:

Kelley Miller, A.M., (Howard)
H.O. Tanner, France
Richard T. Greener, A.B., Harvard
Charles W. Chesnutt
John R. Lynch, U.S. Army
W. S. Scarborough, L.L.D., Oberlin

and many others. I never was able to raise funds to carry this enterprise further forward.

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In 1900 came a significant occurence which not until lately have I set in its proper place in my life. I had been for over nine years studying the American Negro Problem. The result had been significant because of its unusual nature and not for its positive accomplishment. I wanted to set down its aim and method in some outstanding way which would bring my work to the notice of the thinking world. The great World Fair at Paris was being planned and I thought I might put my findings into plans, charts and figures, so one might see what we were trying to accomplish. I got a couple of my best students and put a series of facts into charts: the size and growth of the Negro American group; its division by age and sex; its distribution, education and occupations; its books and periodicals. We made a most interesting set of drawings, limned on pasteboard cards about a yard square and mounted on a number of movable standards. The details of finishing these fifty or more charts, in colors, with accuracy, was terribly difficult with little money, limited time and not too much encouragement. I was threatened with nervous prostration before I was done and had little money

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left to buy passage to Paris, nor was there a cabin left for sale. But the exhibit would fail unless I was there. So at the last moment I bought passage in the steerage and went over and installed the work. It was an immediate success. It occupied a small room, perhaps twenty feet square but the room was always full. The American press, white and colored was full of commendation and in the end, the end, the exhibit received a Grand Prize, and I, as its author, a Gold Medal.

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About the same time, I approached the United States Commissioner of Labor. For several years I had been able to do now and then certain small studies for the Bureau of Labor, which had been accepted and paid for. It began with a proposal to Carroll D. Wright in 1897 for a study of the Negro in a Virginia town in 1898, which Mr. Wright authorized me to make on my own responsibility, promising only to print it if he like it. He did like it. This was followed by a major study of the Negro in the Black Belt in 1899 and among Negroes in Georgia in 1901, and I thsn approached the Bureau with a new proposal.

I asked United States Commissioner of Labor, Neill, in 1906, to authorize a study of a Black Belt community. I wanted to take Lowndes County, Alabama, in a former slave state with a large majority of Negroes, and make a social and economic study from the earliest times when documents were available, down to the present; supplemented by studies of official records and a present house-to-house canvass of Negroes. I plied Commissioner Neill with plans and specifications until at last he authorized the study. Helped by Monroe Work, of Tuskegee Institute, and R. R. Wright, now a bishop of the A.M.E. Church, and a dozen or more local employees, I settled at the Calhoun School and began the study.

It was carried on with all sorts of difficulties, including financing which was finally arranged by loans from the University, and with the greeting of some of my agents with shotguns in certain parts of the county; but it was ~~eventually finished by hand with no~~

eventually finished. The difficult schedules were tabulated and I made chronological maps of the division of the land; I considered the distribution of labor; the relation of landlord and tenant; the political organization and the family life and the distribution of the population. The report was finished by hand with no copy, and rushed to Washington. It was criticized and I spent some weeks there in person, revising a nd perfecting it. It was finally accepted by the government, and $2,000 paid for it, most of which went back to the University in repayment of funds which they had kindly furnished me to carry on the work. But the study was not published. I knew the symptoms of this sort of treatment: in 1898, S.S. McClure had sent me to south Georgia to make a study of social situations there. He paid for the report but never published the manuscript and he afterward did the same thing in the case of Sir Harry Johnston.

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I finally approached the Bureau and tried to find out when it would be published and was told that the Bureau had decided not to publish the manuscript, since it "touched on political matters." I was astonished and disappointed, but after a year I went back to them again and asked if they would allow me to have the manuscript since they were not going to use it. They told me it had been destroyed!

It was of course crazy for me to dream that America, in the dawn of the Twentieth Century with Colonial Imperialism, based on the suppression of colored folk, at its zenith, would encourage, much less adequately finance, such a program at a Negro college under Negro scholars. My faith in its success was based on the firm belief that race prejudice was based on widespread ignorance. My long-term remedy was Truth: carefully gathered scientific proof that neither color nor race determined the limits of a man's capacity or desert. I was not at the time sufficiently Freudian to understand how little human action is based on reason; nor did I know Karl Marx well enough to appreciate the economic foundations of human history.

I was therefore astonished and infinitely disappointed, gradually to realize that our work in the Atlanta conferences was not getting support; that, far from being able to command increased revenue for better methods of investigation and wider fields, it was with increasing difficulty that the aging and overworked President, with his deep earnestness and untiring devotion to principle, could collect enough to maintain even our normal activities. The conference had not been without a measure of success. Our reports were widely read and commented upon. On the other hand, so far as the American world of science and letters was concerned, we never "belonged"; we remained unrecognized in learned societies and academic groups. We rated merely as Negroes studying Negroes, and after all what had Negroes to do with America or Science? Gradually and with deep disappointment I began to realize, as early as 1906, that my program for studying the Negro problems must soon end, unless it received unforeseen support.

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By the second decade of the Twentieth Century, a legal caste system based on race and color, had been openly grafted on the democratic constitution of the United States. This explains why, in 1910, I gave up my position at Atlanta University and became Director of Publications and Research for the newly formed National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of which I was one of the incorporators in 1911.

From 1910 to 1934 I gave up almost entirely my attempt at making a scientific study of the Negro problems in America and devoted myself to propaganda in oder to convince Americans, black and white, that they must make a serious ethical effort to correct the wrong interest in the Negro problems and try to stop lynching and mob violence, encourage education, enforce the laws and make new laws. From 1910 to 1934 I carried on this work in cooperation with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and as editor of a small monthly magazine called the Crisis which eventually reached a circulation of 100,000.

39-46-38

The Crisis, however, depended upon subscriptions for support and when the great depression fell upon the land the working people, especially the Negroes, were unable to support the Crisis further. I therefore resigned the editorship af the little magazine and turned again back to my attempt at scientific work in solution of race problems. I was induced to do this because my close friend John Hope had become President of a new Atlanta University which was a graduate school connected with several undergraduate colleges. It was endowed by the General Education Board and it seemed probable tha there could now arise in the South an institution of learning under the control of colored teachers which could have become a center of a new sociology of race problems.

In one aspect of the Negro problem in America, my program had limited success; that was its relation to the white working class. The Negroes were working folk -- farmers, laborers, proters and servants. They belonged in the main to the "Have-nots" as over against the "Haves." Yet they were not regarded as an integral part of the American workers and I as a student of their plight and their efforts was continually treating them as a separate class instead of grouping them with the mass of workers. This was not because of any failure on my part to conceive of the Negroes as primarily workers whose chief interest lay in the working class. The fault lay at the door of the powerful forces in

the state which had separated the working class into antagonistic groups hating and fearing each other more than they fea ed their exploiters. In slavery days the poor whites hated and feared the black slaves. These slaves deprived the free white workers of land and livelihood; drove them to the hills and barrens or to the slums of cities; they were largely disfranchised and managed to make a living by fawning on slaveowners, becoming slave over-seers or bearing arms to keep black slaves from revolt. They protested bitterly against this condition.

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To these poor whites, emancipation seemed not an opportunity for Negroes to rise to the status of free white workers, but rather the chance of white labor to climb on the backs of Negroes. The freedmen therefore was not only exploited by former slaveowners but even more by the up-struggling whites; and when white workers got the vote --blacks were disfranchised . A cast legislation put the Negro legally under the feet of the white workers, limiting his work, his wages, his dwelling place and his personal freedom. In the eyes of the Negro the white worker became his chief enemy; he led the lynch mobs, insulted him on the streets and took the food out of his mouth.

The mass of the Northern working class opposed slavery and wanted slaves emancipated. But they were largely foreign emigrants and many like the Irish met the competition of free Negro workers on arrival and fought for work in pitched battles. The newer emigrants were warned against Negro cheap competing labor and did not regard these dark strangers as fellow workmen. Employers threw white and black into competing groups. So that the National Labor Union representing the best of American labor, despite its brave repudiation of color discrimination was unable in 1869 to secure admission of Negro workers into unions. Negroes rebuffed, tried to form their own unions but had to start with the demand for political power. For this they depended onthe Republican party and that party reduced them to serfdom in 1876. The Northern Unions in tight craft organizations so segregated the Negro worker that in 1902, the older trades like miners, longshore-

men and cigarmakers admitted Negroes; but the newer and better paid trades, like blacksmiths, smelters, engineers, metal workers, boilermakers, electric workers, glassmakers, oil workers, textile workers and a host of similar unions admitted in the new century few or no Negroes. When, therefore, I essayed to study the Negro worker, I had no meeting ground with the white laboring class. I invited the secretary of the Georgia Federation of Labor to our conference and he spoke but his hearers knew that his federation discriminated against Negroes. We studied Negro employees in Southern factories. We corresponded with all the unions in the nation but with small result. The American working class remained split by the color line. My study therefore became a study not of a working class but of a small part of one and the relations of these groups became more important than relations between worker and employer.

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In 1934 John Hope and I set out to revive the old Atlanta University conferences and studiesof the Negro Problems. Hope sought unsuccessfully to obtain funds for this enterprise. After his death I tried to see if some co-operative plan might supply funds. Frederick Keppell of the Carnegie Foundation gave us money for preliminary work in 1940 and 1941. I called the "First Phylon Conference" in April 1941. A good cross section of Negro leaders in education attended. Reports were made from each state on the economic conditions of Negroes. I tried to sum up the current conditions in this statements

I. a. If thirteen millionpeople starve to death, it is because they are stupid.

b. Many American Negroes today are virtually starving.

II. a. There is no such thing as lack of useful,needful work.

b. There is wide and dangerous lack of adequate wage and income for certain individuals.

III. a. Facing these paradoxes the world is changing its economic organization today to meet them and is planning further change.

b. We as a minority group must plan also, not in opposition but in intelligent accord with this general world planning.

IV. a. We must especially beware of propaganda and distortion as to the present economic conditions and changes in the world.

1. We must not assume that business enterprise and economic welfare are synonomous terms and assume that because a business is profitable it is for that reason beneficial to the race or nation.

2. We must not assume that because racial organization cannot hire thirteen million Negroes, it cannot and should not hire thirteen thousand or more.

3. Because, as a minority group, we must in the main conform to the national economic patterns, is no proof that we cannot by intelligent action influence these patterns to our advantage.

39-46-41

V. a. Finally, we must get at the facts by the latest scientific technique.

b. We must gather, study, test, and interpret these facts.

c. We must remember that the starvation of Negroes in the United States benefits nobody; that full employment at a living wage for all Negroes as well as allwhites is at once the greatest patriotism and the greatest defense against war and evil.

~~Atlanta University did not have funds to undertake any movement for investigation and publication, so~~ I visited Negro institutions from Virginia to Texas in order to see what co-operation I could start.

I became convinced of several things: first, the role of the government-supported land grant colleges in the development of Negro education was going to be large and progressively increasing. Second, these land-grant colleges needed a program for social science studies which is at present undeveloped.

Third, rapid changes are now taking place in the Negro ethnic group and even more momentous ones impend. The 2nd World War has upset conventional economy, exacerbated racial consciosness and already led to bitter clashes. The developments after the war are bound to add to these difficulties. There is one and only one fundamental and definitive way to meet this situation and that is to begin a systematic study of the essential facts of the present condition of the Negro race and to establish a way of continuing and making more complete and effective such a study. Then in the event the nation can turn its attention and energies to remedial measures, it will not be necessary to waste time in belated efforts to get at the essential truth.

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Careful and exact knowledge of conditions and changes then are imperative and ought to be in process of gathering now in order to be available during and after the war. Fourth, this should not be the conventional type of "social study" --an instantaneous photograph of a sample group; but should be planned so as eventually to approach the stature of a total study of a complete situation, continuously photographed, and re-photographed, measured and re-measured; so that our knowledge of the vast and momentous social experiment in race relations now making in the United States, would attain a completeness and authority that would be unquestioned and unquestionable and available in the post war world which will surely need this sort of information. I believe that here is a chance not only to serve the Negro race and America, but also to serve the world and social science in an unique way. Fifth, the Negro Land-Grant Colleges, distributed usually one to a state and manned by presidents chosen by boards of Southern whites, would in many respects be ideal centers of social studies in each state, on matters touching the condition in each state of the people for whom the school exists and for whose advancement the school was established. Each of these schools has proclaimed its aim to be the promotion of industry and lifting the social

status of Negroes. Any such program needs exact knowledge of facts for its foundation.

Sixth, such studies to be effective must be well done and in accord with the latest scientific technique. They must not sink to mere propaganda nor white-washing. Most of the land grant colleges are not at present equipped with personnel or funds for this work; a few are. All need expert advice and guidance, to integrate, synchronize and direct this work, and help in the proper interpretation of its results. Seventh, here is where the Negro private institution of higher learning could well cooperate with the states and call to aid the advice of other universities, north and south.

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Three Negro universities seem best fitted for this work of guidance and integration: Howard, which holds to the federal government a position analagous to that of the land grant colleges to the states; Fisk, which has among Negroes the best equipped department of social sciences in the South; Atlanta, where the first attempt was made in America to carry on a scientific study of the Negro problems.

My first step toward realizing this project was to seek to sell the idea to the Negro land grant colleges. I talked the plan over with President Banks of Prairie View, who was a former student of mine; who, as I knew, had long had some such collaboration in mind, and who had the best social science department among Negro land grant colleges. He was enthusiastically in favor. I then secured permission to present the scheme to the annual conference of the presidents of Negro land grant colleges at Chicago, November, 1941.

In 1935, the Federal Government was giving $18,000,000 annually to land grant colleges in Southern states which had colleges separated by race. Negroes forming over a fifth of the population of these states received only about five per cent of this money. For some time the Negro colleges had been pressing for a larger share, but the reply had been that such work as research in agriculture

or chemistry was being carried on in the white colleges and that it was not necessary to duplicate this work in Negro institutions. It occurred to me that a careful program of race studies planned for the Negro colleges might be the basis for a demand for a much larger share of Federal funds. I therefore addressed the organization of Negro Land Grant College Presidents in October, 1941. I said

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"With a comparatively small group like that of the American Negro, in a country of great economic efficiency like America, and spurred by every high incentive, there is no real reason why cultivated brains among us may not guide the great mass of our folk to desired economic and cultural ends. This, of course, depends on the extent to which these potential leaders have the will to sacrifice their talent to this end; and also on the actual knowlege which they possess to guide the mass toward real progress and not back to out-worn reaction.

"The problem before us is this: to put fourteen million people to work so that they may recive an income which will insure a civilized standard of living; to make it possible for them to preserve their health; to keep crime down to a minimum and to educate their children; with the eventual object of giving this group sufficient leisure to advance by means of talented persons among them in science and art and cultural patterns. And with the further idea that in so far as these objects are successful, the group will become nearer to actual equality with their fellow Americans and to civilized people the world over, and will thus remove from color prejudice a very real reason for its perpetuation.

"How can the college help the community earn a living? First, it can train students for existent needs, for which the community now pays. Sometimes educational philosophers talk as though this were the one end of the college; and a situation could be easily imagined where that might be pretty nearly true; where you have settled normal culture and an arrangement of work which is suitable for that culture; and relatively stable economic organization. Under these circumstances

if a college trained men efficiently for these jobs and at the same time supplied a broad cultural outlook toward the future it would come near doing its main work.

"The college today, however, must do more --far more--than prepare men for jobs at present in demand and socially needful. The college must anticipate the future needs of the community and prepare education to meet them.

"Unless the college goes further than training for current jobs and goes out to meet and cooperate with the community in such a way that the man awaiting and prepared to do a necessary future work for the community can be employed now according to his capacity; unless this is done, the college program is fatally handicapped and the community expanision is crippled. The same thing applies to work which although needed is not now available for Negroes and may not be during the present generation. In that case a careful survey of the possibilities among fourteen million people might give an opportunity to create such jobs within our own group or by cooperation with others. This even more than the other case, involves a broad study of the economic conditions among Negroes and possibilities of their organisations. It would call not simply for the efforts of one college with its immediate community or its state, but the cooperative efforts of the Negro educational institutions of the South.

39-46-45

"This leads us to the fact that if the college is to make real and advantageous approach to its community, either its local or its general community, it must be helped by a careful, broad and continuous study of the social and economic set-up of that community; that is, we must know as we do not know today, the existing occupations of Negroes; not in the vague and general and necessarily inaccurate report of the decennial census, but by minute and complete survey and study of counties, towns and cities where the Negro po pulation is resident. We must take such a beginning as Charles Johnson's regional study of Southern counties, extend the data to 1940 and then complete it and carry it on continuously from year to year. We must have a group to group and person to

~~person knowledge~~

person knowledge of the condition of the laboring masses, of their opportunities and hindrances. And this kind of study ought to be made in accordance with the latest scientific techniques and on a national basis. There is no reason why a study like that of Allison Davis, "The Deep South", should not be made over the whole South so that we could paint with descriptions, facts and figures, the real social condition of the American Negro. The interpretation of this knowledge and its interaction with past history and current trends must be the continuously and critically examined conclusions of the best trained students of the social sciences. We must not depend on the narrow experience and conventional standards of business men; we must not resort to untried panaceas or emotional utopias. This study must be increasingly a matter of science, carried out to its inexorable and tested conclusions.

39-46-46

"We need in sociology, a race regionalism which will narrow and concentrate on our Negroes the general regional studies of the South. Instead of the occasional snapshot of social conditions which was the social study of yesterday, we must aim at a continuous moving picture of ever increasing range and accuracy.

"A national planning institute must annually gather up and compare and interpret this great body of facts. There must be provided for this work, sufficient research. And finally through a central office, there must be wide and carefully edited publication of results.

"It is not only illogical but it is an indictment of the Negro college that the chief studies of the Negro's condition today are not being done by Negroes and Negro colleges. The center of gravity as well as the truth of investigation should be brought back to the control of an association of Negro colleges; and this not for the purpose of creating aNegro science or purely racial facts; but in order to make sure that the whole undistorted picture is there and that the complete interpretation is made by those most competent to do it, throught their own lives and training.

"Under the leadership of these same colleges, the communities must proceed to act, explore, experiment and build. They must organize their spending power to the last dollar, realizing that a carefully and intelligently spent dollar is a more powerful ballot than a vote for a coroner. Advantage must be taken of decentralized cheap power like the TVA to push a new era of home manufactures and producers' cooperation. The churches can branch into real social work; they might oganize free legal defense for every accused Negro; the secret orders can further transform their regalias, rituals, and parades into orphanages and student aid. We can have cooperative medicine and dentistry and field hospitals to replace private practice. We have an enormously fertile field for economic experiment; here on the threshold of a new industrial era. All it needs is scientific study, personal character and coordinated intelligence guided by the colleges. It is for the inception and carrying out of this program that I am appealing to you today."

39-46-47

I proposed that this body agree to the following general plan:

1. A continuous and intensive study of the Negroes of each Southern state by each of the Negro Land Grant Colleges.

2. Preparation for ability to do this scientifically by strengthening the division of Social Sciences in each institution (History, Political Science, Psychology, Anthropology, Sociology, Economics) and provision of time and funds for study and research.

3. Inauguration of a general program of subjects and methods of research, with annual conferences, at which experts and representatives of other colleges should be present. Periodical integration, interpretation and publication of results.

I suggested the following detailed program for each Land Grant College:

1. A division of the "Social Sciences," teaching History, Anthropology, Sociology, Economics, Psychology, Political Sciences.

2. The integration of this teaching into one closely articulated study of

A. History

History of Europe
History of Asia
History of Africa
History of America
History of the United States
History of the Negro people in:
    Africa
    South and Central America
    United States
    In each state.

B. Social Sciences

Social Institutions	)	(Modern world
Anthropology	)	(United States
Economic Organization	)	(among Americans
Government	)	(among Negroes
Psychological reactions	)	(among Negroes in this State

3. A study of the facts concerning the Negroes of the state by counties, subdivisions of counties, villages, towns, cities, wards, blocks and households. The study to be carried on by professors, instuctors, fellows, social workers, volunteers and affiliated organizations.

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The study to include: number of individuals, family groups, character of homes, location of homes; occupation of persons, incomes, expenditures, age, marital relations, education, property and recreation.

4. The scope of this study will include the observation and measurement of all facts and situations which have to do with the status of the Negro population in the state; becoming as funds and facilities increase, more and more intensive and comprehensive, until at last it virtually means a checking of every Negro family in the state including their activities, institutions and organisations.

5. The study will use all available data as the basis of its work, including the federal census of 1940, all state censuses, all reports of the state, the county and its subdivisions, concerning education, occupation, dependency and delinquincy.

SPECIAL STUDIES OF

6. All organizations of Negroes or working with or for Negroes: details of work, including churches, lodges, cemeteries, clubs, etc; their property and budgets.

7. All business conducted by Negroes and among Negroes; character, amount, approximate money value.

8. Commercialized recreations, movies, billiard rooms, gambling, prostitution, etc.

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9. Public recreation; parks, playgrounds, etc., number, upkeep.

10. The participation of Negroes in government as voters and officials; tax - payers, property holders; officials and administrative methods.

METHODS, INTERPRETATION AND PUBLICATION

11. The methods and scope of these studies to be outlined by an annual conference, with each college represented and outside experts.

12. The resulting studies to be collected, interpreted and made public for an annual state meeting and for appublic museum and laboratory of the social sciences with maps, charts, models.

13. All the college reports to be brought together, studied, tabulated, analyzed and interpreted and integrated into an annual joint report.

THE NORTHERN NEGRO

14. Arrangements to be entered into with private Negro instituions to join with departments of the social sciences in Northern colleges to make similar studies of northern Negroes.

RESULTANT BODY OF KNOWLEDGE

15. This body of knowledge, continuously added to, checked and reviewed; improved in method and object; tabulated, interpreted, and integrated, to be used as the basis of raising the standard of living and cultural pattern of American Negroes through education, work, law, and social action.

RESULTANT WORK FOR SOCIAL UPLIFT

16. For every social problem, institutional failure, or individual maladjustment made evident, located and measured, organizations will then attempt to discover or promote in the locality and state, remedies in

EDUCATION: special kinds and specific methods; private, industrial, grup, state and national efforts.

SOCIAL UPLIFT WORK: by hiring thoroughly trained social workers; by group effort; by voluntary effort.

HEALTH: by physicians and dentists; by group medical care; by hospitalization; syphilis; by childbirth and child welfare efforts.

RECREATION: music, a folk theatre, playgrounds, library facilities, sports.

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17. But of all these efforts, the college and community should concentrate their first and chief attention upon the problems of earning a living among Negroes, since these are fundamental to practically all other efforts. Attention should be paid especially to work now available, to openings for earning a living which may be made available, and for general economic re-organization, such as is involved in consumers' and producers' cooperation; whereby not only intelligent saving can be made in the expenditure of income, but that new occupations, especially in home industries and small manufactures, can be established among Negroes.

18. Every attempt should be made to use existing institutions and organizations among Negroes, for undertaking efforts at social reform as outlined above: churches, fraternal lodges, women's clubs, schools, and in many cases, private businesses, can be used for increasing employment, finding new employment, furnishing legal defense, furnishing direct relief, improving health, organizing recreation, furnishing student aid and promoting consumers' and producers' cooperation.

FIRST STEPS

19. An immediate attempt on the part of the college in each state to reorganize their budgets so as to provide a gradually increasing minimum of funds for this program:

A. For teaching the Social Sciences;

B. For giving trained teachers, time and funds for investigation.

C. For providing, at the earliest moment, for the employment of social workers and fellows for investigation and social uplift.

D. For a publication fund.

E. For laying down a present program with plans for future expansion.

20. Minimum requirements for initiating the program:

1. One or two teachers of History.
2. One of two teachers of Anthropology and Sociology.
3. One teacher of Economics.
4. One teacher of Psychology, with laboratory.
5. A teaching Fellow with some time and funds for field work.
6. A Social Worker with whole time for investigation and advice.

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The Presidents of the Negro Land Grant Colleges received this proposal with favor and adopted this general plan, June 12, 1942:

To initiate a series of cooperative studies of the social condition of the American Negro and more especially of his economic situation during and after this war.

For this purpose they propose to use in their institutions the division of the Social Sciences including history, anthropology, sociology, economics, political science, psychology, and other cognate subjects so as to give their students unified knowledge of social conditions and modern trends.

In addition to this they propose to recommend the use of one or more of their qualified instructors, with sufficient time and funds for a series of social studies, whose subject, methods and scope shall be determined after conferences with executives and investigators in other institutions, and with outside experts in the social sciences, including students of conditions among the white population. This proposal is subject to the approval of the governing boards in the various states.

The ultimate object of such conferences and studies shall be to accumulate a body of knowledge, intensively pursued according to the best scientific methods, continuously added to, checked and reviewed; improved in method and object; tabulated, interpreted and integrated to be used as the basis of raising the standard of living and cultural pattern of American Negroes through education, work, law and social action.

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We propose that the results of these studies by each college in its own state or section of state, shall be brought together, periodically compared, edited and published annually in some convenient form for the use of students legislators and social reformers.

For these purposes of conference, investigation and publication we propose to set aside in our annual budget such sums as may be approved by the various state authorities.

This was signed by the Presidents of 20 Negro Land Grant Colleges and eventually by the Presidents of Atlanta, Fisk and Howard. Representatives of War Production Board, the American Council of Education, the North Carolina Institute for Research in Social Science commended the plan as did School and Society and the Journal of Higher Education.

The Journal of Negro Education said in an article:

"Briefly, Dr. W.E. B. Du Bois' proposal, agreed upon by the Presidents of the Land Grant Colleges, assumes first a core of social studies in each of our Negro colleges and graduate schools. It assumes that by internal

administrative and staff effort these may be internally unified and coordinated for a joint, continuous attack upon the problem of the study of the Negro population in the area surrounding each college. It assumes that, pouring into a central headquarters, yet to be designated, for review and analysis by a central board, yet to be chosen, there would be a continuous flow of raw data and completed studies. It assumes central coordination, synthesis and report of these studies. It assumes that by this great increase in knowledge, sound and rich and full, we would have materials wholly convincing as to the needs of local, regional, and national Negro populations. It assumes that with this knowledgewe could so increase our wisdom as to be able both to make Negro higher education very much better than it is in all aspects and we would have the facts at last on which to base valid requests for support from foundations, individuals, and local, state, and national governments. By knowing what the problems are we would know also how to arrange them in priorities and further , much better than we know now, how to attack them each in turn with some expectation of success.

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The plan was finally implemented by this vote of the Conference of Negro Land Grant College Presidents on October 28, 1942:

1. That Dr. W.E. B. Du Bois be designated the official coordinator of the proposed sociological studies to be instituted by the various land grant colleges.
2. That each President appoint from his faculty a liason officer to serve as the agent for continued implementation of the project. This officer to report progress and seek further cooperation from the administration and faculty: preferably, though not necessarily, he should be a social scientist.
3. That each President agree to try to find funds in the college budget to permit attendance of liaison officer at a methodological conference

to be called by Dr. Du Bois at a convenient time and place, after appropriate correspondence should have further clarified various issues.

4. That the Executive Committee at this meeting address itself to possible ways and means of further financing said study, conference or other aspectsof the program.

39-46-54

The 26th Atlanta University Conference met at Robert Hall, Morehouse College, Atlanta, April 19 and 20, 1943. It became the first conference of the Negro Land Grant Colleges, for coordinating aprogram of cooperative social studies. Among those present were:

E. Franklin Frazier, Library of Congress

Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University

Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina

E. B. Reuter, University of Iowa

T. Lynn Smith, Louisiana State University

Edgar T. Thompson, Duke University

Donald Young, Social Service Research Council

Thirty four persons attended, representing thirty institutions. The sessionss lasted two days and consisted of exhibits, reports, addresses and conferences.

By special invitation , there were present at the conference, eight well-known sociologists, from leading American institutions. These persons, after observation and consultation, have written the following opinions on the possiblities of this agreement. The names are arranged in order of academic seniority.

Howard Washington Odum, Kenan Professor of Sociology, and Director of the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina:

"It seems to me that in two or threeways a strong, integrated program

for research in the land grant colleges would constitute an important step forward. In the first place, the area in which they work is still virgin and important, and their laboratories are adequate for genuine research and experimentation. They have a fine opportunity to combine the social studies with the physical sciences and to implement them in practical programs."

Edward Byron Reuter, Professor of Sociology and Chairman of the Department; College of Commerce, University of Iowa:

"The plan for cooperative studies to be carried on by the Negro Land Grant Colleges seems to me to be a very wise development and one that may lead to increasingly important results. It will make possible a pooling of resources -- of time, staff, and funds --to discover and make known information that now gets too little public notice."

Edward Franklin Frazier, Professor of Sociology and Head of Department, Howard University; Consultant in Negro bibliography, Library of Congress:

39-46-55

"To my mind, the Conference was significant because it represented the broadening and deepening of the stream of a great tradition which owes much to you. Moreover, the Conference was a distinct success in that it brought together and stimulated men and women who have generally been forced to work in isolation. Even if no other conferences were held, I am sure that many of those who attended this one would return to their work with a feeling that they were engaged in a worthwhile endeavor and that they had the support and appreciation of their fellow workers.

Charles Spurgeon Johnson, Director of the Department of Social Science, Fisk University; Trustee of the Julius Rosenwald Fund; Chairman of the Race Relations Committee of the American Missionary Association:

"The fact that so large a number of persons were present without direct financial aid from an outside source pointed to a reserve of interest that might be counted on to carry along a coordinated movement among the colleges. Not to be overlooked, however, is the prestige of an established and admired

scholar in this field who has served as an effective catalyzing agent."

Donald Ramsey Young, Research Secretary of the Social Science Research Council:

"I have no doubt whatever concerning the value of your objective. There is need fpr the encouragement and guidance of social and economic research at the Land Grant Colleges, both in terms of the benefits which should be derived thereform by the institutions and their faculties and also in terms of the practical social utility of the anticipated results."

39-11-1

Edgar Tristram Thompson: Associate Professor of Sociology, Duke University: "I feel that you have a ood idea and that you deserve support in your efforts to carry it out. I appreciate your including me among the invited sociologists and I feel that my efforts to contribute to the conference have taught me something."

William Earle Cole, Professor of Sociology and Head of the Department, University of Tennessee; Acting Chairman of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation:

"I think you are starting somet ing which is very fundamental and which should go a long way in improving not only the Negroes of the South but other peoples as well. I was greatly impressed with what the Negro colleges have been doing and the prospects for the future."

Thomas Lynn Smith, Professor of Sociology and Head of the Department, University of Louisiana:

"I think well of your plan for promoting research work on the part of the social science personnel at the land grant colleges for Negroes.

"The advice of sociologists at institutions for whites should be sought from time to time as the work goes along; but not the extent that there is any tendency at any institution for the white man to determine, even by suggestion, what shall be done by the Negro."

A second Conference was planned for the Spring of 1944, and I wrote in July 1943:

"This whole plan will comeup for discussion and modification in the Second Land Grant College Conference in the Spring of 1944. The main consideration is this: The economic situation of the Negro during and after the present war is a matter of critical and vital importance. There is going to be increased race friction and finally want and unemployment in the midst of violent social change. At such time we want accurate and carefully made social measurements, tested techniques and the machinery for further investigation. There will be neither time nor disposition during times of turmoil to initiate new and calm investigation. If now we begin this nationwide study of economic and social conditions, it can be continuously pursued through storm and stress and after the post-war calm form a priceless guide to social survival and lasting peace."

39-11-2

Many other commendations came from across the nation, from white and black. Especially was the new cooperation among Negro institutions noted with Atlanta University as the acknowledged head and center of work.

Then at the moment of triumph of this carefully thought out and carefully planned scheme, came catastrophe. Without notice to me of any kind, I was retired from my professorship and headship of the department of Sociology at Atlanta University.

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This was not merely a personal disaster. It was removing from leadership the one person who because of age and long experience; because of works published and a wide acquaintanceship based on the relation of teacher and student, happened to be the person to whom the presidents of Negro Land Grant Colleges and other Negroes of influence were willing to entrust this cooperative venture. President Clement of Atlanta University had quarrelled with the Land Grant Colleges a few years past. So that many of them did not like him personally. Most of the others did not know him but they did know Atanta University and they knew me. They were willing to put this plan into thse hands but they would not consent to co-operate with President Clement. There were doubtless at other Negro institutions persons capable of doing this job, but they were not as well known and in any case my selection gained unusual agreement and Atlanta University unprecedented prestige as the center of this venture.

My sudden retirement then savored of a deliberate plot, although this cannot be proven. The retirement age at Atlanta University was sixty-five. But I was sixty-five when President Hope called me to the University. Nothing was said between us about the conditions of eventual retirement--due to my usual neglect of financial considerati ns and because my good health gave me not thought of stopping work at any near time. Hope must have mentioned the matter to Florence Reed, treasurer, but they reached no decision that I knew of. Later I opposed Miss Reed's election as president to succeed Hope; and the new plan gained me wide acclaim. Even the General Education Board which handled Rockefeller funds favored my plan. President Clement while supporting the plan was not enthusiastic. As a new young unknown president, perhaps he saw my reputation overshadowing him. Letters came to me; visitors asked for me and no doubt Miss Reed encouraged his jealousy. I was conscious that this might occur and tried to be careful. On all my plans I consulted him. All invitations went out in his name. His delays and small objections seemed petty and I said so. Perhaps I was too brusque and not

diplomatic enough in this and did not take into account his inexperience and lack of understanding. Doubtless too he had no desire to stop the development of the plan, but had no idea that I was at least for the time being so necessary for its firm establishment.

Neither Miss Reed nor President Clement said a word to me about retirement; but at the meeting of the Board of Trustees in 1944, Miss Reed proposed that I be retired. President Clement seconded the motion and apparently with little or no objection the Board passed the vote. Presumably most of the members assumed that the matter had been discussed with me and had my agreement. No pension was mentioned.

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At any rate without a word of warning I found myself at the age of 76, without employment and with less than five thousand dollars of savings. Not only was a great plan of scientific work killed at birth, but my own life was thrown into confusion. I felt the world tottering beneath my feet and I fought back in despair. Finally the trustees gave me ayear's full salary in lieu of my never having been given notice of retirement. Also after offering me a pension of $100 a month, they finally granted me $1800 a year for five years and $1200 a year thereafter.

A word from the poet Sara Teasdale expressed my mood:

"When I can look life in the eyes,
Grown calm and very coldly wise,
Life will have given me the Truth
And taken in exchange -- my youth."

My youth? I laughed grimly. It was not my youth that I was losing; it was my old age; and old age was worthless in the United States.

There were some earnest attempts to carry the proposed program on. It was transferred to Howard University, with E. Franklin Frazier in charge. An excellent conference was held in 1945. But Frazier was not given funds for continuing the project and the Land Grant Colleges gradually ceased to cooperate. The whole scheme died within a year or two. It has never been revived.

The result of this action was disastrous; not merely to me but to the American Negro. Up unitl this time the Negro himself had led in the study and interpretation of the condition of his race in the United States. Beginning with 1914, with accelerated speed the study of the Negro passed into the hands of whites and increasingly Southern whites. There were colored sociologists and historieans but they worked without coordinated plan, without adequate funds or under superiors who were not interested. Finally many Negro writers found it profitable to write what Business and the Government demanded and

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not the whole truth. Until in the last decade 1949 to 1959 with increasing unanimity, the thesis has been defended in a thousand books and papers that the Civil War was not a struggle to preserve and spread the slavery of black workers, but a holy crusade to maintain the superior civilization of white folk and today current historians can treat American history and take no account of American Negroes and their activities in the Twentieth century.

There was another loss in the giving up of this plan, which I have never mentioned. Here was an unprecedented chance for an experiment in Sociology; for measuring and classifying human action, on a scale never before attempted; it would be reasonably sure of adequate funds and the best of trained cooperation and nationwide if not worl-wide criticism. On such a base a real science of Sociology could have been built. The opportunity was surrendered and the whole science of Sociology has suffered. Indeed today there is no recognized field of Sociology; almost no one calls himself a Sociologist and few institutions grant a degree in sociology. I even had projected a path of scientific approach: I was going to plot out beside the world of physical law, a science of Sociology which measured "the limits of chance in human action." If this field proved narrow or non-existent, world law was proven. If not the resultant "chance" was what men had always regarded as "Free Will." Meantime as students of human action hesitated and waited, Psychology measured nervous reaction; Physics merging with Chemistry rose to enormous accomplishment and helped by vast provision of mathematics, recast our whole conception of the universe. Finally Biology revealed new realms of what we now can mac as nothing but Chance beyond the area of conscious mind. Sociology has been by-passed, and reduced to Social Work.

THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

In the fall of 1896, I went to the University of Pennsylvania as "Assistant Instructor" in Sociology. It all happened this way: Philadelphia, then and still one of the worst governed of America's badly governed cities, was having one of its periodic spasms of reform. A thorough study of causes was called for. Not but what the underlying cause was evident to most white Philadelphians: the corrupt, semi-criminal vote of the Negro Seventh Ward. Everyone agreed that here lay the cancer; but would it not be well to give scientific sanction to the known causes by an investigation, with imprimatur of the University? It certainly would, answered Samuel McCune Lindsay of the Department of Sociology. And he put his finger on me for the task.

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If Lindsay had been a smaller man and had been induced to follow the usual American pattern of treating Negroes, he would have asked me to assist him as his clerk in this study. Probably I would have accepted having nothing better in sight for work in sociology. But Lindsay regarded me as a scholar in my own right and probably proposed to make me an instructor. Evidently the faculty demurred at having a colored instructor. But since I had a Harvard Ph.D., and had published a recognized work in history, the University could hardly offer me a fellowship. A compromise was hit on and I was nominated to the unusual status of "assistant" instructor. Even at that there must have been some opposition, for the invitation was not particularly cordial. I was offered a salary of $900 for a period limited to one year. I was given no real academic standing, no office at the University, [redacted]

~~[illegible]~~; I had no contact with students, and very little with members of the faculty, even in my own department.

I did not hesitate an instant but reported for duty with a complete plan of work and outline of methods and aims and even proposed schedules to be filled out. My general plan was promptly accepted and I started to work, consulting Lindsay regularly but never meeting the faculty.

The Provost of the University furnished the following credentials:

"In connection with the College Settlement, the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania have undertaken the study of the social condition of the Colored People of the Seventh Ward of Philadelphia. The University has entered upon this work as a part of its duty and wishes to make the investigation as thorough and exact as possible. We want to know precisely how this class of people live; what occupation they follow; from what occupations they are excluded; how many of their children go to school; and to ascertain every fact which will throw light upon this social problem; and then having this information and these accurate statistics before us, to see to what extent and in what way, proper remedies may be applied. Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois is the investigator on behalf of the University, and I write to bespeak for him your cordial reception and earnest co-operation."

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The two years at Wilberforce had been my uneasy apprenticeship, and with my advent into the University of Pennsylvania, I began a more clearly planned career which had an unusual measure of success, but was in the end pushed aside by forces which, if not entirely beyond my control, were yet of great weight.

The opportunity opened at the University of Pennsylvania seemed just what I wanted. I had offered to teach social science at Wilberforce (where I had been teaching) outside of my overloaded program, but I was not allowed. (Nevertheless) My vision was becoming clearer. The Negro problem was in my mind a matter of systematic investigation and intelligent understanding. The world was thinking wrong about race, because it did not know. The ultimate evil was stupidity. The cure for it was knowledge based on scientific study.

At the University of Pennsylvania I ignored the pitiful stipend. It made no difference to me that I was put down as an "assistant instructor" and even [redacted], that my name never actually got into the catalogue; it goes without saying that I did no instructing save once to pilot a pack of idiots through the Negro slums.

Of the theory back of the plan of this study of Negroes I neither knew nor cared. I saw only here a chance to study an historical group of black folk and to show exactly what their place was in the community. I did it despite extraordinary difficulties both within and without the group. Whites said: Why study the obvious? Blacks said: Are we animals to be dissected and by an unknown Negro at that? Yet, I made a study of the Philadelphia Negro so thorough that it has withstood the criticism of sixty years.

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I counted my task here as simple and clear-cut; I proposed to find out what was the matter with this areaand why. I started with no "research methods" and I asked little advice as to procedure. Theproblem lay before me. Study it. I studied it personally and not by Proxy. I sent out no canvassers. I went myself. Personally I visited and talked with five thousand persons. What I could, I set down in orderly sequence on schedules which I made out and submitted to the University for criticism. Other information I stored in my memory or wrote out as memoranda. I went through the Philadelphia libraries for data, gained access in many instances to private libraries of colored folk and got individual information. I mapped the district, classifying it by condition; I compiled two centuries of the history of the Negro in Philadelphia and in the Seventh Ward.

It would have been a fine thing if after this difficult, successful piece of work, the University of Pennsylvania had at least offered me a temporary instructorship in the college or in the Wharton School. Harvard had never dreamed of such a thing: a half century later one of Harvard's professors said of a gifted Negro student: "We'd give him a position if he were not a Negro!"

Eventually this brilliant man after serving in UNESCO successfully, committed suicide. What these institutions could not understand was that what I wanted was not a position in a white college, but a chance to teach Negro students on a high scientific level.

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(White Harvard) classmates of lower academic rank than I, became full professors at Pennsylvania and Chicago. Here in my case an academic accolade from a great American university would have given impetus to my life work which I was already determined to make in a Negro institution in the South. The thing that galled was that such an idea never even occurred to this institution whose head was a high official of the Sugar Trust. But I did not mention this rebuff. I did not let myself think of it. But then, as now, I know an insult when I see it.

At the end of that study, I announced with a certain pride my plan of studying the complete Negro problem in the United States. I spoke at the forty-second meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences in Philadelphia, November 19, 1897, and my subject was "The Study of the Negro Problems." I began by asserting that in the development of sociological study there was at least one positive answer which years of research and speculation had been able to return, and that was : "The phenomena of society are worth the most careful and systematic study, and whether or not this study may eventually lead to a systematic body of knowledge deserving the name of science, it cannot in any case fail to give the world a mass of truth worth the knowing." I then defined and tried to follow the development of the Negro problem not as one problem, but "rather a plexus of social problems, some new, some old, some simple, some complex; and these problems have their one bond of unity in the fact that they group themselves about those Africans whom two centuries of slave-trading brought into the land."

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I insisted on the necessity of carefully studying these problems and said: "The American Negro deserves study for the great end of advancing the cause of science. No such opportunity to watch and measure the history and development of a great race of men ever presented itself to the scholars of a modern nation. If they miss this opportunity -- if they do the work in a slip-shod, unsystematic manner -- if they dally with the truth to humor the whims of the day, they do far more than hurt the good name of the American people; they hurt the cause of scientific

truth the world over, they voluntarily decrease human knowledge of a universe of which we are ignorant enough, and they degrade the high end of truth-seeking in a day when they need more and more to dwell upon its sanctity."

Finally I tried to lay down a plan for the study, postulating only: that the Negro "is a member of the human race, and as one who, in the light of history and experience is capable to a degree of improvement and culture, is entitled to have his interests considered according to his numbers in all conclusions as to the common weal."

Dividing the prospective scientific study of the Negro into two parts: the social group and his peculiar social environment, I proposed to study the social group by historical investigation, statistical measurement and sociological interpretation. Particularly with regard to anthropology, I said:

"That there are differences between the white and black races is certain, but just what those differences are is known to none with an approach to accuracy. Yet here in America is the most remarkable opportunity ever offered of studying these differences, of noting influences of climate and physical environment, and particularly of studying the effect of amalgamating two of the most diverse races in the world -- another subject which rests under a cloud of ignorance."

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In concluding, I said:

"It is to the credit of the University of Pennsylvania that she has been the first to recognize her duty in this respect and in so far as restricted means and opportunity allowed, has attempted to study the Negro problems in a single definite locality. This work needs to be extended to other groups, and carried out with larger system; and here it would seem is the opportunity of the Southern Negro college. We hear much of higher Negro education, and yet all candid people know there does not exist today in the center of Negro population a single first-class fully equipped institution, devoted to the higher education of Negroes; not more than three Negro institutions in the South deserve the name of 'college' at all; and yet what is a Negro college but a vast college settlement for the

study of a particular set of peculiarly baffling problems?

"What more effective or suitable agency could be found in which to focus the scientific efforts of the great universities of North and East, than an institution situated in the very heart of these social problems, and made the center of careful historical and statistical research? Without doubt the first effective step toward the solving of the Negro question will be the endowment of a Negro college which is not merely a teaching body, but a center of sociological research, in close connection and co-operation with Harvard, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, and University of Pennsylvania.

"Finally the necessity must again be emphasized of keeping clearly before students the object of all science, amid the turmoil and intense feeling that clouds the discussion of a burning social question. We live in a day when in spite of the brilliant accomplishments of a remarkable century, there is current much flippant criticism of scientific work; when the truth-seeker is too often pictured as devoid of human sympathy, and careless of human ideals. We are still prone in spite of all our culture to sneer at the heroism of the laboratory while we cheer the swagger of the street broil. At such times true lovers of humanity can only hold higher the pure ideals of science, and continue to insist that if we would solve a problem we must study it, and there is but one coward on earth and that is the coward that dare not know."

From the University of Pennsylvania I went to Atlanta University in 1896 and stayed thirteen years until 1910.

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The main significance of my work at Atlanta University, during the years 1897 to 1910 was the development at an American institution of learning, of a program of study on the problems affecting the American Negroes, covering a progressively widening and deepening effort designed to stretch over the span of a century. This program was grafted on an attempt by George Bradford of Boston, one of the trustees, to open for Atlanta University a field of usefulness for city Negroes comparable to what Hampton and Tuskegee were doing for rural districts in agriculture and industry. At the Hampton and Tuskegee Conferences, there came together annually and in increasing numbers, workers, experts and observers to encourage by speeches and interchange of experience the Negro farmers and laborers of adjoining areas. Visitors, white and colored, from North and South, joined to advise and learn. Mr. Bradford's idea was to establish at Atlanta a similar conference, devoted especially to problems of city Negroes. The first conference, emphasizing particularly Negro health problems, was held in 1896. Immediately the University looked about for a man to teach history and political science, and take charge of future conferences. I was chosen.

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When I took charge of the Atlanta Conference, I did not pause to consider how far my developed plans agreed or disagreed with the ideas of the already launched project. It made little essential difference, since only one conference had been held and a second planned. These followed the Hampton and Tuskegee model of being primarily meetings of inspiration, directed toward specific efforts at social reform and aimed at propaganda for social uplift in certain preconceived lines. This program at Atlanta, I sought to swing as on a pivot to one of scientific investigation into social conditions, primarily for scientific ends; I put no special emphasis on special reform effort, but increasing and widening emphasis on the collection of a basic body of fact concerning the social condition of American Negroes, endeavoring to reduce the condition to exact measurement whenever or wherever occasion permitted. As time passed, it happened that many uplift efforts

were in fact based on our studies: the kindergarten system of the city of Atlanta, white as well as black; the Negro Business League, and various projects to better health and combat crime. We came to be however, as I had intended, increasingly, a source of general information and a basis for further study, rather than an organ of social reform.

The proverbial visitor from Mars would have assumed as elemental a study in America of American Negroes -- as physical specimens; as biological growths; as a field of investigation in economic development from slave to free labor; as a psychological laboratory in human reaction toward caste and discrimination; as an unique case of physical and cultural intermingling. These and a dozen other subjects of scientific interest, would have struck the man from Mars as eager lines of investigation for American social scientists. He would have been astounded to learn that the only institution in America in 1900 with any such program of study was Atlanta University, where ona budget of $5000 a year, including salaries, cost of publication, investigation and annual meetings, we were essaying this pioneer work.

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My program for the succession of conference studies was modified by many considerations: cost, availability of suitable data, tested methods of investigation; moreover I could not plunge too soon into such controversial subjects as politics or miscegenation. Within these limitations, I finished a ten-year cycle study as follows:

1896, Mortality among Negroes in Cities

1897, Social and Physical Condition of Negroes in Cities

1898, Some Efforts of Negroes for Social Betterment

1899, The Negro in Business

1900, The College-Bred Negro

1901, The Negro Common School

1902, The Negro Artisan

1903, The Negro Church

1904, Notes on Negro Crime

1905, A Select Bibliography of the American Negro

I then assayed for the second decade a broader program, more logical, more inclusive, and designed to bring the whole subject matter into a better integrated whole. But continued lack of funds, and outside diversions (like the request of the Carnegie Institution of 1907 for a study of cooperation) kept even the second decade from the complete logic of arrangement which I desired; finally, my leaving Atlanta in 1910 and at last the severing of my connection with the conference in 1914, left the full form of my program still unfinished. I did, however publish the following eight studies:

1906, Health and Physique of the Negro American

1907, Economic Cooperation among Negro Americans

1908, The Negro American Family

1909, Efforts for Social Betterment among Negro Americans

1910, The College-Bred Negro American

1911, The Common School and the Negro American

1912, The Negro American Artisan

1914, Morals and Manners among Negro Americans

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With the publication of 1914, my connection with Atlanta ceased for twenty years. Although studies and publications were prepared by others at the University in 1915 and 1918, the war finally stopped the enterprise.

What I was laboriously but steadily approaching in this effort was a recurring cycle of ten studies in succeeding decades; with repetition of each subject or some modification of it in each decade, upon a progressively broader and more exact basis and with better method; until gradually a foundation of carefully ascertained fact would build a basis of knowledge, broad and sound enough to be called scientific in the best sense of that term.

Just what form this dream would eventually have taken, I do not know. So far as actually forecast, it had assumed in 1914, some such form as this:

1. Population; Distribution and Growth
2. Biology; Health and Physique
3. Socialization; Family, Group and Class
4. Cultural Patterns; Morals and Manners
5. Education
6. Religion and the Church
7. Crime
8. Law and Government
9. Literature and Art
10. Summary and Bibliography

I proposed as I have said, to repeat each of these every ten years, basing the studies on ever broader and more carefully gathered data. Eventually I hoped to keep all the inquiries going simultaneously, only emphasizing and reporting on one particular subject each year. This would have allowed some necessary shifting or combination of subjects as time and developments might suggest; and adjustments to new scientific advance in fields like anthropology and psychology. The plan would have called in time for a large and well-paid staff of experts and a study of method and testing of results such as no group of Americans were engaged in at the time; beginning with a definite, circumscribed group, but ending with the human race.

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The program however was weak on its economic side. It did not stress enough the philosophy of Marx and Engels and was of course far too keen for Lenin. The program ought to have been - and as I think would have been if I had kept on this work - the Economic development of the American Negro slave; on this central thread all the other subjects would have been strung. But this I had no chance to essay.

Social scientists at the time were thinking in terms of theory and vast and eternal Laws, but I had a concrete group of living beings artificially set off by themselves and capable of almost laboratory experiment. I laid down an ambitious program for a hundred years of study. I proposed to take up annually in each decade the main aspects of the group life of Negroes with as thorough study and measurement as possible,

and repeat the same program in the succeeding decade with additions, changes and better methods. In this way, I proposed gradually to broaden and intensify the study, sharpen the tools of investigation and perfect our methods of work, so that we would have an increasing body of scientifically ascertained fact, instead of the vague mass of the so-called Negro problems. And through this laboratory experiment I hoped to make the laws of social living clearer, surer, and more definite.

Some of this was accomplished, but of course only an approximation of the idea. For thirteen years we poured forth a series of studies, limited, incomplete, only partially conclusive, and yet so much better done than any other attempt of the sort in the nation that they gained attention throughout the world. In all we published a total of 2,172 pages which formed a current encyclopedia on the American Negro problems.

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These studies with all their imperfections were widely distributed in the libraries of the world and used by scholars. It may be said without undue boasting that between 1896 and 1920 there was no study of the race problem in America made which did not depend in some degree upon the investigations made at Atlanta University; often they were widely quoted and commended.

I had heartening letters from persons of eminence and character. William James wrote in 1907: "I have just looked through the last installment of your studies on the American Negro. I wish the portraits might have been better printed. But it is splendid scientific work." Frank Taussig of Harvard wrote the same year: "In my judgement no better work is being done in the country, and no better opportunity is afforded for financial support on the part of those who wish to further the understanding of the Negro problem." Booker Washington, who spoke at our conference on on the Negro artisan in 1911, said: "The whole country should be grateful to this institution for the painstaking and systematic manner in which it has developed from year to year a series of facts which are proving most vital and helpful to the interests of our nation." Professor E.R.A. Seligman wrote: "I take great pleasure in testifying to my very high appreciation of the studies on the Negro proglem which you have been editing for the past few years. They are essentially scholarly and that means sober

and temperate, and they are covering a field which is almost untilled and which is not apt to be cultivated by others." Jane Addams attended our conference in 1908 and commended our work.

Many periodicals mentioned our work:

London Spectator, 1900:

> This work is being done with much intelligence, discrimination and assiduity at the instance and under the inspiration of Atlanta University.

School Review, 1902:

> The work of this conference is constructive and merits hearty support.

Outlook, 1903:

> No student of the race problem, no person who would either think or speak upon it intelligently, can afford to be ignorant of the facts brought out in the Atlanta series of sociological studies of the conditions and the progress of the Negro.

Publications of the Southern History Association, 1904:

> The work done under the direction of the Atlanta Conference is entitled to the respectful and thoughtful consideration of every man interested in any aspect of the life of the American Negro.

South Atlantic Quarterly, 1904:

> They constitute, so far as the reviewer can learn, the most important body of direct evidence ever published as to moral and religious conditions of our colored people.

N.Y. Evening Post, 1905:

> The only scientific studies of the Negro question being made today are those carried on by Atlanta University.

It must be remembered that the significance of these studies lay not so much in what they were actually able to accomplish, as in the fact that at the time of their publication Atlanta University was the only institution in the world carrying on a systematic study of the American Negro and his development, and putting the result in a form available for the scholars of the world.

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In 1900 came a significant occurence which not until lately have I set in its proper place in my life. I had been for over nine years studying the American Negro Problem. The result had been significant because of its unusual nature and not for its positive accomplishment. I wanted to set down its aim and method in some outstanding way which would bring my work to the notice of the thinking world. The great World Fair at Paris was being planned and I thought I might put my findings into plans, charts and figures, so one might see what we were trying to accomplish. I got a couple of my best students and put a series of facts into charts: the size and growth of the Negro American group; its division by age and sex; its distribution, education and occupations; its books and periodicals. We made a most interesting set of drawings, limned on pasteboard cards about a yard square and mounted on a number of movable standards. The details of finishing these fifty or more charts, in colors, with accuracy, was terribly difficult with little money, limited time and not too much encouragement. I was threatened with nervous prostration before I was done and had little money

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left to buy passage to Paris, nor was there a cabin left for sale. But the exhibit would fail unless I was there. So at the last moment I bought passage in the steerage and went over and installed the work. It was an immediate success. It occupied a small room, perhaps twenty feet square but the room was always full. The American press, white and colored was full of commendation and in the end, the end, the exhibit received a Grand Prize, and I, as its author, a Gold Medal.

About the same time, I approached the United States Commissioner of Labor. For several years I had been able to do now and then certain small studies for the Bureau of Labor, which had been accepted and paid for. It began with a proposal to Carroll D. Wright in 1897 for a study of the Negro in a Virginia town in 1898, which Mr. Wright authorized me to make on my own responsibility, promising only to print it if he like it. He did like it. This was followed by a major study of the Negro in the Black Belt in 1899 and among Negroes in Georgia in 1901, and I then approached the Bureau with a new proposal.

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I asked United States Commissioner of Labor, Neill, in 1906, to authorize a study of a Black Belt community. I wanted to take Lowndes County, Alabama, in a former slave state with a large majority of Negroes, and make a social and economic study from the earliest times when documents were available, down to the present; supplemented by studies of official records and a present house-to-house canvass of Negroes. I plied Commissioner Neill with plans and specifications until at last he authorized the study. Helped by Monroe Work, of Tuskegee Institute, and R. R. Wright, now a bishop of the A.M.E. Church, and a dozen or more local employees, I settled at the Calhoun School and began the study.

It was carried on with all sorts of difficulties, including financing which was finally arranged by loans from the University, and with the greeting of some of my agents with shotguns in certain parts of the county; but it was

eventually finished. The difficult schedules were tabulated and I made chronological maps of the division of the land; I considered the distribution of labor; the relation of landlord and tenant; the political organization and the family life and the distribution of the population. The report was finished by hand with no copy, and rushed to Washington. It was criticized and I spent some weeks there in person, revising a nd perfecting it. It was finally accepted by the government, and $2,000 paid for it, most of which went back to the University in repayment of funds which they had kindly furnished me to carry on the work. But the study was not published. I knew the symptoms of this sort of treatment: in 1898, S.S. McClure had sent me to south Georgia to make a study of social situations there. He paid for the report but never published the manuscript and he afterwarddid the same thing in the case of Sir Harry Johnston.

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I finally approached the Bureau and tried to find out when it would be published and was told that the Bureau had decided not to publish the manuscript, since it "touched on political matters." I was astonished and disappointed, but after a year I went back to them again and asked if they would allow me to have the manuscript since they were not going to use it. They told me it had been destroyed!

It was of course crazy for me to dream that America, in the dawn of the Twentieth Century with Colonial Imperialism, based on the suppression of colored folk, at its zenith, would encourage, much less adequately finance, such a program at a Negro college under Negro scholars. My faith in its success was based on the firm belief that race prejudice was based on widespread ignorance. My long-term remedy was Truth: carefully gathered scientific proof that neither color nor race determined the limits of a man's capacity or desert. I was not at the time sufficiently Freudian to understand how little human action is based on reason; nor did I know Karl Marx well enough to appreciate the economic foundations of human history.

I was therefore astonished and infinitely disappointed, gradually to realize that our work in the Atlanta conferences was not getting support; that, far from being able to command increased revenue for better methods of investigation and wider fields, it was with increasing difficulty that the aging and overworked President, with his deep earnestness and untiring devotion to principle, could collect enough to maintain even our normal activities. The conference had not been without a measure of success. Our reports were widely read and commented upon. On the other hand, so far as the American world of science and letters was concerned, we never "belonged"; we remained unrecognized in learned societies and academic groups. We rated merely as Negroes studying Negroes, and after all what had Negroes to do with America or Science? Gradually and with deep disappointment I began to realize, as early as 1906, that my program for studying the Negro problems must soon end, unless it received unforeseen support.

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By the second decade of the Twentieth Century, a legal caste system based on race and color, had been openly grafted on the democratic constitution of the United States. This explains why, in 1910, I gave up my position at Atlanta University and became Director of Publications and Research for the newly formed National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of which I was one of the incorporators in 1911.

From 1910 to 1934 I gave up almost entirely my attempt at making a scientific study of the Negro problems in America and devoted myself to propaganda in order to convince Americans, black and white, that they must make a serious ethical effort to correct the wrong interest in the Negro problems and try to stop lynching and mob violence, encourage education, enforce the laws and make new laws. From 1910 to 1934 I carried on this work in cooperation with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and as editor of a small monthly magazine called the Crisis which eventually reached a circulation of 100,000.

The Crisis, however, depended upon subscriptions for support and when the great depression fell upon the land the working people, especially the Negroes, were unable to support the Crisis further. I therefore resigned the editorship of the little magazine and turned again back to my attempt at scientific work in solution of race problems. I was induced to do this because my close friend John Hope had become President of a new Atlanta University which was a graduate school connected with several undergraduate colleges. It was endowed by the General Education Board and it seemed probable that there could now arise in the South an institution of learning under the control of colored teachers which could have become a center of a new sociology of race problems.

41-3-211

In one aspect of the Negro problem in America, my program had limited success; that was its relation to the white working class. The Negroes were working folk -- farmers, laborers, porters and servants. They belonged in the main to the "Have-nots" as over against the "Haves." Yet they were not regarded as an integral part of the American workers and I as a student of their plight and their efforts was continually treating them as a separate class instead of grouping them with the mass of workers. This was not because of any failure on my part to conceive of the Negroes as primarily workers whose chief interest lay in the working class. The fault lay at the door of the powerful forces in

the state which had separated the working class into antagonistic groups hating and fearing each other more than they feared their exploiters. In slavery days the poor whites hated and feared the black slaves. These slaves deprived the free white workers of land and livelihood; drove them to the hills and barrens or to the slums of cities; they were largely disfranchised and managed to make a living by fawning on slaveowners, becoming slave over-seers or bearing arms to keep black slaves from revolt. They protested bitterly against this condition.

To these poor whites, emancipation seemed not an opportunity for Negroes to rise to the status of free white workers, but rather the chance of white labor to climb on the backs of Negroes. The freedmen therefore was not only exploited by former slaveowners but even more by the up-struggling whites; and when white workers got the vote --blacks were disfranchised . A cast legislation put the Negro legally under the feet of the white workers, limiting his work, his wages, his dwelling place and his personal freedom. In the eyes of the Negro the white worker became his chief enemy; he led the lynch mobs, insulted him on the streets and took the food out of his mouth.

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The mass of the Northern working class opposed slavery and wanted slaves emancipated. But they were largely foreign emigrants and many like the Irish met the competition of free Negro workers on arrival and fought for work in pitched battles. The newer emigrants were warned against Negro cheap competing labor and did not regard these dark strangers as fellow workmen. Employers threw white and black into competing groups. So that the National Labor Union representing the best of American labor, despite its brave repudiation of color discrimination was unable in 1869 to secure admission of Negro workers into unions. Negroes rebuffed, tried to form their own unions but had to start with the demand for political power. For this they depended onthe Republican party and that party reduced them to serfdom in 1876. The Northern Unions in tight craft organizations so segregated the Negro worker that in 1902, the older trades like miners, longshore-

men and cigarmakers admitted Negroes; but the newer and better paid trades, like blacksmiths, smelters, engineers, metal workers, boilermakers, electric workers, glassmakers, oil workers, textile workers and a host of similar unions admitted in the new century few or no Negroes. When, therefore, I essayed to study the Negro worker, I had no meeting ground with the white laboring class. I invited the secretary of the Georgia Federation of Labor to our conference and he spoke but his hearers knew that his federation discriminated against Negroes. We studied Negro employees in Southern factories. We corresponded with all the unions in the nation but with small result. The American working class remained split by the color line. My study therefore became a study not of a working class but of a small part of one and the relations of these groups became more important than relations between worker and employer.

In 1934 John Hope and I set out to revive the old Atlanta University conferences and studies of the Negro Problems. ~~Hope sought unsuccessfully to obtain funds for this enterprise~~. After his death I tried to see if some co-operative plan might supply funds. Frederick Keppell of the Carnegie Foundation gave us money for preliminary work in 1940 and 1941. I called the "First Phylon Conference" in April 1941. A good cross section of Negro leaders in education attended. Reports were made from each state on the economic conditions of Negroes. I tried to sum up the current conditions in this statement:

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I. a. If thirteen million people starve to death, it is because they are stupid.

b. Many American Negroes today are virtually starving.

II. a. There is no such thing as lack of useful, needful work.

b. There is wide and dangerous lack of adequate wage and income for certain individuals.

III. a. Facing these paradoxes the world is changing its economic organization today to meet them and is planning further change.

b. We as a minority group must plan also, not in opposition but in intelligent accord with this general world planning.

IV. a. We must especially beware of propaganda and distortion as to the present economic conditions and changes in the world.

1. We must not assume that business enterprise and economic welfare are synonomous terms and assume that because a business is profitable it is for that reason beneficial to the race or nation.
2. We must not assume that because racial organization cannot hire thirteen million Negroes, it cannot and should not hire thirteen thousand or more.
3. Because, as a minority group, we must in the main conform to the national economic patterns, is no proof that we cannot by intelligent action influence these patterns to our advantage.

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V. a. Finally, we must get at the facts by the latest scientific technique.

b. We must gather, study, test, and interpret these facts.

c. We must remember that the starvation of Negroes in the United States benefits nobody; that full employment at a living wage for all Negroes as well as all whites is at once the greatest patriotism and the greatest defense against war and evil.

[redacted] I visited Negro institutions from Virginia to Texas in order to see what co-operation I could start.

I became convinced of several things: first, the role of the government-supported land-grant colleges in the development of Negro education was going to be large and progressively increasing. Second, these land-grant colleges needed a program for social science studies which is at present undeveloped.

Third, rapid changes are now taking place in the Negro ethnic group and even more momentous ones impend. The war (2nd World War) has upset conventional economy, exacerbated racial consciosness and already led to bitter clashes. The developments after the war are bound to add to these difficulties. There is one and only one fundamental and definitive way to meet this situation and that is to begin a systematic study of the essential facts of the present condition of the Negro race and to establish a way of continuing and making more complete and effective such a study. Then in the event the nation can turn its attention and energies to remedial measures, it will not be necessary to waste time in belated efforts to get at the essential truth.

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Careful and exact knowledge of conditions and changes then are imperative and ought to be in prosess of gathering now in order to be available during and after the war. Fourth, this should not be the conventional type of "social study" --an instantaneous photograph of a sample group; but should be planned so as eventually to approach the stature of a total study of a complete situation, continuously photographed, and re-photographed, measured and re-measured; so that our knowledge of the vast and momentous social experiment in race relations now making in the United States, would attain a completeness and authority that would be unquestioned and unquestionable and available in the post war world which will surely need this sort of information. I believe that here is a chance not only to serve the Negro race and America, but also to serve the world and social science in an unique way. Fifth, the Negro Land-Grant Colleges, distributed usually one to a state and manned by presidents chosen by boards of Southern whites, would in many respects be ideal centers of social studies in each state, on matters touching the condition in each state of the people for whom the school exists and for whose advancement the school was established. Each of these schools has proclaimed its aim to be the promotion of industry and lifting the social

status of Negroes. Any such program needs exact knowledge of facts for its foundation.

Sixth, such studies to be effective must be well done and in accord with the latest scientific technique. They must not sink to mere propaganda nor white-washing. Most of the land-grant colleges are not at present equipped with personnel or funds for this work; a few are. All need expert advice and guidance, to integrate, synchronize and direct this work, and help in the proper interpretation of its results. Seventh, here is where the Negro private institution of higher learning could well cooperate with the states and call to aid the advice of other universities, north and south.

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Three Negro universities seem best fitted for this work of guidance and integration: Howard, which holds to the federal government a position analagous to that of the land-grant colleges to the states; Fisk, which has among Negroes the best equipped department of social sciences in the South; Atlanta, where the first attempt was made in America to carry on a scientific study of the Negro problems.

My first step toward realizing this project was to seek to sell the idea to the Negro land-grant colleges. I talked the plan over with President Banks of Prairie View, who was a former student of mine; who, as I knew, had long had some such collaboration in mind, and who had the best social science department among Negro land-grant colleges. He was enthusiastically in favor. I then secured permission to present the scheme to the annual conference of the presidents of Negro land-grant colleges at Chicago, November, 1941.

In 1935, the Federal Government was giving $18,000,000 annually to land-grant colleges in Southern states which had colleges separated by race. Negroes forming over a fifth of the population of these states received only about five per cent of this money. For some time the Negro colleges had been pressing for a larger share, but the reply had been that such work as research in agriculture

or chemistry was being carried on in the white colleges and that it was not necessary to duplicate this work in Negro institutions. It occurred to me that a careful program of race studies planned for the Negro colleges might be the basis for a demand for a much larger Negro share of Federal funds. I therefore addressed the organization of Negro Land-Grant College Presidents in October, 1941. I said:

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"With a comparatively small group like that of the American Negro, in a country of great economic efficiency like America, and spurred by every high incentive, there is no real reason why cultivated brains among us may not guide the great mass of our folk to desired economic and cultural ends. This, of course, depends on the extent to which these potential leaders have the will to sacrifice their talent to this end; and also on the actual knowlege which they possess to guide the mass toward real progress and not back to out-worn reaction.

" The problem before us is this: to put fourteen million people to work so that they may recive an income which will insure a civilized standard of living; to make it possible for them to preserve their health; to keep crime down to a minimum and to educate their children; with the eventual object of giving this group sufficient leisure to advance by means of talented persons among them in science and art and cultural patterns. And with the further idea that in so far as these objects are successful, the group will become nearer to actual equality with their fellow Americans and to civilized people the world over, and will thus remove from color prejudice a very real reason for its perpetuation.

"How can the college help the community earn a living? First, it can train students for existent needs, for which the community now pays. Sometimes educational philosophers talk as though this were the one end of the college; and a situation could be easily imagined where that might be pretty nearly true; where you have settled normal culture and an arrangement of work which is suitable for that culture; and relatively stable economic organization. Under these circumstances

if a college trained men efficiently for these jobs and at the same time supplied a broad cultural outlook toward the future it would come near doing its main work.

"The college today, however, must do more --far more--than prepare men for jobs at present in demand and socially needful. The college must anticipate the futare needs of the community and prepare education to meet them.

"Unless the college goes further than training for current jobs and goes out to meet and cooperate with the community in such a way that the man awaiting and prepared to do a necessary future work for the community can be employed now according to his capacity; unless this is done, the college program is fatally handicapped and the community expanision is crippled. The same thing applies to work which although needed is not now available for Negroes and may not be during the present generation. In that case a careful survey of the possibilities among fourteen million people might give an opportunity to create such jobs within our own group or by cooperation with others. This even more than the other case, involves a broad study of the economic conditions among Negroes and possibilities of their organizations. It would call not simply for the efforts of one college with its immediate community or its state, but the cooperative efforts of the Negro educational institutions of the South.

"This leads us to the fact that if the college is to make real and advantageous approach to its community, either its local or its general community, it must be helped by a careful, broad and continuous study of the social and economic set-up of that community; that is, we must know as we do not know today, the existing occupations of Negroes; not in the vague and general and necessarily inaccurate report of the decennial census, but by minute and complete survey and study of counties, towns and cities where the Negro po pulation is resident. We must take such a beginning as Charles Johnson's regional study of Southern counties, extend the data to 1940 and then complete it and carry it on continuously from year to year. We must have a group to group and persnn to

person knowledge of the condition of the laboring masses, of their opportunities and hindrances. And this kind of study ought to be made in accordance with the latest scientific techniques and on a national basis. There is no reason why a study like that of Allison Davis, "The Deep South", should not be made over the whole South so that we could paint with descriptions, facts and figures, the real social condition of the American Negro. The interpretation of this knowledge and its interaction with past history and current trends must be the continuously and critically examined conclusions of the best trained students of the social sciences. We must not depend on the narrow experience and conventional standards of business men; me must not resort to untried panaceas or emotional utopias. This study must be increasingly a matter of science, carried out to its inexorable and tested conclusions.

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"We need in sociology, a race regionalism which will narrow and concentrate on our Negroes the general regional studies of the South. Instead of the occasional snapshot of social conditions which was the social study of yesterday, we must aim at a continuous moving picture of ever increasing range and accuracy.

"A national planning institute must annually gather up and compare and interpret this great body of facts. There must be provided for this work, sufficient research. And finally through a central office, there must be wide and carefully edited publication of results.

"It is not only illogical but it is an indictment of the Negro college that the chief studies of the Negro's condition today are not being done by Negroes and Negro colleges. The center of gravity as well as the truth of investigation should be brought back to the control of an association of Negro colleges; and this not for the purpose of creating aNegro science or purely racial facts; but in order to make sure that the whole undistorted picture is there and that the complete interpretation is made by those most competent to do it, through their own lives and training.

"Under the leadership of these same colleges, the communities must proceed to act, explore, experiment and build. They must organize their spending power to the last dollar, realizing that a carefully and intelligently spent dollar is a more powerful ballot than a vote for a coroner. Advantage must be taken of decentralized cheap power like the TVA to push a new era of home manufactures and producers' cooperation. The churches can branch into real social work; they might organize free legal defense for every accused Negro; the secret orders can further transform their regalias, rituals, and parades into orphanages and student aid. We can have cooperative medicine and dentistry and field hospitals to replace private practice. We have an enormously fertile field for economic experiment; here on the threshold of a new industrial era. All it needs is scientific study, personal character and coordinated intelligence guided by the colleges. It is for the inception and carrying out of this program that I am appealing to you today."

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I proposed that this body agree to the following general plan:

1. A continuous and intensive study of the Negroes of each Southern state by each of the Negro Land-Grant Colleges.

2. Preparation for ability to do this scientifically by strengthening the division of Social Sciences in each institution (History, Political Science, Psychology, Anthropology, Sociology, Economics) and provision of time and funds for study and research.

3. Inauguration of a general program of subjects and methods of research, with annual conferences, at which experts and representatives of other colleges should be present. Periodical integration, interpretation and publication of results.

I suggested the following detailed program for each Land-Grant College:

1. A division of the "Social Sciences," teaching History, Anthropology, Sociology, Economics, Psychology, Political Sciences.

2. The integration of this teaching into one closely articulated study of

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A. History

History of Europe
History of Asia
History of Africa
History of America
History of the United States
History of the Negro people in:
Africa
South and Central America
United States
In each state.

B. Social Sciences

Social Institutions	) (	Modern world
Anthropology	) (	United States
Economic Organization	) (	among Americans
Government	) (	among Negroes
Psychological reactions	) (	among Negroes in this State

3. A study of the facts concerning the Negroes of the state by counties, subdivisions of counties, villages, towns, cities, wards, blocks and households. The study to be carried on by professors, instuctors, fellows, social workers, volunteers and affiliated organizations.

The study to include: number of individuals, family groups, character of homes, location of homes; occupation of persons, incomes, expenditures, age, marital relations, education, property and recreation.

4. The scope of this study will include the observation and measurement of all facts and situations which have to do with the status of the Negro population in the state; becoming as funds and facilities increase, more and more intensive and comprehensive, until at last it virtually means a checking of every Negro family in the state including their activities, institutions and organizations.

5. The study will use all available data as the basis of its work, including the federal census of 1940, all state censuses, all reports of the state, the county and its subdivisions, concerning education, occupation, dependency and delinquincy.

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SPECIAL STUDIES OF

6. All organizations of Negroes or working with or for Negroes: details of work, including churches, lodges, cemeteries, clubs, etc; their property and budgets.
7. All business conducted by Negroes and among Negroes; character, amount, approximate money value.
8. Commercialized recreations, movies, billiard rooms, gambling, prostitution, etc.
9. Public recreation; parks, playgrounds, etc., number, upkeep.
10. The participation of Negroes in government as voters and officials; tax - payers, property holders; officials and administrative methods.

METHODS, INTERPRETATION AND PUBLICATION

11. The methods and scope of these studies to be outlined by an annual conference, with each college represented and outside experts.
12. The resulting studies to be collected, interpreted and made public for an annual state meeting and for a public museum and laboratory of the social sciences with maps, charts, models.
13. All the college reports to be brought together, studied, tabulated, analyzed and interpreted and integrated into an annual joint report.

THE NORTHERN NEGRO

14. Arrangements to be entered into with private Negro instituions to join with departments of the social sciences in Northern colleges to make similar studies of northern Negroes.

RESULTANT BODY OF KNOWLEDGE

15. This body of knowledge, continuously added to, checked and reviewed; improved in method and object; tabulated, interpreted, and integrated, to be used as the basis of raising the standard of living and cultural pattern of American Negroes through education, work, law, and social action.

RESULTANT WORK FOR SOCIAL UPLIFT

16. For every social problem, institutional failure, or individual maladjustment made evident, located and measured, organizations will then attempt to discover or promote in the locality and state, remedies in

EDUCATION: special kinds and specific methods; private, industrial, grup, state and national efforts.

SOCIAL UPLIFT WORK: by hiring thoroughly trained social workers; by group effort; by voluntary effort.

HEALTH: by physicians and dentists; by group medical care; by hospitalization; syphilis; by childbirth and child welfare efforts.

RECREATION: music, a folk theatre, playgrounds, library facilities, sports.

17. But of all these efforts, the college and community should concentrate their first and chief attention upon the problems of earning a living among Negroes, since these are fundamental to practically all other efforts. Attentinn should be paid especially to work now available, to openings for earning a living which may be made available, and for general economic re-organization, such as is involved in consumers' and producers' cooperation; whereby not only intelligent saving can be made in the expenditure of income, but that new occupations, especially in home industries and small manufacturers, can be established among Negroes.

18. Every attempt should be made to use existing institutions and organizations among Negroes, for undertaking efforts at social reform as outlined above: churches, fraternal lodges, women's clubs, schools, and in many cases, private businesses, can be used for increasing employment, finding new employment, furnishing legal defense, furnishing direct relief, improving health, organizing recreation, furnishing student aid and promoting consumers' and producers' cooperation.

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FIRST STEPS

19. An immediate attempt on the part of the college in each state to reorganize their budgets so as to provide a gradually increasing minimum of funds for this program:

    A. For teaching the Social Sciences;

    B. For giving trained teachers, time and funds for investigation.

    C. For providing, at the earliest moment, for the employment of social workers and fellows for investigation and social uplift.

    D. For a publication fund.

    E. For laying down a present program with plans for future expansion.

20. Minimum requirements for initiating the program:

    1. One or two teachers of History.

    2. One or two teachers of Anthropology and Sociology.

    3. One teacher of Economics.

    4. One teacher of Psychology, with laboratory.

    5. A teaching Fellow with some time and funds for field work.

    6. A Social Worker with whole time for investigation and advice.

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The Presidents of the Negro Land-Grant Colleges received this proposal with favor and adopted this general plan, June 12, 1942:

To initiate a series of cooperative studies of the social condition of the American Negro and more especially of his economic situation during and after this war.

For this purpose they propose to use in their institutions the division of the Social Sciences including history, anthropology, sociology, economics, political science, psychology, and other cognate subjects so as to give their students unified knowledge of social conditions and modern trends.

In addition to this they propose to recommend the use of one or more of their qualified instructors, with sufficient time and funds for a series of social studies, whose subject, methods and scope shall be determined after conferences with executives and investigators in other institutions, and with outside experts in the social sciences, including students of conditions among the white population. This proposal is subject to the approval of the governing boards in the various states.

The ultimate object of such conferences and studies shall be to accumulate a body of knowledge, intensively pursued according to the best scientific methods, continuously added to, checked and reviewed; improved in method and object; tabulated, interpreted and integrated to be used as the basis of raising the standard of living and cultural pattern of American Negroes through education, work, law and social action.

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We propose that the results of these studies by each college in its own state or section of state, shall be brought together, periodically compared, edited and published annually in some convenient form for the use of students legislators and social reformers.

For these purposes of conference, investigation and publication we propose to set aside in our annual budget such sums as may be approved by the various state authorities.

This was signed by the Presidents of 20 Negro Land-Grant Colleges and eventually by the Presidents of Atlanta, Fisk and Howard. Representatives of War Production Board, the American Council of Education, the North Carolina Institute for Research in Social Science commended the plan as did School and Society and the Journal of Higher Education.

The Journal of Negro Education said in an article:

"Briefly, Dr. W.E. B. Du Bois' proposal, agreed upon by the Presidents of the Land-Grant Colleges, assumes first a core of social studies in each of our Negro colleges and graduate schools. It assumes that by internal

administrative and staff effort these may be internally unified and coordinated for a joint, continuous attack upon the problem of the study of the Negro population in the area surrounding each college. It assumes that, pouring into a central headquarters, yet to be designated, for review and analysis by a central board, yet to be chosen, there would be a continuous flow of raw data and completed studies. It assumes central coordination, synthesis and report of these studies. It assumes that by this great increase in knowledge, sound and rich and full, we would have materials wholly convincing as to the needs of local, regional, and national Negro populations. It assumes that with this knowledgewe could so increase our wisdom as to be able both to make Negro higher education very much better than it is in all aspects and we would have the facts at last on which to base valid requests for support from foundations, individuals, and local, state, and national governments. By knowing what the problems are we could know also how to arrange them in priorities and further , much better than we know now, how to attack them each in turn with some expectation of success.

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The plan was finally implemented by this vote of the Conference of Negro Land Grant College Presidents on October 28, 1942:

1. That Dr. W.E. B. Du Bois be designated the official coordinator of the proposed sociological studies to be instituted by the various land-grant colleges.
2. That each President appoint from his faculty a liason officer to serve as the agent for continued implementation of the project. This officer to report progress and seek further cooperation from the administration and faculty: preferably, though not necessarily, he should be a social scientist.
3. That each President agree to try to find funds in the college budget to permit attendance of liaison officer at a methodological conference

to be called by Dr. Du Bois at a convenient time and place, after appropriate correspondence should have further clarified various issues.

4. That the Executive Committee at this meeting address itself to possible ways and means of further financing said study, conference or other aspectsof the program.

The 26th Atlanta University Conference met at Robert Hall, Morehouse College, Atlanta, April 19 and 20, 1943. It became the first conference of the Negro Land-Grant Colleges, for coordinating aprogram of cooperative social studies. Among those present were:

E. Franklin Frazier, Library of Congress

Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University

Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina

E. B. Reuter, University of Iowa

T. Lynn Smith, Louisiana State University

Edgar T. Thompson, Duke University

Donald Young, Social Service Research Council

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Thirty four persons attended, representing thirty institutions. The sessionss lasted two days and consisted of exhibits, reports, addresses and conferences.

By special invitation , there were present at the conference, eight well-known sociologists, from leading American institutions. These persons, after observation and consultation, have written the following opinions on the possiblities of this agreement. The names are arranged in order of academic seniority.

Howard Washington Odum, Kenan Professor of Sociology, and Director of the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina:

"It seems to me that in two or three ways a strong, integrated program

for research in the land grant colleges would constitute an important step forward. In the first place, the area in which they work is still virgin and important, and their laboratories are adequate for genuine research and experimentation. They have a fine opportunity to combine the social studies with the physical sciences and to implement them in practical programs."

Edward Byron Reuter, Professor of Sociology and Chairman of the Department College of Commerce, University of Iowa:

"The plan for cooperative studies to be carried on by the Negro Land Grant Colleges seems to me to be a very wise development and one that may lead to increasingly important results. It will make possible a pooling of resources -- of time, staff, and funds --to discover and make known information that now gets too little public notice."

41.3.227a

Edward Franklin Frazier, Professor of Sociology and Head of Department, Howard University; Consultant in Negro bibliography, Library of Congress:

"To my mind, the Conference was significant because it represented the broadening and deepening of the stream of a great tradition which owes much to you. Moreover, the Conference was a distinct success in that it brought together and stimulated men and women who have generally been forced to work in isolation. Even if no other conferences were held, I am sure that many of those who attended this one would return to their work with a feeling that they were engaged in a worthwhile endeavor and that they had the support and appreciation of their fellow workers.

Charles Spurgeon Johnson, Director of the Department of Social Science, Fisk University; Trustee of the Julius Rosenwald Fund; Chairman of the Race Relations Committee of the American Missionary Association:

"The fact that so large a number of persons were present without direct financial aid from an outside source pointed to a reserve of interest that might be counted on to carry along a coordinated movement among the colleges. Not to be overlooked, however, is the prestige of an established and admired

scholar in this field who has served as an effective catalyzing agent."

Donald Ramsey Young, Research Secretary of the Social Science Research Council:

"I have no doubt whatever concerning the value of your objective. There is need for the encouragement and guidance of social and economic research at the Land Grant Colleges, both in terms of the benefits which should be derived thereform by the institutions and their faculties and also in terms of the practical social utility of the anticipated results."

Edgar Tristram Thompson, Associate Professor of Sociology, Duke University: "I feel that you have a ood idea and that you deserve support in your efforts to carry it out. I appreciate your including me among the invited sociologists and I feel that my efforts to contribute to the conference have taught me something."

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William Earle Cole, Professor of Sociology and Head of the Department, University of Tennessee; Acting Chairman of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation:

"I think you are starting somet ing which is very fundamental and which should go a long way in improving not only the Negroes of the South but other peoples as well. I was greatly impressed with what the Negro colleges have been doing and the prospects for the future."

Thomas Lynn Smith, Professor of Sociology and Head of the Department, University of Louisiana:

"I think well of your plan for promoting research work on the part of the social science personnel at the land grant colleges for Negroes.

"The advice of sociologists at institutions for whites should be sought from time to time as the work goes along; but not the extent that there is any tendency at any institution for the white man to determine, even by suggestion, what shall be done by the Negro."

A second Conference was planned for the Spring of 1944, and I wrote in July 1943:

"This whole plan will comeup for discussion and modification in the Second Land Grant College Conference in the Spring of 1944. The main consideration is this: The economic situation of the Negro during and after the present war is a matter of critical and vital importance. There is going to be increased race friction and finally want and unemployment in the midst of violent social change. At such time we want accurate and carefully made social measurements, tested techniques and the machinery for further investigation. There will be neither time nor disposition during times of turmoil to initiate new and calm investigation. If now we begin this nationwide study of economic and social conditions, it can be continuously pursued through storm and stress and after the post-war calm form a priceless guide to social survival and lasting peace."

Many other commendations came from across the nation, from white and black. Especially was the new cooperation among Negro institutions noted with Atlanta University as the acknowledged head and center of work.

Then at the moment of triumph of this carefully thought out and carefully planned scheme, came catastrophe. Without notice to me of any kind, I was retired from my professorship and headship of the department of Sociology at Atlanta University.

41-3-230

This was not merely a personal disaster. It was removing from leadership the one person who because of age and long experience; because of works published and a wide acquaintanceship based on the relation of teacher and student, happened to be the person to whom the presidents of Negro Land Grant Colleges and other Negroes of influence were willing to entrust this cooperative venture. President Clement of Atlanta University had quarrelled with the Land Grant Colleges a few years past. So that many of them did not like him personally. Most of the others did not know him but they did know Atanta University and they knew me. They were willing to put this plan into thse hands but they would not consent to co-operate with President Clement. There were doubtless at other Negro institutions persons capable of doing this job, but they were not as well known and in any case my selection gained unusual agreement and Atlanta University unprecedented prestige as the center of this venture.

My sudden retirement then savored of a deliberate plot, although this cannot be proven. The retirement age at Atlanta University was sixty-five. But I was sixty-five when President Hope called me to the University. Nothing was said between us about the conditions of eventual retirement--due to my usual neglect of financial considerations and because my good health gave me no thought of stopping work at any near time. Hope must have mentioned the matter to Florence Reed, treasurer, but they reached no decision that I knew of. Later I opposed Miss Reed's election as president to succeed Hope; and the new plan gained me wide acclaim. Even the General Education Board which handled Rockefeller funds favored my plan. President Clement while supporting the plan was not enthusiastic. As a new young unknown president, perhaps he saw my reputation overshadowing him. Letters came to me; visitors asked for me and no doubt Miss Reed encouraged his jealousy. I was conscious that this might occur and tried to be careful. On all my plans I consulted him. All invitations went out in his name. His delays and small objections seemed petty and I said so. Perhaps I was too brusque and not

diplomatic enough in this and did not take into account his inexperience and lack of understanding. Doubtless too he had no desire to stop the development of the plan, but had no idea that I was at least for the time being so necessary for its firm establishment.

Neither Miss Reed nor President Clement said a word to me about retirement; but at the meeting of the Board of Trustees in 1944, Miss Reed proposed that I be retired. President Clement seconded the motion and apparently with little or no objection the Board passed the vote. Presumably most of the members assumed that the matter had been discussed with me and had my agreement. [redacted]

[redacted]

41-3-231

At any rate without a word of warning I found myself at the age of 76, without employment and with less than five thousand dollars of savings. Not only was a great plan of scientific work killed at birth, but my own life was thrown into confusion. I felt the world tottering beneath my feet and I fought back in despair. Finally the trustees gave me ayear's full salary in lieu of my never having been given notice of retirement. Also after offering me a pension of $100 a month, they finally granted me $1800 a year for five years and $1200 a year thereafter.

A word from thepoet Sara Teasdale expressed my mood:

"When I can look life in the eyes,
Grown calm and very coldly wise,
Life will have given me the Truth
And taken in exchange -- my youth."

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My youth? I laughed grimly. It was not my youth that I was losing; it was my old age; and old age was worthless in the United States.

There were some earnest attempts to carry the proposed program on. It was transferred to Howard University, with E. Franklin Frazier in charge. An excellent conference was held in 1945. But Frazier was not given funds for continuing the project and the Land Grant Colleges gradually ceased to cooperate. The whole scheme died within a year or two. It has never been revived.

The result of this action was disastrous; not merely to me but to the American Negro. Up unitl this time the Negro himself had led in the study and interpretation of the condition of his race in the United States. Beginning with 1914, with accelerated speed the study of the Negro passed into the hands of whites and increasingly Southern whites. There were colored sociologists and historieans but they worked without coordinated plan, without adequate funds or under superiors who were not interested. Finally many Negro writers found it profitable to write what Business and the Government demanded and

not the whole truth. Until in the last decade 1949 to 1959 with increasing unanimity, the thesis has been defended in a thousand books and papers that the Civil War was not a struggle to preserve and spread the slavery of black workers, but a holy crusade to maintain the superior civilization of white folk and today current historians can treat American history and take no account of American Negroes and their activities in the Twentieth century.

There was another loss in the giving up of this plan, which I have never mentioned. Here was an unprecedented chance for an experiment in Sociology; for measuring and classifying human action, on a scale never before attempted; it would be reasonably sure of adequate funds and the best of trained cooperation and nationwide if not worl-wide criticism. On such a base a real science of Sociology could have been built. The opportunity was surrendered and the whole science of Sociology has suffered. Indeed today there is no recognized field of Sociology; almost no one calls himself a Sociologist and few institutions grant a degree in sociology. I even had projected a path of scientific approach: I was going to plot out beside the world of physical law, a science of Sociology which measured "the limits of chance in human action." If this field proved narrow or non-existent, world law was proven. If not the resultant "chance" was what men had always regarded as "Free Will." Meantime as students of human action hesitated and waited, Psychology measured nervous reaction; Physics merging with Chemistry rose to enormous accomplishment and helped by the vast prevision of mathematics, recast our whole conception of the universe. Finally Biology revealed new realms of what we now can regard as nothing but Chance beyond the area of conscious mind. Sociology has been by-passed, and reduced to Social Work.

41-3-233

A Few Notes Concerning Christianborg Castle

The land on which Christianborg Castle is built was acquired by th4 Danish Government on the 18th August 1661. It was the then Ga Manche, none other than Okai Koi, whose cruelty to his people resulted eventually in his assassination, who sold the land to the Danes for the sum of seven gold marks - a transaction which was concluded twenty years, almost to a day, after the Dutch had acquired the site of what is now called Ussher Fort.

Consideable delay took place in construction of C.C. as much of the material had to be brought from Europe and it was not ready for occupation until 1670 - the yar of the accession of Christian Fifth to the crown of Denmakr, after whom the castle was called. The ground plan of the original building - i.e. the portion situated on the sea side (the dungeons) - is the same today as when the Castle was built, except that on the land side the castle then extended only as far as to the foot of the present staircase (then nonexistent) where a wall crossed at right angles and enclosed a small court-yard.

This court-yard contained one remarkable feauture, viz; an underground water-tani. The entrance to this tank can still be seen under the present staircase. It is described by a co temporary writer as having been faced with tiles, and cement, extending to 11 feet square to 6 feet in depth and being capable of hold ng 400 barrels of wager. It is probably one of the first, if not the first, water tank constructed in West Africa. Later a second underground water tank was built and this one is probably familiar to most visitors who enter the castle for it bears on one side of the curious dome-shaped erection built over it an inscription in Danish which recounts its history. In 1752 the Danish Governor died and one Dr. Carl Engmann, a native of Stociholm, who had retired from the practice of medicine in Osu and taken up trade, was appointed Acting Governor in his stead. In those days a Governor was merely a Commandant of a fort and his principal duty consisted of buying dold and slaves in exchqnge for European goods. One month before Engmann's appointment six Europeans and severl mulatto soldiers had died of disease in Christianborg Castle and in 1753 seven Europeans and seven soldiers died there. This mortality was largely due to dysentery, and Ehgmann with the advantage of ten years residence in Osu behind him as well as medical knowledge to guide him, at once proceeded to remedy this state of affairs. He dug another undergr und tank outside the co fines of the castle, connected it by a pipe with the tank situated within the old court-yard and within a year his reputation as a benefactor to mankind was established, onlt two Europeans and two

artisans died in 1754. It is true that his catchment area was not above reproach. Roof gutters were unknown in these days and, as a result, the tanks were filled by the rain water which fell on the bastions and batteries; but even this was much better than the brackish, contaminated water which had hitherto been collected from holes in the sandy beach east of the cast.e

The inscription outside Engmann's tank is unfortunately sadly mutilated. It gives the interior measurements of the tank, but the figures for length, breadth and depth are indecipherable; the dates upon which it was commenced (March 2, 1753 and completed, May 31st, 1753) can be read, while at the end of the inscription can be clearoy seen the Governor's name, Carl Engmann. This tank as well as the older one were filled with sand in 1915 in order to prevent mosquito from breeding in them.

Little more is known of Engmann. His action in placing his Chief Factor under arrest in 1756, for what is politely referred to as a "shortage" nowadays, resulted in his falling under the Danish King's displeasure and he was recalled on the 27th of August in that year. It is, however, probable that he is the author of the flattering poetical effusion with which Roemer's "Description of the Coast of Guinea" opens, and which is signed Carl Gustav Engmann, as he and Roemer were together in Osu for some years. The court-yard in which Engmann's tank is situated was only gradually enclosed in after years. Thus, the battery on which the present dining hall is erected was completed in 1734, the wall contai the entrace gate was built in 1790 and the chapel in 1791.

- - Report on Monuments and Relics of Gold Coast
O'Neil, 1951

37 castles and forts in territory built before 1800 - No traces of 8

Castles and forts almost the only visible remains of the History of the Gold Coast for at least three hundred years. There are a few late 18th century houses in such towns as Elmina, Cape Coast and Sekondi which are fast decaying and shold be cared for, but before that time there is very little indeed except the forts. They illustrate the country's history and for that reason they should be preserved and used in the country's educational system.

Neglect of whitewase. "On a tropical shore with the blue of the sea, the yellow sand and the green coker-nut palms, he staring whiteness of the buildin is needed to complete the picture. It used to do so, it should do so again in all castles and forts which are used. Absence of whitewash makes Cape Coast castle so depressing.

Christiansborg Castle - History

In about 1500 King John II of Portugal formed a Guinea Company which set up new stations, including one at Christiansborg. They are said to have founded the castle, but this is undertain. It was taken by the Swedes in 1645, but then seems only to have been a fortified house, called Ursu Lodge (native Ursu or Osu) In 1657 it was captured by the Danes under Sir Henry Carlof. Two yars later enlarged and given its present name.

In 1679 the Portuguese were trying to recover lost ground. Danish Governor of the castle (John Olricks or Cluckstad) had a Greek, Peter Bolt, as an officer. He conspired with the natives, who murdered the Governor and installed Bolt in his place. Bolt sold it for 224 pounds to Julian de Campo, Barette, ex-Governor of the Portuguese Island of San Thome. The Portuguese supplied small garrison and made improvements, recalled it the Castle of St. Franci Xavier. "They raised the curtains and batteries another 3 feet; built a small chapel inside the castle where mass was said by a black priest who had been ordained by the Bishop of San Thome. They maintained a garrison of 45 white men, but employed no natives, as they were so well hated all along the coast that they could get none to serve under them". The castle is called St. Francis Xavier in an engraving of 1682.

In 1682 Baretoo, the Portuguese Governor of Christiansborg Caste, was made a prisoner by his own garrison, who rose against him and kept him confined in the tower of the cast.e. Barbot, who had known him in Prince's Island three year's before, went to visit him, but was only allowed to salute him at the window from a considerable distance. The Portuguese Factor, who had refused him admission told Barbot that he was prepared to justify what he had done, but that if the prisoner wished to return with him, Barbot to Europe he might

SHOULD A TREARTY OF PEACE BE MADE WITH GERMANY AND THE RELATIONS OF BERLIN NORMALIZED?

by W.E.B.D u BOIS

Never in the modern world has there been such an a no amalous situation as in Germany. The Soviet Union at overwhelming cost won the Second World War and saved Europe from the domination of Hitler. In return it was admitted that the Soviet Union was due reparations for her frighful losses and and that Germany should never again be permitted to disturb the peace of the world. But the West feared the sucess of Communism more than they feared War. When then they sat down to make a treaty of peace, no treaty was made; for now sixteen years and still today, remains unmade. Yet in anticipation of a rapid treaty of peace the four powers temporarily divided the capital city of Berlin into three four parts, As a permanent arrangement this was unthinkable and was never so planned. It was like giving France the right to carry on a goverwment in London, (or Cuba in New York) meantime the real work of peace was neglected. The Soviet Union was given almost nothing to pay for her losses (in life and property). The United States gave her no help Loan after the war as she gave England and France, but demanded quick repayment of what the Soviet Union owed her. United States capital and her labor unions (under Meany) united to make recovery from the results of war difficult in East Germany. The former followers of Hitler gradually took over control of West Germany and she rapidly recovered from her defeat. She soon was rejoining America and West Europe, and uniting with them again against the Soviet Union , China and East Europe. Finally it was proposed that the West arm Germany against with atomic weapons. If the world wants peace this is the end. Germany must not a third time bring disaster on mankind. The Soviet Union disspite her losses between 1917 and 1945, has risen to lead the world in education, technology, science and progress in industry. She presents mankind a program of peace. She proposes peace this year in Germany and her proposal should be carried out, despite the opposition of the United States, the hesitation of West Europe and the threats of West Germany. Peace shold be made with East the Democratic Republic Germany, and all foreign troops withdrawn. Berlin should become a united normal city, with such fair terms to its inhabitants who do not desire to live in East Berlin. Or even as the Soviet Union generously offered as organized under special arrangements, but no longer as a West German center of spying, and sabotage, and propaganda The e is really no choice: either War soon if present conditions continue, ~~Or war if West Germany rules West Berlin~~, or World Peace this year.

W.E.B Du Bois
July 15, 1961, Bucarest, Rumania

This is the most astounding triumph of the human mind which modern man has seen. The Soviet Union has shown what Commnnism can do for peace in t the spread of knownledge rather than by arms. Cannot the West meet this challenge by something more than threat of futher war

Stevenson's heart nearly broke for fear Titov would not return to earth and then ~~for fear he would~~ when he landed safe & sound

America has set a fine example of restrained appreciation of the greatest feat of man to date. Words fail Kennedy. By time his man reaches the Moon the Soviets will have permanent settlements. & admire only Command

Gregory made a fine hop. He lost his capsule, but that only cost two million dolars which I helped pay. He saved himself and was given our highest award for swimming. His reminiscenses of that marvelous 16 minutes will appear in several volumes as a best seller. (Knopf)

If we could just get over our American habit of Big Talk! We have done some big things in the past; and some mighty small ones as Indians and Negroes can testify

The enthusiastic answers of the President, cousin Cousins, Thurgood Marshall , Philip Randolph xxx Norman Thomas and Donald (Warrington & Thomas Lamont) very much resemble the well-known reply of another surprised person: "he named a california town, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ I thi k it was "Ubadamn"!

The rare restraint of President Kennedy in repressing his natural enthusiasm for the greatest accomplishment of the human mind over the forces of nature which the Communist Titov has made. I hope many other Americans wil follow the President's example. Norman Thomas, Phillip Randolph, Thurgood Marshal will hereafter at least keep still; little cousins Cousins will accept Peace with Soviets and the Pentagon will stop needless boasting

Not by threat of war but by the most astounding triumph of the mind of man over over thepowers of nature has the Soviet Union shown the world its superior social organization. Cannot the reply of the West be something more than a threat of more arms for more destruction of men and property

W.E.B.Du BOIS

W.E.B. Du Bois

Weltraumflug Juri Gagarins vom 12.4.1961: *Flugdauer 108 min; Flughöhe 327 km; Flugstrecke über 40 000 km; Fluggeschwindigkeit 29 000 Stdkm; Gewicht der Kapsel 4,7 t.*

Höhenflug Allan Shepards vom 5.5.1961: *Dauer 15 min; Höhe 185 km; Strecke 483 km; Geschwindigkeit 8106 Stdkm; Gewicht 1 t.*

Höhenflug Virgil Grissoms vom 21.7.1961: *Dauer 15 min; Höhe 188,8 km; Strecke 488 km; Geschwindigkeit 8545 Stdkm; Gewicht 1,5 t.*

Weltraumflug German Titows vom 6. und 7.8.1961: *Dauer 25 Stunden 18 Minuten; Höhe 257 km; Strecke über 700 000 km; Geschwindigkeit 29 000 Stdkm; Gewicht 4,7 t.*

SIX WEEKS IN RUMANIA

by W.E.B.Du BOIS

I have been in Rumania six weeks seeking to have my old age treated by Dr. Aslan. I do not speak Rumanian and have seen but a small portion of your city of Bucarest and your beautiful country. This gives me but ~~small~~ NARROW basis to judge your ~~country.~~ But I have been asked to put down some impressions. I consent because in my long life I have travelled widely, and perhaps can make some valuable comparisons. First I was born in America , in the northeast part of the United States from black Africans whom Dutch had kidnapped in West Africa and sold in slavery in New York. My great-great- grandfather, with the Man who had bought him, wandered east from the valley of the Hudson to the next valley which was still wilderness and began farming. Later the people of this country began to complain of THE way in which the British treated them and soon started rebellion. My great-great grandfather fought with them and for this was recognized as a free citizen. There was plenty of free land around and he and his descendents became small farmers. Eventually his granddaughter married a man who was born in the West Indies of ~~a descendant of a~~ French Huguenot and a local mulatto woman. Their grandson returning to America was my father.

Thus I was born in a capitalist country, ~~who~~ which had never heard of Socialism. There was land enough for everyone and each individual provided for his own needs. However in time changes came about. Land, especially good land and land well-located became scarce and was seized by the richer and stronger folk so that the group divided into classes consisting of the Rich who were few in number; a vast number of poor folk and a middle class of people who were striving to make a living and not ~~starve~~ sink to poverty.

As a child my widowed mother strove to give me an education so that I could grow up and make a decent living. She had a hard struggle but at last died just after she saw me graduate from High School. Then by earning scholarships I finished college and graduate school and finally came to Germany to finish my education in 1892. Then and later I visited the chief capitalist nations of West Europe. I saw them developing into powerful nations determined to use the mass of poor people in Europe as workers for the support and luxury of the rich. The rich were regarded as the nation and the poor existed for their comfort. But Socialism was arising to oppose this scheme. I studied Karl Marx. In 1917 I heard of the Russian Revolution. In 1926, 1936 and 1949, and 1958 I visited ~~Russia~~ the USSR . I was six months in China and this year I have been six weeks in Rumania.

What now do I notice most? The people of Rumania are happier than the people of the United States. MOST Americans are well-fed and housed; ~~for the most part~~. But some are not and large numbers are unemployed. And all, whether leading a comfortable life or not are worried, even frightened of eventual poverty,

sickness and a ~~poverty stricken~~ helpless old age. They are so worried that they spend most of their life in a bitter struggle to make money by any method possible, often even by cheating, stealing , murder and war. Rumanians on the other hand, seem to me to be ~~happy~~ content. They do not to be sure have everything they want, but they do not fear poverty, hunger, sickness or an old age of neglect. They have far more physicians in porportion to population than Americans and fine hospitals. They marry young when marriage is natural and can afford to have children, whom the state educates, trains for making a living, and sees that a job is open when the youth is ready. All this does not work perfectly, but it is getting better every year and Rumanians are happy and hopeful. On the other hand Americans get high wages but the cost of living is enormous. Rumanians pay 150 to 300 lei for a pair of shoes which cost us 1200 to 3600 lei; your home telephone costs you 35 lei a month; mine costs me ~~1400~~ 160 lei; you can rent a small apartment for ~~200~~ 100-150 lei a month. Your bread is better than ours and costs but half as much. I must pay at least 2000 a month. To live well therefor, Americans must earn a ~~huge~~ large wage for he pays a tremendous cost of living and this is the reason for his bitter struggle to ~~xxx~~ gain income and wealth. As compared with Rumanians we have more things for which we pay much more and worry ourselves to death getting the money to pay with. You have less, for which you pay less and need not worry over sickness and age. Our taxes on income and property are ten times yours. But this is not the worst of the situation: Americans and west Europeare still obsessed by the idea, that no state can care for the mass of its people as the USSR., Poland, Czechozlovzkia, ~~and~~ China, and Rumania are doing and suceeding increasingly well; but the West insists that for civilization to progress a few rich and powerful people must make the mass of people work for their support and comfort. If now the ~~labor of the~~ workers at home are dissatisfied with such conditions, then labor of weak and defenseless lands can be compelled to work for the stronger nations, and ~~then~~ the rich rulers of these nations can then divide the spoils of exploitation. Thus workers in England, France, and the United ~~Sta~~ States get higher wages by sharing in the theft of the labor of Asia, ~~the West Indies~~ Africa, South America , Cuba And Mexico. In return for this, these laborers tax themselves for war and send their sons to ~~fight~~ die. Thus in our age, two vast world wars have been fought by the West to ~~make~~ enslave the labor of the peoples of Asia and Africa. Today the Communist lands seek peace not for conquest of other peoples but to forward civilization: to abolish poverty, educate youth and heal the sick. At present Socialism leads the world in science, technique and social progress; while the United States , Great Britain and France which might use their wealth and power for such objects, are wasteing millions on millians for war and preparation for war. Thus they compell Rumania to spend on defense what she needs for pushing forward the ideals of Socialism ,

Rumania strikes the visitor even of a short time as a sucessful Socialist state: under discipline and requiring sacrifice, and yet ~~with~~ by hard work, it is increasing plenty, spreading democratic methods and progressing in culture and civilization; a well-dressed, well-behaved, intelligent folk, who after years of horrible war, desperately desire Peace. Here, despite theory, I see Socialism at work: the short eight-hour day from eight to four; no unemployment; higher wages: (10% increase or more next September;) cheap , good entertainment; adult education which lets the scrub- woman study medicine. Thus today the Future works.

One cannot finish an article on Rumania, without a special word on Bucarest. I have seen most of the leading cities of the World; I can truly say that the capital of Rumania is one of the most beautiful: its breadth of plan and unity of concept; its public buildings and stately monuments; the gracious width of its streets, with flowers and trees; its wealth of parks and surrounding acres of deep forests, where all may rest and play; and its palaces turned into museums where all may learn; blocks of new housing, no slums. All this makes a city one cannot never forget. Especially in my case, my dark skin and curled hair, evoked here none of that contempt and fear which they call up in America. Rather in these few days I leave behind friends whom I love.

SIX WEEKS IN RUMANIA

by W.E.B.Du BOIS

I was born five thousand miles west of Bucarest in New England which is in the norteastern part of the United States of America. It was a small town of only five thousand persons and noone in town had ever heard of Socialism. The land all belonged to individuals, and because there was much land and not many people the land was cheap. My folk were black and had been kidnapped in Africa and sold here as slave workers. But my great-great grandfather and the man who claimed to own him had wandered east from the valley of the Hudson into the wilderness of the neighboring valley and there began to farm land. Then the folk of New England began to fight against Great Britain and my great-grandfather fought along with them and thus became a free landholder. My father descended from French Huguenots came here and married my mother and thus I was born.

My town of peasant landholders, became capitalist because they knew no other way of life. Everybody ran his own farm, although at times they heped each other out. Some lost control of their land and worked for others. My folk kept their land, but gradually began to work for richer neighbors when the land did not yield enough. When I was a young boy my folk had to worry about sickness, accidents and posible loss of jobs, Especially did they worry about how they would live when they became too old to work. ~~I was a smart boy a d my mot or especially wanted me to be educated~~ so that I might earn a good living, but we were poor and she worried much lest I should not be able to ~~go~~ to school.

From such a childhood I come in my ninety-third year to Rumania. I have previously visited ~~the~~ Great capitzlist nations of the world and also such Socialist countries as the Soviet Union, China,Poland , East Germany and Czechoslavia. Now for six weeks I have been her e, and for a short space I want to contrast this nation ~~and~~ the capitalist lands. Everybody in Rumania is not perfectly happy. Many see things which they could wish better. But on the other hand they have some extraordinar advantages: first, noone is hungry; this is a marvel- contrast to most people in the world. Even in capitalist nations, even in rich United States there are thousands of hungry workers. All Rumanians do not yet hav all the food they would like, but none are hungry. Rumanians still lack sufficient homes; but compared with their faters they are beginiing to be well-housed and the rapidity which is building them mod rnconvenient homes is astonishing. Most of the people in New York where I live have plenty to eat and good homes but not all. Thousands are undernourished, live in wretched houses and earn too little to live decently. Moreover thruout the United States, four or five mill io workers can get no work at all and must live on charity. Moreover of those who comfortable with good income, all are worried: worried as to how they will live

Everybody assumed that the poor existed for the benefit of the rich and that the state existed for its upper classes, w ile the mass of people were of little account. But I was a bright boy and my widowed mother was determined that I should be educated

SIX WEEKS IN RUMANIA

The difference between a Western capitalist country and a Socialist country is not a difference in gover ment or change of land or peopled. It is deeper than this. It is so complete a reversal of thought and object that at first one can hardly explain. Take an example: two friends came to Rumania and ma de an excursion to Sinaia, where the palace of the lately dethroned Michial. It is a magnificent building, beautifully furnished in magnificent taste. In sheer elegance it surpasses Versailles of Lovis XIV, since it portrays the technique and art of two centuries which built their glory on the Eighteenth century. My friend were overwhelmed with its sheer artistry, but they said hesitatingly, "its open to thepublic;" the masses of workers are free to visit it. Now that did not mean as it would have in New York, dirt, noise, disorder; no, the place was spotless the behavior was orderly, not a scrap of paper nor a ruined flower -- but can one conceive a palace for the public, even if the public is disciplined? Can I really enjoy something if every one else is just as free to enjoy it as I? Can the object of a nation be the mass of the nation's people and not mainly the best, the select of the pepole? Otherwise will not inevitably the level of the nation be lowered, despite all that discipline does to counteract the result In other words, my friends asked, Is it possible to have an upper class without a lower class, and without an upper class what becomes of Civilization?. Yet the answer is Rumania. This is a beautiful, civilized nation, with, education, technik, science and art; with moden homes, theatres, museums and libraries with trees and flowers and miles of magnificent parks. So are all the Rumanians satisfied and happy? O no. There is endless criticism; there is complaint; there is injustice, overwork and underpay; there is failure to recognize desert and undue reward of some ability over other. In other words, Rumananians are still human beings and not angels; their discipline is not perfect and they continual mistakes. But, and here is the miracle: the existence, the food and homes, the education and Art of the mass of the people of the state does not depend on the hunger, degradation, sorrow and murder of the great mass of people pressed down beneath the feet of the aristocratic, wealthy and powerful few. The masses are the object of the existence of the state and not the Cultured few. It is possible even probable that it will take a long time to raise 18 million people to a fair average of decent living and content; that a few might with the same work be made an example of magnificence and wealth in a shorter time but at the expanse of war, poverty and ignorance for the vast majority. This is a fact that the world does not believe of what Eastern Europe, USSR or China does

when old; what they will do if they lose their job; what they will do in sickness or accident. Those who earn high wages must pay high prices to live. In Rumania, everyone is sure of a job as long as he can work; old folk are sure of support when they can nolonger work; there are hospitals for the sick where service is free and more physicians to give there service than in America in proportion to population. Rumanians pay from 150 to 400 lei for a pair of shoes Americans pay from 1200 to 3600 lei. You home telephone costs 35 lei a month mine costs 14,400 lei a month. You can rent a small apartment for 200 lei a mont and this includes light and heat. A modern small apartment in New York costs at least 2000 lei a month. To live well then an American must earn high wages and therefor the fierce struggle for income and wealth is the most noticeable thing in our life. We are tempted to steal, overwork, cheat and murder inorder to be secure in old age, cared for in sickness and safe if we lose our wealth or present job.

Now Rumania has found another path to safty and happiness. Instea of leaving the individual to make his own living alone, Rumania tries to make the security, health and happiness of all the people the object of a scientific organization of the state , so that the people are the object of everybody's effort. I see then less worry in Romania; the mass of folk seem happier. They are not near as rich as many Americans; their wages are in many cases not a tenth of ours but they seem more secure. Young people get married at the age when mar- is physically and spiritually best. A sucessful American man does not dare marry before he is forty and then cannot afford children. Rumanians marry at twenty five and the state pays them to have babies.

Moreover in the capitalist nations the itch for wealth leads to crime of many sorts, but especially the Crime of Crimes, War. We are living today in an age which has been ruiened by two world wars fough to enable capitalist nations to control the work and materials of poor defenseless peoples and build civilization on theft and exploitation. For this object the growth and devel- of Socialism in Rumania and other Socialist nations has been kept back by brite force, and the wealth of America is being used for war instead of being used to build great Communist nations. Thus Socialism grows slowly, because it has to waste so much energy in self-defense. And Civilization dies in the western world because they are committing suicide in selfish fight for individual wealth and income.

In these few weeks which I have spent in Rumania, I have seen a happy people, who rather be poor than build wealth on poverty and ignorance; whose streets are lined with flowers and who haved saved and not murdered their beautiful as we have in America. For this they pay in sacrifice and discipline; but

how lovely it is of a holiday to see thousands filling the abundnatx and blooming park spaces, without scattering a scrap of dirt or paper or spending handfuls of money which they have not honestly earned. I am convinced that all Rumania are not perfectly happy but that far more Rumanias are content and unworried than among the struggling peopling peoples of New York.

Six Weeks in Rumania

A square country, diagonally from Northeast to southwest split by the Carpathians

In the Southeast then Turks ruled the vacuum for centuries. The Northwest, Transylvania, belongs to Austro-Hungary I spent a few days on the Carpathians chiefly to view the extraordinary palace of Sinaia — now shamefully a Museum. Sorry!

I crossed the Danube and saw again the Black Sea. There is a great port at Constanta and at the summer resort below I had the great pleasure of meeting my old friends, Martha Dodd and Alfred stern. They were happy and busy-- Alfred in Slovakian housingfor the Check state

Rumania is 450 by 600 kilometers. The Danibe is 2855 ~~3688~~xkm long and reaches the Black Sea through a massiv delta

The country is run for the mass of its people. The great Unwashed have work & wages. There are plenty of real on the abundant farms ready anybody to sell who wants to. This would not suit "free" Americans; they want some body to shelter, to discipline, to look down on to be cruel by, to show off to — to do to Jews what Hitler would to Negroes

your washerwoman silly in Michaels farce. M. knows where to go - he is in the name where rank is attended & money can be had

meanwhile the R. Mass has learnt manners. They are well behaved & even courteous but not elegant. The Rumanian is rough, Stalin was born, not a peasant, he was born learnt but can act like a gentleman

Stölpel Paul. Chadwick Marion.

Paul Stölzel, Flauda (Stelzle)

Marion Chadwick

The trip to the Black Sea-- Pon tus Euxinus-- salt, calm, with memor es of Jason and black folk whose signs still are to be seen.

To Constanta; miles of petunias, scarlet sage, broidering the highways
The crowds of people of a Sunday

The miles of seashore, the "Board walks " of hewn s one; the terracee park ways

The people at leiaure and the children playing with parents

Then Sinaia-- the vast ranges of the high Carpathians -- the Hotel Titan, a thousand feet above the sea; the car and driver, the pin turns, the holiday hikers, the glass of good beer; Eugenia's father on pension; her white-haired young mother in her hospital. The rasberries; the home a d boy; the cross on the mountain in the fro t yard; the Black Church

Ploesti and the destruction of it oil works

The castles: Karl the first a d his palace; Ferdinand ; his one dead daughter Carl the second and h s paramour; dumb Michel and his mother Helena; they live in France and visit with royalty. His Rumanian palace

The attempt of the Hohenzollerns to reestablish royalty; its fall
The lovely museums

Seeing socialism in the countriside: the grear crops, regularly planted; irrigation; crowds of people together

Contrast with the French peasants square feet and his cooperation with reaction and property

The Rumanian peasants are co munists and sup orters of the State. thye can study and aspire

Constanta: the old city-- the Black Sea

The "Board walks" in hewn stone; the terraced seaboard

The peole play at the seaside; nothing to buy or sell; no scrap of paper

No quarrelling; no accidents

The food; egg-plant; tomatoes

Scandanavian tourists Ceylonese

The women and children

Street crowds

Forests-- tree-planting

Vacation homes for sick children

W. E. B. DU BOIS -- UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

It is unfortunate that on the "second day of the world", September 27, it is impossible to tell the world much that is taking place in America to forward the peace movement of the world. I believe every thinking person in the United States wants peace and fears war, knows that the fantastic preparation for war in this country is the greatest threat which faces the world today. And yet, much as we fear war, much as we stagger under unreasonable taxation and waste our vast resources, there is something we think we fear more and that is "Communism", which we describe or have described to us, whether we will or no, as a crime and a conspiracy directed particularly against the United States. We do not all believe this fabrication, but few of us dare to take steps against it.

Linus Pauling on this "second day of the world" sent out an appeal. He said:

"The world is now in great danger. A cataclysmic nuclear war might break out as the result of some terrible accident or of an explosive deterioration in international relations such that even the wisest national leaders would be unable to avert the catastrophe. Universal disarmament has now become the essential basis for life and liberty for all people."

This appeal was signed by leading men of forty nations, including the outstanding leaders of American thought. There are other indications that this great nation is slowly but surely coming to its senses and realising what harm it has done to the world by its insane opposition to Communism and by its treatment of Cuba, the peoples of South America, and the peoples of Negro descent still living in the United States.

39-46-62

Received
Mar 13, 1962

THE UNITED STATES, MAY 1961

by

W.E.B. Du Bois

38-10-13

It is difficult to judge a nation. There are so may people and they differ in such infinite ways. It is seldom that a person knows the different parts of a nation so thoroughly that he can speak of it as a whole. Usually, unconsciously, he is talking about his family, his class, the part of the nation in which he was born or lives. In my own case I have two advantages in talking about this, my country. I am first of all, a part of America, born on its soil, and steeped in its culture. And at the same time and almost simultaneously, because of my dark skin and crinkly hair, I am apart from the nation and belong to a special minority with peculiar problems. I can look upon this country not simply as mine, but can see it in some vital respects as a stranger looking on.

It the next place I have done much travelling. Beginning as a student in my twenties I went to Europe and have made sixteen or more trips to all parts of Europe during my life. I have been to the Soviet Union and, in a sense, have seen it grow from 1926, in 1936 and in 1959. I have been to Japan and twice to China, in 1936 and in 1959. I have been to West Africa in 1923, in 1958 and in 1960. Once I circled the globe; I have been to Canada, to the West Indies and have glimpsed Mexico. And so I can speak not as one knowing one locality and judging the rest from this, but as one knowing many localities with some chance at comparing them.

My travel has also included all parts of the United States. I have been in every State and in some I have lived for long periods so that I am well acquainted

with New England where I was born and where I received my earliest education; I know the mid-west where I lived, taught and travelled. I have lived in the South, in former slave states for twenty-five years. I have repeatedly visited the far west. So that here, again, I can see this great land, not from a single point of view but much of its breadth and differences.

38-10-14

I believe the United States is facing grave disaster; not immediately, not inevitably, but certainly unless soon it radically changes its present course. This disaster is not from abroad, but from within.

It is illustrated by a recent extraordinary happening: This country deliberately planned to invade Cuba after the Cuban people had driven out the dictator whom we encouraged and financed, to invade this revolutionized land in order to help the counter-revolution, whom we expected to rise up and assist us. It was a crazy, ill-judged scheme. The work that Castro is doing in Cuba is marvelous and inspiring and the mass of people utterly support it. Yet, all this we misjudged. We secretly planned an invasion while publicly righteously denying it. Then, to our own surprise, but to that of no one else, we were roundly beaten. The Cuban people did not rise to support us. Communism ~~did not~~ had not invented poverty and ignorance so as to exploit them as we seem to say. Our failure was a set-back for the new administration and the young president, picturing himself leading the nation to a new day, was utterly astonished. Some of his followers had dissented and tried to dissuade him from backing this enterprise, but he had gone stubbornly on. His representative in the United Nations, Adlai Stevenson, to the last minute persisted in saying that the United States had absolutely no part in this invasion. He did this publicly, with sneering repudiation of those who insisted that the United States was openly backing it. When the attempt failed and the truth was out there was one thing for Stevenson, as a man of honor to do, and that was, as Rockwell Kent wrote him, to

~~resign~~

resign. He did not. He chose to remain "loyal" to the President, and did not retract a single word. In fact, he has recently accepted from a United States organization the designation, "Father of the Year".

The President hesitated. At first he seemed to say that we were immediately going to assist another invasion; then he added that we would have no more to do with the Cuban counter-revolotionists and summarilly dismissed its leaders. Finally, he declared that he would come to no terms with Castro and practically asserted that Cuba might choose any form of government it wanted, so long as it did not choose Communism.

Yet here he faced Castro, triumphant, with the overwhelming support of his people and with 1200 prisoners belonging to a group which had trusted in the armed support of the United States. And with Latin America looking on. More than this, it was at this time that President Kennedy had planned to meet with President de Gaulle of France and talk of arming Nato and freeing Algeria. Also, to the dismay of the President's friends, he arranged to meet directly after the head of the U.S.S.R., as a step toward a new Summit Conference, which we had ruined in 1960 by an unprecedented breach of international faith and then lied about it.

38-10-15

It was quickly pointed out that of all times for coming to terms with the Soviet Union this moment of defeat was the worst. The President therefore felt impelled to take some act or say some striking word which would at one bold stroke, range behind him the public opinion of the United States and, at the same time, show Nikita Khrushchov the absolute invincibility of the United States. This explains the speech of May 24th. I was too astonished clearly to listen to it. I could scarcely believe my ears and I wondered about its impact on the rest of this nation and the world. Americans are not a stupid people. They are a keen and eager folk. They want, or at least they want to want the best, the highest, the most intelligent path to success. But, before this speech of the President, they are silent - or

if not completely silent - there is nothing of the recoil, that I would have said, knowing America as I do, recognizing its mistakes as well as its triumphs, was bound to come.

The President sounded childish; he asked to put an American on the moon before the Russians reached it. He tried to assert that this was not mere national rivalry, but he said nothing on the other hand, which showed or tended to show for what particular reason the people of the United States of America needed to have a man on the moon. He talked about the Moon, but he said no word on what the people of the nation and of the world saw going on that minute in Alabama; namely the nation which proposed to lead the world to Freedom, denying with arms, clubs and bricks to a fifth of its citizens, the elementary rights of citizens. And this was not something new. It prolonged Little Rock and celebrated the abolition of slavery in the "Land of the Free and Home of the Brave". At this time, in spite of the government's own laws and law-enforcement officers, ~~he was~~ the President was able to take no vital step or say a definite word concerning Alabama. He talked about the moon. He proposed to spend on exploration of space, on increased armaments, on new devices for defense, nearly two thousand million dollars this year and so on in increasing sums until the total might well reach nine billion dollars. Such a sum might well involve the expenditure of money which could wipe out cancer and heart disease from the world; it could abolish poverty in India, could educate all African youth from kindergarten through college.

That such a sum would be spent was not specifically promised but permission to start its spending was demanded. I should have thought at least the silence of the best classes of America would have been broken, that increasing numbers of people would have begun to ask to be heard in this day of crisis. I listened for this on the radio; I tried to find it in the morning paper. It was not there. There were, to be sure, some indications that the limits of propaganda and mis-education had been

38-10-16

reached and that courage had again raised its head in America. But the signs are not many. Some people are asking where is all this money to come from: in a country that has seven million unemployed citizens, where the cost of living is rising and business bankrupcy is reaching a record, where our exports fail by a billion dollars a year to pay for what we buy abroad, where large numbers of its masses earn less than is necessary for a decent living and where even our so-call prosperity is built on increasing debt and widening fear.

I remember having tea with a citizen of Western Europe two years ago, who said to me, watching America, "I will give this country ten years; then disaster, unless meantime something drastic is done." What drastic has been done? There are three things that all men know must be attended to before the world can stand on its feet and think of walking forward. One is to clear up the unholy mess in Berlin which is a bequest of the Second World War stations a foreign armed enemy in the midst of a city making its normal life impossible. This has been done because the United States has systematically refused to end the war. Secondly, we have got to take our hands off Asia where, after the failure of France, we promised to let Southeast Asia do as it wished and then interfered and are interfering. We have deliberately supported Chiang-kai-Chek, whom we ourselves have called a murderer and a thief, and recognized him and his few million serfs with him as "China", while we will not see the triumphant efforts of 670,000,000 Chinese to stand in a world which for centuries has tried to ride on their backs.

These three matters must be settled. Instead of this we are determined to send a man to the moon. Why is this? It is not because Americans are evil. It is because they are ignorant. It is the result of systematic propoganda from 1945 to this day telling the American people that the effort to achieve Socialism and Communism in Russia, in Eastern Europe and in China is a crime and conspiracy and not a struggle toward progress.

This an extraordinary number of American people believe. They have no opportunity of hearing the truth. Their papers, the radio, and television persist in this propaganda. It is worse than anything that Hitler ever did. It will lead to worse consequences unless this nation awakens and lives again as it once did when its eyes saw "the glory of the coming of the Lord" in the abolition of Negro slavery which began in 1863 and is not yet finished. As a result of this prolonged and persistent propaganda, scientifically guided and spread by an increasingly monopolized press and radio, the average American citizen lives in fear. He believes that the U.S.S.R. is ready to attack us at any moment, secretly and by deception. Subtly by television, story and news report this belief is spread: regularly sirens scream to pedestrians and herd them underground, arresting those who disobey; the President recommends that we spend millions to dig holes in which to hide.

38-10-18

We cannot meet this propaganda by reason and reply. There is in the United States no respectable daily paper which would publish this article of mine, not because it is false, but because it is "subversive": it answers the propaganda which those in power want us to believe. Ten years ago, when in my innocence, I talked publicly of Peace and distributed the Stockholm Appeal against ~~aerial~~ atomic warfare I was arrested, charged with treason and threatened with five years imprisonment and five thousand dollars fine. I was handcuffed and fingerprinted. I was finally freed after paying costs of $30,000, not because I was found innocent, but because the judge admitted that the absurd charge was not proved although he said it might be true of people pleading for Peace!

We are afraid not only of attack from without but from collapse from within. We are gambling so outrageously on the stock market that twice recently the president of the stock market warned the nation. Yet we trade five million dollars of shares a day. We gamble at "bingo", a game of chance until the government is starting to

investigate. Our cost of hospital care is frightening the sick to death and yet our physicians are spending millions to fight "Social Medicine."

From fear of others the nation turns to fear of itself. We glare at each other on street and subway. We suspect our neighbors and we hate foreigners and folk whose skins are colored. We have lost the joy of living. We want to "get rich quick", we think we can buy anything with money.

Americans were born as a nation with an inferiority complex. They came mainly from serfs and working classes and wanted desperately to gain recognition from aristocrats. England long looked down on us and patronized us. Then Germany gave better learning and France had better art and manners. Now the Soviets are outstripping us. Sputnik showed that they had better engineers and, with a shock, we saw that their educational system was better than ours. Consequently, we do not seek better education, better health, Peace on earth, but to beat the Russians to the Moon!

38-10-19

The hope that still shines is the Negro: shall the nation treat him as a man or give up its Freedom and Democracy? This question holds us back from World War. It helps keep us sane. We try to bribe the Negroes not to complain. When Negro newspapers do complain they lose white advertisers. We send Negroes abroad to atte[redacted]isfaction and then come Little Rock and Alabama! The President's brother, with one hand prays Mississi pi to lessen the punishment of citizens who dare travel, and on the other hand screams to the World that all is well, a Negro may yet be President! In this turmoil and contradiction the Moiseyev dancers show crowded houses the joy of life under Communism. Perhaps this cultural understanding can yet save America.

The End

A1

NEGRO HISTORY, 800-1961

In the Seventh century Asia was alive: the great Tang dynasty arose in China, was overthrown by the Tatars and they by the Mongols, until in the fourteenth century arose the mighty Mings. In Arabia to the west Mohammed was born; his religion swept east to meet Asoka's Buddhism in India and west to challenge Europe at Tours. Arabs began a literature and science which swept over Africa in the Ninth and Tenth century and started a renaissance in Europe. Europe in the Fifteenth century turned to Science, as the Arabs took Constantinople. Europe began to strain against religious dogman in the Sixteenth century and in the Seventeenth turned to the rising riches of Asia and looted India. This in the Eighteenth century led to the rape of Africa to establish slave labor in America.

38-10-6

The wealth which thereupon poured in on Europe made her master of the world. She used her science to harness the powers of nature, to encourage invention and monopolize land and its fruits. She forced labor to sell its future results by contract which meant poverty for most workers and wealth for the few employers. Labor revolted: white labor at home, black labor in the West Indies; indentured labor in North America joined with those who dreamed of an American democracy. France arose in revolution, from the ignorant and poverty stricken serfs to the merchants and traders who were growing rich on slavery. The capitalists won and crying "Freedom" proceeded in the next century to thrive on stolen land and labor the world over and made war universal, using European labor to enslave the labor of the world. The conscience of the world protested. It said that Progress must not be built on Poverty, but on a new Socialism.

In the middle of the Century, Karl Marx put a doctrine of Communism in writing and the world listened. The capitalists of the world, who now held the political power, abolished the African slave trade in order to center their power on actual political control of Asia and Africa. They allayed unrest among white laborers at home by giving them education, political power and teaching them their innate superiority over colored folk and their

consequent duty as soldiers to conquer the world for the white race. This ushered in a century of world war, and the white West unable to conquer each other were compelled to appeal to the colored world for help. As a result India demanded her freedom. China made similar demands, was ignored and finally took freedom into her own hands.

In the United States were in 1945 some fifteen millions of acknowledged African descent. In the Eighteenth century they had regarded Africa as their home to which they would eventually return when free. They named their institutions "African" and themselves started migration to Africa led by Paul Cuffee, who at his own expense took 38 migrants to Africa in 1815. In 1817 the American Colonization Society was formed by prominent whites, headed by a nephew of George Washington. Soon the American Negroes were sadly disillusioned: first, their immigrants to Liberia found that Africans did not regard them as Africans; and then it became clear in 1830 that the colonization society was a device to rid America of free Africans so as to fasten slavery more firmly. Negroes therefore slowly turned to a new ideal: to strive for equality as American citizens, determined that when Africa needed them, they would be equipped to lead them into civilization. Meantime however, American Negroes learned from their environment to think less and less of their fatherland and its folk. They learned little of its history or its present conditions. They began to despise the colored races along with white Americans and to acquiesce in color prejudice.

Meantime a great change was sweeping the earth. Socialism was spreading: first in theory and experiment and then suddenly in 1917, in Russia where a Communist state was founded. The world was startled and frightened. The United States joined 16 different nations to prevent this experiment which all wise men said would fail miserably in a short ime. But it did not fail. It defended its right to try a new life, and staggering on slowly but surely, began to prove to all who would look that Communism could exist and prosper.

38-10-7

What effect did this have on American Negroes, By this time their leaders had become patriotic Americans, imitating Americans almost without critism. If Americans said that Communism had failed, then it had failed. And this of course Americans did say and repeat. Big Business bought up the press and news gathering agencies and declared Communism a crime and Communists and Socialists criminals. Some Americans and some Negroes did not believe this; but they lost employment or wnt to jail. Meantime, many thoughtful white Americans, fearing the advance of Socialism and Communism not only in Europe but in America under the "New Deal" conceived a new tact. They said the American color line cannot be held in the face of Communism. It is quite possible that we can help beat Communism if in America we begin to loosen if not break the color line.

The movement started and culminated in a Supreme Court decision which was a body blow to color discrimination, and certainly took the wind out of the sails of critics of American democracy. To the Bourbon South it was said, don't worry; the law will not be enforced for a decade if not a century. To the Negroes the government said, it will be a fine thing now if you tell foreigners that our Negro problem is settled; and in such case we can help with your expenses of travel. A remarkable number of Negroes of education and standing found themselves able to travel and testify that American Negroes now had no complaints.

38-1078

Then came three disturbing facts: first the Soviet Union was forging ahead in education and science and it drew no color line. Secondly, outside the Soviet Union, in England, France, and all West Europe especially Scandinavia, Socialism was spreading: state housing, state ownership of railroads, subways, busses and other public facilities; social medicine, higher education, old age care, insurance and many other sorts of relief. Even in the United States, the New Deal was socialism no matter what it was called. Thirdly, the former slave South had no intention of obeying the Supreme Court; most Negroes still cannot vote, their schools are poor and the black workers are exploited, diseased and at the bottom of the economic pile. Trade unions north as well as south still

discriminate against black labor. Randolph who had red-baited loudly at the command of Meany was ordered to "shut up" when he asked justice from the American Confederation of Labor. But finally a new and astonishing event was the sudden rise of Africa.

My own study had for a long time turned toward Africa. I listened to Bishop Turner, and then heard first from Franz Boas a commencement address at Atlanta, the astonishing story of the Negro empires of the Sudan. I began to read African history; I planned a series of charts in 1900 for the Paris Exposition, which gained a Grand Prize. I planned an Encyclopaedia Africana and attended a Pan-African conference in London at the invitation of a West Indian barrister. I was made secretary of this meeting and drafted its resolutions. I secured names of many distinguished scientists for my encyclopaedia.

In 1911, the Ethical Culture societies of the world called a races congress in London and made Felix Adler and me secretaries for America. At that meeting I met for the first time Africans of education and stature and I conceived a dream; but alas, World War killed it. However in 1915, I published my first book on African history and while funds were not forthcoming for my encyclopaedia, nevertheless there was much interest and discussion. I seized on the idea of having the German colonies in Africa, form the nucleus of a free Africa, but none listened. When the NAACP sent me abroad after the armistice in 1919, to examine the treatment of Negro soldiers, I planned a Pan-African Congress, but got little support. Blaise Diagne of Senegal whose volunteers had saved France from the first onslaught of the Germans, induced Clemenceau to allow the Congress despite the opposition of the United States and Britain. It was a small meeting, but it aroused a West African Congress the next year which was the beginning of independence for Ghana and Nigeria. In 1921 I called a second Pan-African Congress to meet in London, Paris and Brussells. This proved a large and influential meeting, with delegates from the whole Negro world. It spread a demand for treatment of people as civilized despite race or color. It received

38-10-9

wide attention and especially aroused the fear of the colonial powers. They were determined to stop the movement. Nevertheless the wide publicity gained by the Second Congress led to the organization of congresses in many parts of Africa by the natives. At the same time the movement of black peasants in the West Indies and in the United States led by Marcus Garvey gained listeners for his demand of "Africa for the Africans". Our attempt to form a permanent organization located in Paris was betrayed but I succeeded in assembling a small meeting in London and Lisbon in 1923, and I myself for the first time saw Africa as Special Minister Plentiary of the United States. I tried a fourth Congress in Tunis but France forbade it. I tried to chart a ship and cruise the West Indies, holding a roaming congress. No boats were for hire. So at last in 1927 helped by a committee of women I called the Fourth Pan-African Congress in New York. It was fairly well attended by American Negroes but few Africans. The Second World War approached and I gave up.

38-10-10

Meantime methods changed and ideas expanded. Africans themselves began to demand more voice in colonial government and the Second Wrold War had made their cooperation so necessary to Europe that at the end actual and unexpected freedom for African colonies was in sight. Moreover there miraculously appeared Africans able to take charge of these governments. American Negroes of former generations had always calculated that when Africa was ready for freedom, American Negroes would be ready to lead them. But the event was quite opposite. The African leaders proved to be Africans, some indeed educated in the United States, but most of them trained in Europe and in Africa itself. While American Negroes for the most part showed neigher the education nor aptitude for the magnificent opportunity which was suddenly offered. Indeed it now seems that Africans may have to show American Negroes the way to freedom. How has this happened? The World is going socialistic. Most people today live under Socialism and half the world looks toward Communism as its goal. Not all will go as far as the Soviet Union or China but none will long lag behind Britain and Scandinavia. Since the

New Deal, [illegible] Education did not study the situation but maligned and accused [illegible]th and Communists of being criminals and conspirators. Vicious propaganda kept honest people from studying the situation on pain of jail, hunger or [illegible]. Nevertheless Socialism spread and Communism began to be successful. Today a majority of the inhabitants of the world are socialistic and the trend toward Communism is growing. The Communistic countries are leading in education and sciences and the threat of destructive war led by the United States is [illegible] before the clear hope of peaceful competition as the one goal of man.

The Depression had meantime led to my resignation from the Crisis and returned to study and teaching until 1944 when I was retired. I was recalled by the NAACP and one of the conditions of my return was the reorganising of the Pan-African Congresses. There was still not much enthusiasm in the board of directors. Judge Hastie who was on the committee expressed his doubt of the future of Africa or its relation to American Negro progress. But the invitation from Padmore in 1945 to preside over a Fifth Pan-African Congress in England was eventually accepted and I went.

The rise of Africa in the last fifteen years, has astonished the world. Even the most doubting of American Negroes have suddenly become aware of Africa and its possibilities and particularly of the relation of Africa to the American Negro. The first reaction was typically American. Since 1910 American Negroes had been fighting for equal opportunity in the United States. Indeed Negroes seem faced a curious paradox. For centuries they had fought for equal citizens[illegible]th white Americans. Now equality began to be offered: but in return [illegible] equali[illegible]. Negroes must join American business in its domi[illegible]on of African [illegible] and free raw materials. The educated and well-to-do Negroes [illegible] a bette[illegible]nance to make money if they would testify that Negroes [illegible] d against and join in American red-baiting. Americ[illegible] appear in Africa, seeking chances to make [illegible]

testifying to Negro progress. In many cases their expenses were paid by the Department of State. Meantime Negro American colleges have ceased to teach Socialism and the Negro masses believe with the white masses that Communism is a crime and all Socialists conspirators.

Africans know better. They have not yet all made up their minds what side to take in the power contest between East and West but they recognize the accomplishments of the Soviet Union and the rise of China.

Meantime American Negroes in their segregated schools and lack of leadership have no idea of this world trend. They have realized the effort to give them equality has been over-emphasized and some of our best scholars and civil servants have been bribed by the State Department to testify abroad and especially in Africa of the success of capitalism in making the American Negro free. Yet it was British capitalism which made the African slave trade the greatest commercial venture in the world; and it was American slavery that raised capitalism to its domination in the Nineteenth century and birthed the Sugar Empire and the Cotton Kingdom. It was new capitalism which nullified Abolition and keeps us in serfdom. The Africans know this. They have in many cases lived in America. They have in other cases been educated in the Soviet Union and even in China. They will make up their own minds on Communism and not listen solely to American lies. The latest voice to reach them is from Cuba. Would it not be wise for American Negroes themselves to read a few books and do a little thinking for themselves? It is not that I would persuade Negroes to become Communists, Capitalists or Holy rollers; but whatever belief they reach let it for God's sake be a matter of reason and not of ignorance, fear, and selling their souls to the Devil.

A

THE SAGA Negro History, 800-1961

In the Seventh century Asia was alive: the great Tang dynasty arose in China, was overthrown by the Tatars and they by the Mongols, until in the fourteenth century arose the mighty Mings. In Arabia to the west Mohammed was born; his religion swept east to meet Asoka's Buddhism in India and west to challenge Europe at Tours. The Arab began literature and science which started a renaissance in Europe and it swept over Africa in the Ninth and Tenth century. Europe in the Fifteenth century turned to Science, as the Arabs took Constantinople. Europe began to strain against religious dogma in the Sixteenth century and in the Seventeenth turned to the rising riches of Asia and looted India. This in the Eighteenth century led to the rape of Africa to establish slave labor in America. The wealth which thereupon poured in on Europe made her master of the world. She used her science to harness the powers of nature, to encourage invention and monopolize land and its fruits. She forced labor to sell its future results by contract which meant poverty for most workers and wealth for the few. Labor revolted: white labor at home black labor in the West Indies; indentured labor in North America joined with those who dreamed of an American democracy. Then France aroes in revolution, from the ignorant and poverty stricken serfs to the merchants and traders who were growing rich on slavery. The capitalists won and crying "Freedom" proceded in the next century to thrive on stolen land and labor the world over. The conscience of the world protested. They said that Progress must not be built on Poverty, but on a new Socialism. In the middle of the Century, Karl Marx put a doctrine of Communism in writing and the world listened.

The capitalists of the world, who now held the political power, abolished the African slave trade in order to center their power on actual political control of Asia and Africa.. They allayed unrest among white laborers at home by giving them education, political power and teaching them their innate superiority over colored folk and their consequent duty as soldiers to conquer the world for the white race. This ushered in a century of war world, and the white West unable to conquer each other were compelled to appeal to the colored world for help. As a result India demanded her freedom. China made similar demands, was ignored and finally took her own freedom with her own hand.

In the United States were in 1945 some fifteen millions of acknowledged African descent. In the Eighteenth century they had regarded Africa as their home to which they

would eventually return when free. They named their institutions "African" and themselves started migration, which was later encouraged by a Colonization Society, headed by Bush rod Washington. Soon the American Negroes were sadly dillusioned: first, their immi grants to Liberia found that Africans did not regard them as Africans; and then it became clear that the colonization society was a device to rid America of free Africans so as to fasten slavery more firmly. They therefore slowly turned to a new ideal: to strive for complete equality as American citizens, determined that meantime when Africa needed them, they would be equipped to lead them into civilization. Meantime however, American learned from their environment to think less and less of their fatherland and its folk. They learned little of its history or its present efforts. They began to despise the colored races along with white Americans and to acquiesce in color prejudice.

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Then came three disturbing facts: first the Soviet Union was forging ahead in education and science and it drew no color line. Secondly, the former slave South had no intention of obeying the Supreme Court; most Negroes could not vote, their schools were poor and the black workers were exploited , diseased and at the bottom of the ecomomic pile. The trade unions despite the law and north as well as south still discriminated gainst black labor. Randolph who had red-baited loudly at the command of Meany was ordered to shut up when he asked justics from the Confederation of Labor. But finally a new and astonishing evdnt was the sudden rise of Africa. Some American Negroes had remained faithful to their pledge of helping Africa.

I tried but was not sure how; first I studied Africa and found new data. In 1900 I attended a Pan-African Conference in London. I was made secretary and wrote the resolutiins which called for further consultation. In 1911 I attended a races Congress in London, called by the Ethical Culture Movement. There I met African leaders. The war intervened. I seized on the idea ofhaving the German colonies in Africa, form the nucleus of a free Africa, but none listened. When the NAACP sent me abroad after the armistise in 1919, I planned a Pan-African Congress , but got little support. Blaise Diagne of Senagal whose volunteers had saved France from the first onslaught of the German World War killed it. However in 1915, Ipublished my first book on African history and while funds were not forthcoming fof my encyclopaedia, nevertheless there was much interest. and discussion.

I called a second Pan-African Congress to meet in London, Paris and Brussells. This proved a large and influential meeting , with delegates ffom the whole Negro world. It spread a demand for treatment of people as civilized despite race or color. It received wide attention and especially aroused the fear of the colonial powers. They were determined to stop the movement. Our attempt to form a permanent organization located

over

Secondly, outside the Soviet Union, in England, France, and all West Europe especially Scandinavia, Socialism was spreading: state housing, state ownership of railroads, and other public facilities; social medicine, higher education, old age ~~relief~~ care, insurance and many other sorts of relief. Even in the United States, the New Deal was socialim no matter what it was called,

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betrayed but I succeeded in assembling a small meeting in London and Lisbon in 1923, and myself for the first saw Africa as Special Minister Plentiary of the United States. I tried a fourth Congress in Tunis but Franco forbade. I tried a to charte a ship and cruise the Wet Indies for a roaming congress. None were for hire. So at last in 1927 I called the Fourth Pan-African Congress in New York. It was fairly well attended by American Negroes but few Africans. The Second World War approached and I gave up

Meantime the methods changed and ideas expanded Africans themselves began to demand more voice in colonial government and the Second World War made their cooperation so necessary to Europe that at the end actual and unexpected freedom for African colonies was in sight. Moreover there miraculously appeared Africans able to take charge of these governments. American Negroes of former generations had always calculated that when Africa was ready for freedom, American Negroes would be ready to lead them. But the event was quite opposite. The African leaders proved to be

Africans, some indeed educated in the United States, but most of them trained in Europe and in Africa itself. While American Negroes for the most part showed neither the education nor aptitude for the magnificent opportunity which suddenly offered. Inddeed it now seems that Africans may have to show American Negroes the way to freedom. How has this happened?

The World is going socialistic. Most people today live undes Socialism and half the world looks toward Communism as itsn goal. Not all will go th as far as the Soviet Union or China but none will long lag behind Britain and Scandinavia. Since the New Deal American education did not study the situation but maligned and accused Socialists and Communists of being criminals and conspirators. Vicious propaganda kept honest people from studying the situation on pain of jail, hunger or even death. Neverthdless Socialism spread and Communism bdgan to be sucessful. Today a majority of the inhabitants of the world are socialistic and the trend toward Communism is growing. The Communistic countries are leading education and science and the threat of distructive war is fading before the clear hope of peaceful competition

...rt. The Depression led to my resignation from ... the Crisis and return to study and teaching. But one of the conditions of my return ... was the the reorganizing of the Pan-African Congresses. I still saw a new Africa. But there was not much enthusiasm in the board of directors. Judge Hastie ... who was on the committee expressed his doubt of the future of Africa and its relation to American Negro progress. But the invitation from Padmore in 1945 to preside over a Fifth Pan-African Congress in England was cordially accepted and I went to the rise of Africa ... in the last fifteen years, ... Even the most doubting of American Negroes have suddenly become aware of Africa and its possibilities and particularly of the relation of Africa to the American Negro. The first reaction was typically American. Since 1910, American Negroes ... fighting for equal opportunity in the United States and its ideal Communism. Indeed Negroes son faced a curious parodox. For centuries they had fought for equal citizenship with white Americans. Now equality began to be offered: but in return for equality, Negroes must join American business in its domination of African cheap labor and free raw materials. The educated and well to-do Negroes would have a better chance to make money if they would testify that Negroes were not discriminated against and ... in American red-baiting. American Negroes began to appear in Africa, seeking chances to make money and testifying to Negro progress. In many cases their expenses were paid by the Department of State. Meantime Negro American colleges have ceased to teach Socialism and the Negro masses believe with the white masses that Communism is a crime and all Socialists conspirators.

Africans know better. They have not yet all made up their minds what side to take in the power contest between East and West but they recognize the accomplishments of Soviet Union and the rise of China. I would not seek to persuade American Negroes to become Communists, but whatever conclusion they reach, I pray it may be the result of study, obvervation and reason and not of ignorance, fear and the sale of their souls to the Devil

I am myself convinced that the world is going rapidly socialist and that Communism should

be its goal; but

...n. Meantime American Negroes in their segregated schools have no idea of this world trend. The partial effort to give them equality have been over emphasized and some of our best scholarsand civil servants have been bribed by the State Department to testify abroad and especially in Africa of the success of capitalism in making the American Negro free. The Africans know better. They have in many cases lived in America. They ha ve in other cases been educated in the Soviet Union and even in China. They will make up their own minds on Communism and not listen solely to American lies. The latest voice to reach them is from CubaWould it not be wise for American Negroes to read a few books and do a little thinking for themselves? It as not that I would persuade Negroes to become Communists , Capitalists or Holy rollers; but whatever belief they reach let it for God's sake be a matter of reason and not of ignorance and selling their souls to the Devil.

Yet it was British capitalism which made the African slave trade the greatest commercial venture in the world; and it was American slavey that raised capitalism to its domination in the Nineteenth century and birthed the Sugar Empire and the Cotton Kingdom. It was capitalism which nullified Abolition and keeps us in serfdom.

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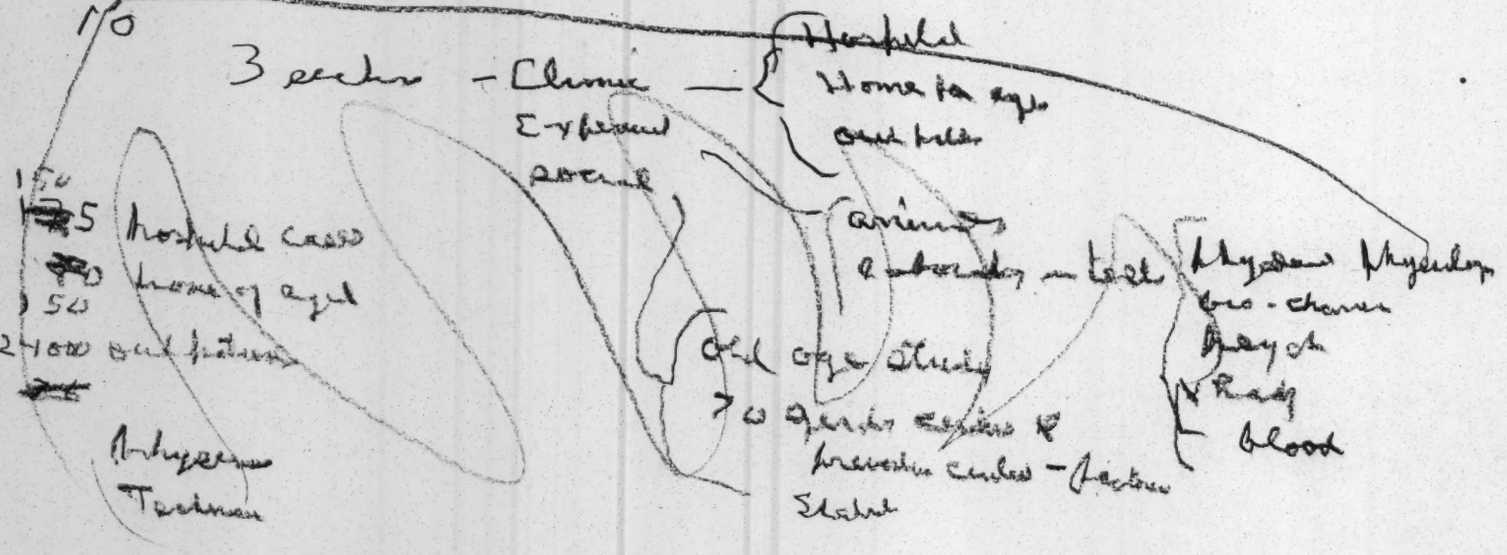
MY TREATMENT BY DR. ASLAN

This is an institution with some 200 hundred patients and a hundred physicians, technitians, nurses and helpers. As a hospital it is not organized as efficiently as one of ours: the plumbing is not as good, the system of communication is not as prompt, business matters lag. On the other hand the proportion of physicians and trained personel to patients is extraordinary. I have been visited daily by at least two physicians; most of my injections have been given by Dr. Aslan herself. The whole lower floor is occupied by laboratories and trained analysists with the latest machines and drugs. There is no general ward, but each patient is housed in a little room 8 by 12, with high ceiling, a big window, bed, easy chair, table, radio, clothes closet and clothes rack. There are 100 old people and 100 sick. The long halls are carpeted with clean strips of carpeting covered with clean strips of cotton.. The baths are adequate but not elaborate. Patients are constantly tested for blood pressure, urine analysis and pulse. Less often electroradiograms are taken and blood drawn for analysis. The injections are given usually every other day. They tingle a bit and give a sort of drugged feeling of varying intensity. There are gardens to walk and sit in but not much conversation except in Rumanian. French followed by German are the chief foreign tongues; without these foreigners better stay away. The underlying idea seems to be rest, restoration fo functions by careful attention to week spots. Most Americans would complain bitterly and in vain of the food; the vegetables are fresh and curiously cooked or raw. I never ate so many tomatoes raw, such mixtures of egg-plant, and quantities of rice and maccaroni; the meat is tough but fresh. There is some fruit in season. The hospital is for Rumanians, mostly poor and humble folk. There are few foreigners and fewer Americans.



THE INSTITUTE 2

* 2 buildings I50 hospital cases
I50 i[illegible]ome for Aged One at II4 years)

24,000 outpatie[illegible]ts of w[illegible]om 7000 on permanent survey

28 Physicians & Researchers
53 ~~ec xitions~~, laboratory & medical personell
19 Nurses, registered

The ins[illegible]itutions are in 3 sections:
Clinic: Hospital, [illegible]ome [illegible]or Aged, Out patients
Experimental : Animal experiments, laboratory tests: physiological, bio- chemical, physological, radiological, blood tes, electro-card-iogram, etc.

Social: old age st[illegible]dy
70 ce[illegible]ters of pre en[illegible]ive old age treatment (Factories et[illegible], in Rumania)

41-10c-9

The plight of Rumanian American citizens retur[illegible]ing to their native land for a visit is singular. First to get apassport they have to assure the State Department that they have no sympathy with the present Rumanian Communist government and ~~will~~ however to spy a d betray. Arrivin they are astonished and proud of w at they see and hear. They find plenty of dissatisfied, plenty of complainers, but despite all the transformation is miraculous, and the other conditions admired it; the future bright and there is really l little they can give the FBI. Almost [illegible]nvariably they return home proud of Rumania and ashamed to be proud

In R 25000 doctors (1000 a year

In Rumania 25,000 physicians; I000 graduate each year

In the Institute:

28 Physicians and research workers
53 LLa boratory and medical personell
I9 Registered nurses

AMERICA - THE VIEW FROM AFRICA

W.E.B. Du Bois

38-11-112

It will be difficult to make clear to Americans what Africa hears and learns about their land. I am an American, born and bred. I read everything that I can get about my country. But in later years, even when I lived in New York, I have found it increasingly difficult to be sure of what is going on in my country. More and more I realized that I could not trust the newspapers; I could not be sure that if The Herald lied or was deceived, the Courier would, in the long run tell the truth. No! Quite likely The Herald bought the Courier and then, what happened to the Truth? In matters at home and in things I was vitally interested in I could always ask friends to write; or better, I could travel to Mississippi or Texas and see for myself. When, however, it came to far-off lands and strange peoples, to unpopular customs and different civilizations, whence could truth come? The gathering of news became a business and the guiding of public opinion a profitable enterprize. I realized more and more that knowing the truth from foreign countries was difficult if not impossible. The news that came from Poland to Britain was what certain folk in Britain wanted the British to believe. And what they wanted the British to believe was anything that preserved or increased British income.

I have been in Ghana, west Africa, four months; I am eager to know what is taking place in America. Curiously I find this almost impossible. The newspapers contradict each other; and I know that what is printed is what powerful interests want printed. The mail is slow, cables are lost or not delivered.

Then, the flat lying and contradictions are amazing. Last night at an American club in Accra, a meeting of invited guests was held - white and black and colored, British and American. A prominent Negro American spoke, Judge Clancy of Iowa. He assured his audience how fast Negro Americans were progressing and how race discrimination

was disappearing; it would allow a Negro President within a generation. Then a Ghanaian asked: But why was Dr. Du Bois arrested. He was not, replied Clancy, firmly. But, another Ghanian insisted, he was arrested, searched, finger-printed and handcuffed. He was released on bail but his trial lasted two months. Then, another colored American named Davis, a cultural attache at the American Embassy, interrupted: O yes, he recalled, Du Bois and four others were accussed of trying to overthrow the government, but after their release, their defence, according to American custum, cost nothing. On the contrary, a Ghanaian insisted, He was not accused of violence but only of being an agent of a foreign power advocaging Peace and he was released because the judge said the accusation was not proven. His trial cost $30,000 which Dr. Du Bois had to beg of sympathetic friends. Here the meeting broke up in confusion.

38-11-113

Today, the world over the truth about America is difficult to know and deliberate lying is forced on confused readers by fear or bribery. Ghana, and all Africa views America with dismay. Is the United States spending ninety billions of dollars mostly for war to get cheap labor or is it helping to feed, educate and clothe the poor and enslaved Africans? Does the United States want South Africa a republic or a dictatorship of color? Who owns the mines of South Africa and Rhodesia and reaps the enormous profits from cheap, black labor? America does not know whether Africa is becoming free and independent, is hating all white folk, is going communist.

What the world wants as never before is the Truth to make it free.

W.E.B. Du Bois

[1962]

40-1-138

THE QUEEN AND THE PRESIDENT

I have seen the slim white Queen of Britain meet and greet the black, young President of Ghana. Many such sights I have witnessed. Once in Berlin I saw a German Emperor kiss an Italian king as they cemented anew the Triple Alliance. I have seen an American citizen ride down Pennsylvania Avenue to the Presidency of the United States. In London I saw a king ride to his coronation. In Moscow I saw the army which rid the world of Hitler march through the gates of the Kremlin. But none of these sights were more thrilling than Elizabeth of England clasping hands with Kwame Nkrumah of Africa as one hundred thousand black folk roared their happiness.

Yet, one fact marred this meeting and that was the determination of the white British press to lie about it, to distort it, deliberately to misrepresent it. The American press allowed a fairer picture to emerge because Big Business fears that additional dislike in Africa just now might add to our forced retreat in Germany and the Far East.

Ghana is in revolution. This the world knows. Yet this meeting and celebration was orderly far beyond all expectation. A statue of Nkrumah was smirched a week before; there were some minor disorders in the streets, but not near as many as daily occur in London or Paris or New York. With thousands of autos there were traffic jams but only fourteen accidents in four days. The visitor was astonished at the good nature and universal good will. Yet, The London Telegraph printed on its front page a picture of a laughing crowd, which it labelled a mob, being lashing by a "policeman" dressed as no policemen in Accra ever was uniformed. The Observer dismissed the great celebration with a short notice. The mass of white Western world believes today that this visit of the Queen to West Africa is a failure, or even as one daily sneers an "outrageous" royal gesture. It is not. It is a marvelous triumph. I know it! I saw it! What ails white civilation which makes it fear truth?

What we are witnessing is the last ditch effort of the west to hold on to colonialism until economic domination through investment and trade can make it possible for the white west to continue to live on the poverty and ignorance of the darker peoples of the world as well as on such white labor as still submits. It will be a hard struggle and long, but it will fail.

W.E.B. Du Bois

[1962]

40-1-139

NEGRO HISTORY

Not since the initiation of Negro History Week can it be observed with such significance or so proudly as in this year of 1962. Today universities throughout the world are turning their attention to the histories of black people. The arrogant assumption that the children of Africa should be grateful for the crumbs of civilization and culture which fell to them from the white man's table has been blown away by the hurricane of change sweeping over Africa itself.

One hundred years ago the United States was engaged in a Civil War, testing the proposition that our nation or any nation can survive half slave, half free. Today, the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of those slaves who were emancipated by Abraham Lincoln are leading the struggle of Americans - black and white, workers and intellectuals, native and foreign-born - who must in our time resolve the same question: CAN OUR NATION SURVIVE HALF SLAVE, HALF FREE?

I hail our present-day Freedom Fighters from Africa where Negro History began more than two thousand years ago. I am in the ancient land of Ghana, which name once designated most of what is now West Africa. It was a land of plenty, abundance of food, hills covered with fine woods, lakes and wide rivers besides which dwelt happy and prosperous peoples. Traders came and went; from the city of Kumasi caravans of goods traveled across the northern plains to Tunis, to Alexandria, through Tashkent to Peking. Order and justice and peace reigned in Ghana. Then, on an evil day came ships from the north - Porteugese, Spaniards, Danes and later English. These newcomers saw the gold ornaments worn by the people of Ghana, gazed in amazemen at the golden stools of their chiefs and the fine casting of bronze pots. Greedily they fingered the gold nuggets with which the children played and soon terror stalked the land. Old maps perserved in the archives show the land as El mina, one huge mine of wealth. They tore and gutted the earth, butchered the people, quarreled and fought among themselves. For a long time gun smoke hid the sun, rivers and brooks turned red with blood, forests were destroyed until west Africa was a vast arid waste through which wandered a few old men and homeless children. Black men and woman had either died fighting or were driven into the holes in the ground to dig and dig and dig. The conquerors divided the land among themselves and the British called their section the "Gold Coast".

Now I lift my eyes and look out across the waters of the Gulf of Guinea. Beyond the park space a white beach shimmers in the sun. This is a week day so the beach is empty; Ghanaians are at work but all day Sunday the wide stretch of the beach was black with people disporting themselves in the water, being tossed about by breakers and generally having a good time. Off where the beach gives way to wharves, several ships are riding at anchor. In the distance the modern city of Accra lifts itself proudly against the sky.

It is rumored that the National Education Asociation has been negotiating with Adlai Stevensoon to write a childrens book on "Chery Tree, I cannot tell Father." :The matter was dropped when it was realized that too few children of the right age could read and write, to make it pay

A.A.Berle is now engaged on a treatise to prove that permanent unemployment for the Poor and tax exemption for the Rich willm soon turn the Current Depression into a Boom.

Arthur Schlesinger is now ~~engaged on~~ ready but will room with a volume concerning "Presidents whom I have advised." They will include Andew Jackson, John Kennedy, Fidel Castro and Quadrous. It will be finished about the time the South American states meet to prepare an attack on Cuba.

Nixon is said to have left with Kennedy, marked "Top Secret" a document entiteled "How to spit sttaight " It contents are not known.

39-10-9

Vive-President Johnson is disgusted at the Communists he has seeen in Southn Vietnam. He will be flabberfasted at the Capitalists of China

Harriman has arrived in the Far East. Louse to Laos yell the peole

Secretary Rusk ~~Rusk~~ is gainkng a world reputation for contradicting himself more often than any recent predecessor

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE NEGRO

by

W. E. B. DU BOIS

In most respects Lincoln's attitude toward Negroes was that of other average white Americans. He did not really know them. He had no Negro acquaintances until after he became President of the United States. As a poor white he did not even have the ties that bound employer and servant. He saw black folk from afar as comical, shiftless and ugly. But Abraham Lincoln was a man of deep sympathy and he had the rare courage to change his mind as he grew and learned. When, therefore, he saw a colored girl on the auction block in Louisiana, he said that this sale of a human being was unjust not only to the girl but to those who sold her. When as President he came to know Negroes as men he dared to treat them as such.

He began his life work in Illinois at the age of 19 under the Presidency of Andrew Jackson. At that time Illinois had only 2500 Negroes and 30 years later they had increased only to 7500. They formed therefore no problem and probably took little of Lincoln's attention. But he had seen slavery on trips to the South and wrote to a friend:

"You may remember as well as I will that from Louisville to the mouth of the Ohio there were ten or a dozen slaves shackled together in irons. That sight was a continual torment to me, and I see something like it every time I touch the Ohio or any other slave border. It is not fair for you to assume that I have no interest in a thing which is, and continually exercises the power of making me miserable."

When he became a lawyer and entered the legislature his attitude toward slavery was that if the South wanted to keep the institution they had a legal right to do so since slavery was recognized by the Constitution.

In the North free white laborers demanded free soil on which to make a living. Then as Lincoln was forced to take a stand he began further to rationalize the problem of Negroes. He was against social equality. It did not seem to him probable that white and colored people would ever intermarry and he certainly himself would not want a Negro wife. Moreover free Negroes were undesirable. They could not become a part of the nation and if the slaves were freed they would want to live elsewhere and the nation would want them to. Then came the long drawn out controversy over slavery in the territories which finally resulted in war. His debates with Stephen A. Douglass forced both of them to declare and clarify their positions on slavery. The War, Lincoln declared was not a War over slavery. However, he opposed its extension in the nationally owned territories; and then as war actually started he settled on a somewhat different thesis: the War was over "Union" and here he was following the great words of Daniel Webster: "Liberty and Union, now and forever."

But what, as a matter of fact, was this "Union" which became the leading word of the war? What was there in the "Union" of states in itself which was worth fighting about? Lincoln answered and most Americans have followed him that this was a moral question; a question of right and wrong; of communities banding themselves together because of friendship, blood relations and common ideals. Something of this was true but here as in so many other instances history and philosophy assume a moral issue and neglect the foundation of it. The foundation here as usual was economic. It was a matter of income and profits. The original union that resulted in the United States was based on the protection of the trade and profits of merchants who wanted free trade with the West Indies and a part in British trade elsewhere. And so in 1860: the North rushing rapidly into manufactures of textiles and machines wanted a wide market for the sale of these things and particularly they wanted to monopolize the cotton of the South which formed half of the natural exports; that is half of the wealth by which they could buy manufactures abroad. If

41-3-337

now the country were divided into North and South, the South would monopolize cotton, would buy British and French products with it and thus cut down its use by the North. Northern manufactures would be ruined, nor could the tarfff legislation favored by the North stop the import of cheap manufactures into the South. Here then was a question not so much of sentiment as of monopoly of raw material based on cheap slave labor. This slave labor was not about to be abolished by the North. Quite the contrary. It profited by slavery. On the other hand this slave labor was not suitable for Northern use and if the North allowed it it would gain the enmity of white workers and especially white immigrants . To hold the white labor vote it must fight against the extension of slavery into the territory where white labor demanded free soil. On the other hand to keep its monopoly of cotton it must not allow the slaves who raised the cotton to be free.

41-3-338

This clear economic aspect of the Civil War was not by any means recognized by all, but the cry of Union served to allow the Nation to bypass the moral question of human slavery; and the North could be aroused to war by an appeal for a fight to preserve the Union. Opposed to Lincoln on this attitude toward slavery had been Stephen Douglass who was a capitalist. It was Douglass who began giving to the railroad corporations land which ought to have gone to the farmers; and those corporations began to build the great lines of railway which united the Nation into an organized industrial unit transporting goods North and South and East and West to the vast profit of land monopolists.

On the other hand the Northern abolitionists did not come out of the controversy altogether with clean hands. They were opposed to slavery but they were willing to compromise if they could be rid of the responsibility of owning slaves. Garrison, Greely and others wanted to "let the erring sisters go in peace," that is to let the South have its slaves and even extend the slave system over the West Indies and Central America into Latin America so long as the rest of the United States was not a part of this organized evil. To this Lincoln

answered firmly that he was not going to war over slavery but for union of the country into a closed industrial power. If he could get this union by leaving slavery alone he would do so. If he could only get it by abolishing slavery he would do that, if he could legally. His one objective was to preserve the growing power of this union.

Great Britain on the other hand speaking in the interests of its ruling class saw clear advantage in encouraging the breaking up of the commercial union between the North and South. If secession succeeded Great Britain would have a splendid market in the Confederacy for selling her manufactures and importing cheap cotton and other materials. Opposing, however, the interests of the aristocracy was the increased voting power of the British workers and the British workers had been tremendously moved not only by Garrison and the other Abolitionists but especially and dramatically by the story, words and the appearance of Frederick Douglass, Charles Remond and other Negroes. They bought the freedom of Frederick Douglass from American Slavery when England was on the edge of recognizing the Confederacy.

41-3-339

The South faced the problem of slavery not as a moral question but as a question of property. Robert Lee for instance having sworn allegiance to the United States deliberately broke his oath because he said frankly he had to stand by his state and his property, and his property was mainly slaves. So in the case of the South as a whole it was the state and the state powers which it favored because the state defended property and slavery was a matter of property--of property in human beings and in the cotton and other materials which the slaves produced.

Abraham Lincoln called upon the growing commercial power of the North and the desire of the white workers for free land, without the competition of black labor, to volunteer to subdue Southern secession. He found himself at a tremendous disadvantage because Southern leaders had had military training and Northern leaders had not so that it was nearly impossible to get Generals for the Northern armies. Not only that but Northern white workers were not

disposed to volunteer in the numbers needed. Gradually, therefore, right in the beginning of the War nothing but strong moral appeal could bring power to the Northern armies and that moral appeal was freedom of slaves, which drew the artists and writers much more than the workers.

As then the trained military leadership of the South began to overwhelm and put to flight the Northern armies the cry of freedom grew stronger and a demand spread to let Negroes fight for their own freedom. But to Lincoln this was impossible as everybody knew that Negroes would not fight otherwise why were they slaves? Then the facts of the case began to assert themselves. Negroes had begun to drift into the Northern armies as they moved into the South and had become indispensable stevedores, servants and even guards. Lincoln soon recognized that here was an advantage that could not be ignored. Slaves were actually armed in South Carolina to hold points captured by the Northern armies but which there were not enough white soldiers to hold. Lincoln agreed to use Negroes as laborers, stevedores and guards. He ~~became~~ later ready to admit that without the work of Negroes as spies, laborers and armed guards the North could not win the war.

41-3-340

As the fighting increased in intensity and the tremendous cost of the war and the human suffering began to mount Lincoln easily was brought to concede that the emancipation of slaves was the only way to stop the fighting and to maintain that union of power which was to be the United States.

He was strengthened in this by coming to know men like Frederick Douglass and women like the black Sibyl, Sojourner Truth. He saw future difficulties if the slaves were not freed by mutual agreement between North and South. What would be their status after emancipation? Manifestly they could not live as free American citizens because not only white Southerners, but even white Northerners shrank at such a thought. He therefore began to consider two things: how the South could be brought to agree to emancipation and how the Negroes after freedom could be induded to migrate. He tried especially in the border states to bring about voluntary emancipation with reasonable payment for the slaves emancipated. Also later he gave much time and thought to colonization of Negroes

to the West Indies and Central America. The repeated offers of compensated emancipation were refused. The attempts at colonization failed, but a miracle was happening that opened Lincoln's eyes further. The Negroes were not only stevedores and armed guards, but they fought. They fought fiercely. They left 70,000 bodies on the battlefields. In addition to perhaps the quarter of a million black laborers there were another quarter of a million who actually bore arms at various critical places and times. They became the soldiers who turned the tide and won the Civil War. Moreover, in addition to those who had enlisted there were millions more willing to enlist.

41-3-341

This tremendously impressed Lincoln. He knew as did others how much Northern victory owed to black sacrifice and as the War began to come to its bitter and bloody end, he wrote a significant letter. I have seen its original in a museum in New Orleans. He wrote to the Governor of Louisiana who was beginning the reconstruction of that state for readmission to the Union: "I barely suggest, for your private consideration, whether some of the colored people may not be let in, as, for instance, the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks. This would probably help in some trying time in the future to keep the jewel of Liberty in the family of freedom." This was Lincoln's last word before he was murdered--before he was succeeded by Johnson, the poor white, the man who had begun his career by trying to give free land to the workers and who ended as a drunkard, seduced and misled by the conquered planters who flattered and cajoled him. He became a traitor to the working class both black and white.

One wonders what Father Abraham thought, as he marched through Richmond, that long-sought goal of a mighty war, accompanied by regiments of black soldiers singing, "John Brown's body lies a mouldering in the grave, but his soul goes marching on."

undated

Paradox and Portent in Africa

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

38-12-235

What does Europe want in Africa? Historically, Europe was curious to see and know strange people and buy occasional wares; then it imported African labor, - for itself, and for its New World plantations; the demand suddenly expanded with new and widely used crops until it became one of the efficient causes of the Industrial Revolution. The horrors of this trade aroused the conscience of many men and a desire to recompense Africa by converting and uplifting the Negroes. A crusade followed; a faint dream of an independent, autonomous Africa, quickly succeeded before men knew by a widened demand for further raw materials, by new reasons for exploiting black labor, heightened by that very world trade which the slave trade began, and by the Industrial Revolution which slave raised crops started. Colonial monopoly of territory and labor followed, with industrial development and investment for profit.

Singularly few folk have seen the inherent paradox and contradiction in these successive demands. In many minds slavery and religious conversion marched happily hand in hand; back of slave trade suppression lurked colonial imperialism; and when Mwanga killed Bishop Hannington most men saw only heathen savagery and nothing of a national fight for freedom and independence. Today as Africa becomes swiftly and increasingly an area of investment for Europe and America, of exploitation of land and labor for profit in the production of food, clothing, material for further manufacture, and luxuries, it is not easy for the world to realize the increasing contradiction between money-makers and missionaries, between rulers and philanthropists; between education and subjection. Perhaps least of all do missionaries, white officials and black students see the fundamental stresses.

The basic difficulty of posing the present problems of Africa, arises partly from the varieties of men who have represented the white world in Africa, and on whose

testimony our present conceptions are based. We have sent holy men like Livingstone and Colenso; civil servants like Johnston and Guggisberg; free booters like Lugard and Jameson; imperialists like Rhodes and Delamere, and endless commercial pirates who regarded neither God nor man. Out of these diverse strands we have sought to weave a single fabric of philanthropy and reason; but of fundamental weight in our judgments, has come lately, swiftly and increasingly, the overwhelmingly powerful influence of Africa as a source of income, as one of the foundation stones of world industrial organization.

38-12-236

Why are white folk in Africa today? There are two answers: economic enterprise and missionary effort and of these two without any doubt economic enterprise is dominant. Just at the time when public opinion in Europe and America is beginning with difficulty to realize that property and profit must be limited by considerations of the public weal, we are developing African colonies on the laissez faire economic philosophy, and in accord with 18th century racial theory and 19th century biology. It usually does not enter our thought that this colonial development in Africa and Asia, must in the interdependence of industry, powerfully condition all economic, political and social reform in the white world.

The Negro Race

First of all the precedent to all understanding of present Africa, the lag between science and popular opinion on the subject of "Race" must be bridged, not only among ignorant masses but in the thought and action of educated men. By taking into consideration certain inherited physical characteristics like skin color and hair form we may loosely divide mankind into three great stocks: the Caucasic, the Mongoloid and the Negroid.

If however we add to these characteristics other physical data like head form and the proportions of the bony skeleton we get different classifications which give no broad groups; if our knowledge enabled us to add mental and cultural differences between human beings we would get hundreds, perhaps thousands of groups which cannot today be ranged into any small number of main races, nor have we any knowledge of

the laws of heritage which enables us to designate any of these smaller groups as a "race".

The present population of Africa is probably about 130 million with its greatest density in the Valley of the Nile and its least in the region south of the Sahara. Cultural differences exist not only between Europeans and Africans but within Africa itself. What we must mean then when we speak of the peoples of Africa is a hundred or more clans, tribes or small nationalities, biologically much mixed; belonging predominatly to the darker or Negroid stock of mankind, but fading imperceptibly into the other stocks by a long history of ancient and modern intermingling. The Africans are divided into a number of tribes and groups each of an individual type and within these groups are variations caused by history, environment and intermarriage. For thousands of years streams of foreigners and foreign cultures have flowed into Africa from the outside as indeed into Europe and Asia. As a result there is in Africa today "an extraordinarily large diversity". Through migration and other influences they vary greatly in type, appearance and culture. As a mass they are physically well developed and have a rich and interesting culture.

38-12-232

The Asiatic penetration of modern Africa began in the Nile Valley four or five millenium before Christ and then spread from the seventh and fifteenth century after Christ across North Africa and down the east coast. The European penetration started with the fifteenth century on the West Coast and in South Africa and later in modern times in East Africa, and the Congo basin. The earlier Asiatic penetration formed new groups of mingled Asiatic and African blood and carried on trade in produce and slaves. It did not interfere with land tenure but widely influenced indigenous culture. A modern Asiatic penetration from India was one of laborers and traders forming an unassimilated group which added to the problems of Africa in Kenya, Tanganyika and South Africa.

Ancient Europeans and Asiatic penetration of Africa brought only cultural distinctions between Europeans, Asiatics and Negroes. In ancient Egypt there was

long and bitter feud between cultural Egyptians and barbaric central African tribes but no color line because many Egyptians were black and most had mingled Asiatic and Negroid blood. Even when the Arabs invaded Africa and initiated a vast and organized trade in black slaves the distinction between Asiatic and Africans was religion and culture and never mere skin color. So early the Portuguese explorers drew no color line.

38-12-238

When however modern Europe touched Africa, and mainly for trade not settlement the obivious and vivid contrasts in skin color between Europeans and Negroes was early rationalized ~~not~~ with stigmata of a deep and eternal racial difference which justified slavery. In the century of the ~~Rennasance~~ Renaissance, of militant Protestantism and re-born Catholicism, a new human slavery had to be justified in order to be permitted and an incipient revolution in industry spurred men to seek such justification when by swift strides slave labor in America began to pay. Thus the modern Color Bar arose. Europeans developed an economy in which increased profit went pari passu with color caste. This was exhibited by the steps in which various European nations became industrialized. The Portuguese, whose industrial development had not begun in the 16th century, treated the Negroes as prospective equals, intermarried with them and offered some of them chances for education and political development. The Spaniards did the same until the economic interests of their overseas empire over bore their European interests. On the other hand, the Dutch and the English, from the first, had their main interest in their purchase and sale of Africans as workers, and found it safer and more profitable to treat them as an inferior creation. The growth of American slavery and the vast economic interests built upon it, led to a rationalization of this increasingly profitable form of race relations, in the modern form of the doctrine of racial inferiority.

For a century science wasted time and stultified itself in seeking sanctions for a line of inter-racial conduct, which in reality had its only justification in the immense profits which Negro slavery brought to white Europe and America. Color,

head form, brain weight, comparative anatomy, and psychological reactions, were in turn feverishly evoked, explored and distorted, to put a scientific foundation under a structure of plain, selfish profiteering, and thus to ward off the increasing threat of the awakening conscience of Christendom, and the eventual development of a labor movement.

38-12-237

Race Relations in Modern Africa

When the African problem changed from a matter of seizing and exporting black labor to methods of making use of labor in Africa for the raising of raw materials, the problem of the relation between whites and blacks in Africa gradually increased in complexity. During the slave trade, with some exceptions, the whites did not attempt settlement, land ownership or dominion on the continent. Portugal tried this at first but Portuguese enterprise did not develop into a chattel slave trade. The Dutch, English and French established temporary "factories" on the coast, acknowledged the independence and suzerainty of the Negro states and carried on trade with them.

When the abolition movement increased in power with the decreasing profit of the American plantation system, there came a period of hesitation when many thought that the best policy both for business and philanthropy was to leave Africa to the development of independent states both native, and artificial like Sierra Leone and Liberia, and to look forward to eventual trade with them. But the demand of world industry was too insistent and the policy of forcible partition and domination ensued. In this way the nations of Europe found themselves established more or less insecurely in Africa, with the necessity of working out a policy of relationship between whites and blacks.

One might envisage three types of race policy in Africa: individual development of whites and natives in parallel segregated areas. This answer will not suit those who wish to exploit Africa for profit for one cannot physically segregate labor and capital. A second proposal might be a development of both races in a common economic structure toward which each would make a contribution. This would call for European technique and capital and for native land and labor. But the maximum profit

for whites could not be obtained unless the land was monopolized and native labor controlled; and maximum profit has usually been the goal of the imperialists. A third development would be a native economy built and controlled by the natives with the temporary guidance and advice of whites. This would be an ideal development but it would yield a minimum of private profit and call for extraordinary and costly philanthropy.

Or to put the problem in another way. What shall be the relative weight of the three forces impinging on Africa today: the missionaries representing philanthropy; the administrators representing political control, and industry aiming at profit? And maximum profit was the goal of the most insistent imperialists. A third development would be a native economy built and controlled by the natives with the temporary guidance and advice of whites. This would be an ideal development but it would not yield a maximum of profit at any rate in the present.

38-12-240

Or to put the problem in another way, suppose white men settle and live in Africa, what will be their method and object? What shall be the relative weight of the three forces impinging on Africa today: the missionaries representing the church, the administrators representing political control, and industry aimed at profits? Concentrating our attention upon this matter of economic policy, shall we try to have two lines of economic development in Africa: one for whites and one for blacks with a line of segregation between them; or shall we have them built into a single economic structure; or shall we think of African economic development with the European as temporary adviser and teacher? Due to varying conceptions and adaptations of these policies, and always impelled forward more or less blindly by the demand for income on the part of European investors there has arisen in modern Africa a series of paradoxical situations and conflicting ideals. They may be briefly summed up as follows: 1. A region of white settlers farming land which they largely monopolize, with black tenants and laborers who have few political rights and little cultural autonomy. This was the situation in the older South Africa and in present Kenya. 2. Plantation crops with land monopoly and landless black labor deprived of political rights and cultural autonomy. This was the situation in the Belgian Congo and is still largely true. It

has also been in use in parts of Portuguese Africa, in former German Africa and in French Equatorial Africa. 3. White absentee investors with local white managers owning land and mining rights, using white skilled labor and black semi-skilled and common labor. The blacks are without political rights and with little cultural autonomy and political rule completely or nearly so is in the hands of the whites. This describes the situation in Northern Rhodesia, and the mining regions of South Africa. 4. White land monopoly and political domination with black labor. The blacks are allowed some local autonomy. This is the case in Southern Rhodesia. 5. White domination and general control but land still in native hands and cultivated by natives, the natives with local autonomy and some political rights. This is generally the case in French and British West Africa and in Uganda. These different situations are naturally not matters of theory but have arisen in practice throughout the effort to organize industry and obtain profitable investment of capital in Africa.

38-12-241

Raw Materials and Labor Reservoir

The study of the African Negroids and their relation to the white world might remain a matter of leisurely scientific study but for one arresting fact; and that is that in an age of unprecedented economic development and a world knit together by industrial interdependence and torn even to the threat of cultural extinction by wealth rivalry, Africa is looming each year as a greater and greater reservoir of labor and materials. The tensions, jealousies and fears over the ownership and direction of this potential wealth is not only a direct world threat to peace, but an indirect hindrance to economic adjustment in culture lands. We have fared far since the day when Africa was valuable chiefly as a labor reserve for the sugar and cotton plantations of America. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that today, it is the economic significance of Africa, and not the racial, that looms largest in the action of the world.

Today the possibilities of investment in Africa, investment in labor, land and materials, is not only attracting capital but the imagination of capitalists and statesmen. As Lord Olivier has pointed out diamonds, one of the largest and most valuable products of Africa, are peculiarly the sign of kept women and pawn brokers

with a value entirely emblematic and for this reason "the most appropriate foundation imaginable for a policy of commercial imperialism." But beyond this, today Africa furnishes nine-tenths of the vegetable oils so widely used now in manufacture; over one-half the gold; over one-third of the phosphates; nearly one-fifth of the chrome ore; over one-fifth of the copper; fourteen per cent of the asbestos; 8.6 per cent of the tin; 14.4 per cent of the manganese; 10.9 per cent of the platinum; 7.5 per cent of the graphite and a slowly but regularly increasing amount of cotton, wool, rubber, bananas and a large proportion of spice. Thus of the basic raw materials of modern industrial life - metals, other minerals, rubber, textiles and vegetable oils Africa looms large in actual production and possibilities. Of foods, one-half of the cocoa comes from Africa; $5 million worth of ivory is still exported annually from Africa.

38-12-242

This is but part of the story. The world is increasingly aware that the possibilities of Africa in production have only been lightly touched. Frenchmen like Guernier look upon Africa as a possible extension of agricultural and industrial Europe. They see wheat and corn for all Europe raised in Africa; cereals, fruits and vegetables as preponderant crops; the banana crop could surpass the West Indies. Vegetable oils in huge quantities might sometime replace mineral oils. The cotton crop could excel the American not to mention other vegetable fibres. Cattle and sheep, hides and wool can be indefinitely expanded. Not only copper but iron, radium and the rarer minerals can be found while possible African power production is among the greatest of all the continents. Most significant in this respect is the argument which Germany with increasing vehemence is putting forward to prove the necessity of African colonies for any European state. Germany, it is reiterated, is obliged to import food and raw material in order to feed and clothe the population and maintain the activities of industry. Tropical and sub-tropical countries are of increasing importance as sources of supply. Before the World War they accounted for nearly one-half of Germany's total imports. Germany's own colonies supplied only a small proportion of these imports but that was due not to lack of capacity but because they were only in the early stages of economic development.

Fat, rubber, fibres, minerals, timber, cocoa, coffee, bananas, tea, lemons and tobacco are instanced as necessary supplies from Africa and it is pointed out that the German colonies were rapidly being developed to supply these needs.

The recent and frantic efforts of the German four year plan to supply "ersatz" for needed raw material is designed not simply for development of materials in Europe but even more clearly for the development of tropical fields.

38-12-243

The white oligarchy in Kenya in 1923 drew this picture of the economic possibilities of Africa. "The development of British territories in Africa opens up a vista of commercial expansion so endless that calculated description is difficult. The bare facts are that the area of these territories is 4,000,000 square miles, as compared with India's 1,900,000; that India's overseas trade is about 350,000,000 pounds sterling, and British Africa's (excluding Egypt) is about 292,000,000 pounds; that the non-self-governing territories, whose total area is 2,628,498 square miles, already produce an overseas trade of 76,500,000 pounds sterling, although their development can hardly be said to have begun; that the average fertility and mineral wealth of their soil are at lease equal to those of any other great land mass; that they hold an intelligent fast-breeding native population of about 60 millions, waiting for guidance to engage in the production of the raw materials of industry and food stuffs; . . ."

(The Thermopylae of Africa, p. 40)

MY EUROPEAN EDUCATION

I repeat here an outline of my education in Germany. It was first published in a book called DUSK OF DAWN in 1940.

40-10-54

I sailed in the summer of 1892 on a Dutch boat, the old "Amsterdam," landing in Holland. I wrote gaily, "Holland is an extremely neat and well-ordered mud-puddle, situated at the confluence of the English, French, and German languages." My first memory of it is inextricably interwoven with the smell of clover and the sight of black and white cows.

Europe modified profoundly my outlook on life and my thought and feeling toward it, even though I was there but two short years and my contacts limited and my friends few. But something of the possible beauty and elegance of life permeated my soul; I gained a respect for manners. I had been before, above all, in a hurry. I wanted a world, hard, smooth, and swift, and had no time for rounded corners and ornament, for unhurried thought and slow contemplation. Now at times I sat still. I came to know Beethoven's symphonies and Wagner's Ring. I looked long at the colors of Rembrandt and Titian. I saw in arch and stone and steeple the history and striving of men and also their taste and expression. Form, color, and words took new combinations and meanings.

My introduction to Europe had some characteristic incidents. In my journey up the Rhine I found myself with a Dutch family: a lady, two daughters about my own age or a little younger, and a girl of ten or twelve. They were white and I therefore avoided them; when they strolled to one end of the deck I

strolled to the other; but at last they approached and introduced themselves. They spoke both English and German, and I ended by having a delightful trip and by feeling more at home with cultured white folk than I had before in my life. This experience was continued when I spent a summer with Oberfarrer Dr. Marbach in Eisenach. There were other boarders, German, French, and English, boys and girls; we had a delightful time. There was only one false note, when an American husband and wife from the West came, and were so alarmed about my social relations with German girls that they solemnly warned the Marbach family against racial intermarriage. The warning was quite unnecessary. I had already told the daughter, Dora, with whom I was most frequently coupled, that it would not be fair to marry her and bring her to America. She said she would come "gleich!" but I assured her that she would not be happy; and besides, I had work to do.

40-10-55

In the fall I went up to Berlin and registered in the university. In groups of one hundred we went into a large room with a high ceiling ornamented with busts of Berlin's famous professors. The year's Rector Magnificus was the widely famous Rudolf Virchow. He was a meek and calm little man, white-haired and white-bearded, with kindly face and pleasant voice. I had again at Berlin as at Harvard unusual opportunity. Although a foreigner, I was admitted my first semester to two seminars under Schmoller and Wagner, both of them at the time the most distinguished men in their line; I received eventually from both of them pleasant testimony on my work. That work was in economics, history, and sociology. I sat under the voice of the fire-eating Pan-German, von Treitschke; I heard Sering and Weber; I wrote on American agriculture for Schmoller and discussed social conditions in Europe with teachers and students. Under these teachers and in this social setting, I began to see the race problem in America, the problems of the peoples of Africa and Asia, and the political development of Europe as one. I began to unite my economics and politics; but I still assumed

that in these groups of activities and forces, the political realm was dominant.

But more especially, I traveled; living cheaply, I saved good sums for the numerous vacations. I went to the Hansa cities; I made the celebrated Harzreise up to the Brocken in the spring. One Christmas vacation I spent in making a trip through south Germany along with a German-American and an Englishman. We visited Weimar, Frankfort, Heidelberg and Mannheim. Over Christmas Day and New Year's we stopped in a little German "Dorf" in the Rheinpfalz, where I had an excellent opportunity to study the peasant life closely and compare it with country life in the South. We visited perhaps twenty different families, talked, ate and drank with them; listened to their gossip, attended their assemblies, etc. We then went to Strassburg, Stuttgart, Ulm, Munchen, Nurnberg, Prague and Dresden. In those places we stayed from one to five days following our Baedekers closely and paying much attention to the Munchen and Dresden art galleries. The whole trip cost about eighty dollars. Later I went down to Italy; to Genoa, Rome and Naples, and over to Venice and Vienna and Budapest; up to Krakau, where the father of a fellow-student was the head of a Polish library. From this friend, Stanislaus von Estreicher, I learned of the race problems of the Poles. Then by Breslau I came back to Berlin. In 1940, von Estreicher died in a German concentration camp, after he had refused to be one of Germany's puppet rulers of Poland.

I received a renewal of my fellowship and spent a second year in Germany. By that time I knew my Germany well and spoke its tongue. I had associated with some of the lower nobility, many of the "Gelehrten," artists, business men, and members of the Social Democracy.

I returned to the United States by way of Paris where I stayed as long as possible and then, having reduced myself almost to the last cent, took passage to the United States in steerage. It was by no means a pleasant trip, but perhaps it was good introduction to the new life; because now at last at twenty-six years of age and after twenty years of study I was coming home to look for a job and begin work.

40-10-58

B.T. Washington High School

SOCIAL REFORM AND THE BIBLE

The Bible is a series of books of different origins. The Old Testament dates from about the second century and is composed of various forms of Hebrew literature: poetry, history, the Law as laid down by Moses, lyrics like the Psalms, proverbs, fiction like Job and songs and drama like Ruth and also and most important for our purposes the words of social reformers called prophets.

There were three chief prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel and 12 other prophets. To illustrate what they meant by social reform the celebrated 53rd Chapter of Isaiah is perhaps the most important, the first 7 verses and the 12th verse:

"Who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?
For he shall grow up before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground: he hath no form nor comeliness; and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him.
He is despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief: and we hid as it were our faces from him; he was despised, and we esteemed him not.
Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted.
But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed.
All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.
He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth: he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth. . . .
Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong; because he hath poured out his soul unto death: and he was numbered with the transgressors; and he bare the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors."

The New Testament appeared in its present form about the fourth century and the English translation which we know best was made in 1611. It was based on manuscripts purporting to give the sayings of Jesus Christ and the rest of the apostles. In its present form it consists of 4 gospels of which Mark is the oldest and upon this gospel is based, more or less, the other gospels: Matthew, Luke and John.

Then there are the Acts of the Apostles, the various letters of Paul to the early Christian churches and the Apocalypse.

49-25-62

1550 yrs ago — 400 A.D

The words of Jesus as one of the great social reformers are of most importance to us and we may select the well-known Sermon on the Mount as illustrating his social philosophy: (Matthew 5:3-10)

"Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

"Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.

"Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.

"Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.

"Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.

"Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.

"Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.

"Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

A

2,500 years ago: 600 BC

The need of sacrifice. The world demands sacrifice from ordinary people, from the poor, from folk who are not personally attractive as well as from others. This sacrifice will call for the endurance of insult, sorrow, loneliness, pain, silent patience and hard work for the benefit of other people even to the extent of death. The reward for this is vast but it may not come while the man who is making the sacrifice lives. Eventually the sacrifice will make him a co-worker with the great and the strong even though his name is forgotten.

1,500 years ago:

The people in this world who count are not the proud and happy and arrogant. On the contrary, they are the humble, sorrowful and the meek. They are those who desperately want to do the right thing, who are not revengeful, who keep clean in body and mind and who will not fight but are willing to endure pain without retaliation.

BIBLE TODAY

TOM WATSON 1906 - 1920

Tom Watson said that in Ga. they did not dare to disfranchise the Negro because the men who control the Democratic party machine in Ga. knew that a majority of the whites were against them. They need the Negro to fight us. (The white primary could be shelved any time they needed the Negro vote.

Tom Watson's magazine, Mar. 1905

offered the Democrats to support any anti-machine candidate running upon a suitable platform that included a pledge of a change in our constitution which will perpetuate white supremacy in Georgia.

"the white people dare not revolt so long as they can be intimidated by fear of the Negro vote. Once the bugaboo of Negro domination was removed, every white man would act according to his own conscience and judgment in deciding how he should vote." Held balance of power in Democratic party.

1905 Sept. 12 came out for Smith and spoke for him -

Watson attacked corporations and railroads - Howell defended them. Hoke Smith won (with 90,000 Populists) but not Watson's own county. In this campaign he was viciously anti-Negro. Riot of 1906 was probably incited by his writings.

Watson said, "Everybody knew that the disfranchisement issue was the causeof our success." Papers were filled with anti- Negro sentiment. Lynching was openly advocated and frequently practiced. Watson anti-Negro in speeches, too. Editorials against the Negro. Broke with northerners - who sent letters objecting, (such as Upton Sinclair). Withdrew from editing his "Tom Watson Magazine" Oct. 1906 - besides ideological disputes he had arguments with the Northern mag. office - Mann accused him of being dictatorial and he suspected Mann of financial shenanigans. When he withdrew N.Y. magazine gave up.

New Magazine in Jan. 1907 (Watson's Jeffersonian Magazine) published at Hickory Hill, all Watson - Watson horseback, three generations of Watson, Watson's servants, etc. The October 1906 "Weekly Jeffersonian" was changed to Jefferson Weekly.

Was very difficult to get along with as is seen in many complaints throughout his correspondence.

Hoke Smith friendly now - sent his son to visit at Hickory Hill. Watson cont'd to endorse his administration - said Smith whipped the corporations! Watson, having supported and helped Smith in, was constantly consulted on appointments, bills, advice. The RR Commission was increased, utilities put under supervision, prohibition passed, disfranchisement passed (thru registration requirements). Smith sent set of Voltaire to Watson.

Case of Arthur Glover - a supporter (ignorant, illiterate) of Watson's, killed woman worker. Asked Watson for help. Watson knew Boykin Wright, persecutor of Glover, had been in Augusta ring that almost killed Watson during one former campaign in 1892. He asked Hoke Smith to grant clemency. Smith refused. Watson was embittered against Smith, sent Voltaire volumes away from Hickory Hill. Wrote against Smith in January 1908.

Watson secretly supported Joseph Brown of Marietta in 1908 in reprisal against Smith. Brown was son of millionaire railroad promotor, against labor and Negroes etc., and had attacked Smith in 1906. The panic of 1907 came and Smith was blamed for it. Gradually Watson attacked Smith that he hadn't made enough reforms. Hardwick pleaded with him to stay with Smith, but Brown gave $2674.10 for a "campaign issue" of the Jeffersonian and Brown won a majority of 12000.

August 1908 he wrote his wife that he would be with her more. He dined with President Roosevelt 1907, wrote complimentary letter to Roosevelt Dec. 18, 1907.

Both parties took his platform in 1908 - last convention of Populists. Nominated Watson president. Watson into "white supremacy", against corporations. Brown ran as governor FOR corporations. Watson claimed it was farmers vs. corporations and poor CAN get land. When confronted with tenant farmers he said some "prefer to rent."

In 1904 he had $258000.

Many populists deserted him for the socialists. Tom Watson then wanted to "explode" socialist theory, though he was for STATE socialism, but against ~~x~~x socialism of "private property". Said socialism would never make white women safe from the lust of the Negro. Also, he said Marx and Engels were JEWS! Private property ~~xxxxxxxx~~ sacred. Daniel De Leon attacked him 1910.

He returned to the Democratic Party (to clean it out). Smith vs. Brown. Watson didn't take sides - wanted to mend his fences. Thomas Hardwick, Watson's lieutenant for 8 years left him and sided with Smith. Smith won. Brown got the "faithful 17,000" of Watson's.
Watson made a speech of reconciliation ~~xxx~~ but was a flop.

Hated Smith now. spread rumors and scandals and sex gossip about Smith. "Atlanta Georgian" printed refutation of these rumors after an examination of them. Watson attacked Seely, editor of Georgian. Seely concocted a rumor about himself, let Watson get hold of it. Watson spread it and then Seely exposed the fraudulence of it.

In 1910 Watson invested $100,000 in publishing. Mrs. Alice Lytle helped him on the magazine. A large vigorous woman, Irish, admired Watson, separated from her husband, moved to Hickory Hill (but gossip about relations with Watson unfounded). Watson became dependent on her. She was against Catholics and Negroes.

Watson had a big party at Hickory Hill, spent $232.31.

He published scandals mostly, now (a down period for him), was radidly against Negroes and Catholics - published sensational stuff about what went on in convents, Negro priests, ruination of nuns, ets. However, he sent a daughter to a Catholic school for a short period. He was afraid of assasins during this period. ~~In 1912~~ He became rabid. In 1912 he attacked a Catholic man in the lobbey of Kimball House, Atlanta, on no provocation.

Catholics boycotted him and his advertisers. He lost $50,000 being against Catholics.

U.S. charged him with sending obscene publications through the mails. He was arrested June 3, 1912, case called Oct. 1913. He had it quashed. It went on for 4½ years. Had one mistrial. The third trial in Nov. 1916 finally acquitted him. He had publicized it and made himself a martyr through his publication. Trial was crowded with people.

Wanted to regain state dominance after 1910 defeat. He was against Wilson - didn't like the history book Wilson wrote -- too Tory and New England instead of for the South, and it kowtowed to Catholics. Also, Wilson had sent Washington a message when BTW had some scandal.

Watson supported Underwood (he was more of a Southerner) for President. In 1912 he went to the Atlanta convention - throngs met him. He proposed to take the Democratic leadership from Bryan. They compromised on a delegate to national convention between Howell forces and Watson's. The Underwood manager gave Watson credit for his victory, all the big shots came to his hotel room to consult with him. He lost interest and didn't attend national convention. First he was for Champ Clark, then Wilson, and then against Wilson. Finally he BOLTED the Democratic ticket to Roosevelt! The Democrats still wooed him. News of his favor or disfavor would make or break a would-be candidate. Governors were elected by him, but he exacted such subservience that usually they turned against him and he would be vituperative against them.

In 1914 Smith elected - against Brown who Watson came out for. Watson then said Smith had supported Leo Frank who was a JEW!

Leo Frank - case - I have notes if necessary.

Case of Leo Frank. He was a Jewish superintendent and when Mary Phagan, a fourteen year-old girl in the pencil factory was murdered he was accused. Because he was a northerner and Jewish, public opinion was against him. He had a 30 day trial with mobs at the court and outside. Editors of papers raged against him. He was found guilty. Tom Watson declined $5000 to defend him. Early in the case he said the man didn't have a chance if the case was tried in Atlanta. Mar. 1914 asked for retrial, ~~x~~ Hoke Smith came out for Leo Frank so Tom Watson then became vitriolic against him (Frank). Tom Watson wrote sensationally ~~xxxx~~ against Jews with all the worst lies. ("Journal" had asked for retrial but when Watson roused public they dropped the case). ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ June 22, 1915 set as date of execution. Slaton, governor, signed commutation just before he left the governorship, in spite of Watson's threats. Then he needed martial law protection against the mob. 5000 marched on ~~his~~ Slaton's home and wounded and disabled 16 soldiers ~~xxxxx~~ who fought to protect Slaton.

The Frank case jumped Watson's subscriptions to "Jeffersonian" from 25,000 to 87,000 (sensational, lurid, prejudiced, etc.) by Sept. 1915. Profit was ~~xxxxx~~ $1,123.75 a week. The price also went up.

He wrote against Slaton and Frank.. so that ~~by~~ August 16 a mob took Leo Frank from the state pen. ~~xxxxx~~ and hanged him. Ground heel in his face,

After this Watson wrote a medical friend: "A ... nervous trouble returns to me about once a month and for several days I am so despondent and distressed about nothing that it is difficult to live." conscience ???

Government had case against Watson on articles on Frank case inciting - ~~He~~ Watson sent man to Governor Harris to go to Atty. General. Harris did, and then a delegation went to Atty. General. Case was dropped. against Watson

instead of Harris

In spite of promises, Watson then supported Dorsey (who had persecuted Frank as ~~pty~~ atty. for state). they won't All Watson's cronies were given the spoils -- His vice-president of publishing house was made Commissioner of Agriculture.

In 1915 KKK had a new inauguration and started again. Perhaps due to the Watson prejudicial ~~xxxxfx~~ editorials? (after Frank case)

During war Watson was against Wilson and intervention. Then when patriotism rose, he was for intervention - for allies. Then against the war as war of commercialism. Against sedition laws, military service, etc. In June 1917 the U.S. govt. stopped his paper under the "Espionage Act". He wrote "Why are we fighting against conscription and encouraging of soldiers to enlistment for foreign service?" article. For draft resistance. He announced he would fight the constitutionality of the Conscription Act May 18, 1917.* Checks to help the fight poured in - $100,000. For the fight he selected a case of two NEGROES who hadn't registered. August 18 was the hearing. Act was upheld.

* [He made address against conscription at Thomson June 22, 1917. (under Sedition Act?) or Espionage]

In August Postmaster General complained, that his paper shouldn't be sent through mails. Watson asked for injunction which was ~~xx~~ rejected. The last number of his publication was August 23, 1917.

Low period of his life. Frustrated. His last daughter died one week later. He took to drugs and drinking heavily. January 1918 he went to Florida. His last child, a son, died in April. Watson went out of his mind, was found wandering and muttering - mostly his old speeches. Drank. His temper became worse. Grief.

In July 1918 he got better. Brought out "The Guard" which was also suppressed. He became scared after Debs was put in prison and wrote to Atty. General telling of his poor physical condition, that his children had died and he was grief-stricken. Promised "no further criticism of the administration" if he wouldn't be molested. Gov't. dropped the charges.

In 1918 he himself ran against Carl Vinson for Congress. His first public appearance was at home of Alexander Stephens! He was still morbid and melancholy.

He said war was not right but should be ended successfully since we were in it. (I have notes about his contesting something and state convention refused to consider it -I don't know what it was about). Congressional ticket ?

He put out a new paper after the Armistice. "Columbia Sentinel" 1919. Against Wilson (because his paper was banned this paper had to be posted in another town). He was for repeal of war legislation, for free speech and civil liberties (he had been hit). For amnesty, for prisoners and Debs. "What Were American Troops doing in Russia" he wrote (for Russia). Against the Palmer raids of 1919.

September 1919 a crowd of 7-8000 heard his speech at Thomson. He spoke for three hours. Denounced also the League of Nation!

Mrs. Lytle at this time said he was in good health. The circulation rose. In 1920 Palmer was Democratic presidential candidate at Georgia primary. Tom Watson for Senator James A. Reed. He was anti-Wilson, anti-League. But he withdrew for Hoke Smith and Tom Watson still bore a grudge against Smith. Watson then ran himself against Smith and Palmer.

votes:	Popular votes	county	convention
Palmer	48,460	55	148
Watson	51,977	56	132
Smith	45,568	43	104

Watson won in an alliance with Smith. But at National Convention which was Wilson dominated, Palmer won. So Watson might have been Pres. candidate

American Legion in 1920 for Dorsey (who had broken with Watson like most people did eventually) They hekkled Watson. He attacked Legion as "rich officers" who had murdered Rosa Luxembourg in Europe, and were cruel to our boys in the army under them, etc.

Ran against Smith for Senate. Made three auto trips. In Buford Watson couldn't sleep, threw a book at noisy card players in the hotel. An officer came to arrest him. Watson resisted, he was mishandled and spent the night in jail (1920). He had been attacked as Red and Bolshevik and he scoffed at "Red menace". He revived the Catholic menace. He was for civil liberties. At his Atlanta speech 10,000 were turned away!

Watson was elected with 111,723 popular votes, 102 counties, 247 county units. Dorsey got 72,885 pop., 38,county, 103 county unit Smith got 61,729, 14 and 34.

He went to Washington as Senator. Lytle bought him a dress suit. He was very disgusted at Harding's reactionary administration and he was a lone "Red". He was moody. Drank. Had terrible ashhma. Senate librarian said he read voraciously. Spoke a lot. - in senate. They gave him very few committee appointments. He presented a resolution requesting that David T. Blodgett, Iowa, be pardoned. He was in prison for ~~reprinting~~ printing Watson's speech. This resolution was not reported out of committee.

He defended USSR. For soldiers bonus, against prohibition; against U.S. Steel and American Legion, and coal mine operators.

Made charges of army cruel treatment of soldiers. This was investigated (he always exaggerated). Mrs. Lyte went to Coolidge to ask the investigation be dropped and it was. Watson challenged to combat senators, army man.

He was against H$_o$over (said his accounts should be looked into). Melancholy and drinking. In 1922 the heat was bad, asthamabad, ill but still went to office. Sept. 17, 1922 had bad attack of asthma. His last request was to have the letters from evicted miner families reprinted in the Congressional Record. Sept. 25 he had bronchitis and ashhma and died of cerebral hemorrhage at 2:40 Sept. 26.

7-10,000 at his funeral at Hickory Hill. KKK cross was there. Debs wrote mrs. a letter of condolence praising Watson.

I got the impression that he usually tried to get popularity by getting on the bandwagon if he thought he couldn't do otherwise. Wrote very scurrilous articles, lied, exaggerated, sensationalized.

GOVERNMENT OF GEORGIA

1920 Hardwick is elected governor and TOM WATSON elected senator.

1922 Walker was elected governor and was re-elected in 1924, serving as governor 1923--1927.

1926 Hardman, a physician and businessman was elected governor and served two terms, 1927--1931. In 1930 Atlanta University system was established. During his administration Warm Springs was established as a sanitarium.

(1930) RICHARD B. RUSSEL served as governor 1931 - 1933. Under him in 1931 the University system was established with one university, six senior colleges, six junior colleges and three Negro institutions. RUSSEL was elected U.S. Senator in 1933.

Under him the state was re-organized so as to be made up of 19 instead of 90 boards, departments, etc.

Under the acts of 1931 and 1933 the University Board of Regents was to receive all money appropriated for the university and its branches.

The Engineering Dept. of the University of Georgia was consolidated with the School of Technology.

1932 Eugene Talmadge was elected governor and served two terms, from 1933 - 1937.

1936 Rivers was elected governor and served for two terms. He defended the New Deal.

Talmadge tried to secure nomination for U.S. Senator in 1938 but failed.

(1940) 1941 - 1943 Talmadge became governor again.

1943 - 1947 Arnall was governor. He was succeeded by Talmadge. Talmadge died before inauguration and his son, Herman, became governor.

During his second term, 1935-37, Harry Hopkins refused to dispurse federal relief funds through the state and Talmadge became violently opposed to the New Deal. He tried in 1936 and 1938 to be nominated for the U.S. Senate but failed. He became governor 1941-3 and in 1941 interfered with the state University system and in 1942 was defeated by Arnall who became governor 1943-7. Talmadge was elected again in 1946 but died before inauguration.

Governors of Georgia:

Colquit, 76-82
Stephens 82
Gordon, 83-86-90
Northen 90

30-20-20

Brown

Chief Justice, 68-70
U.S.Senator, I880-9I

Gordon

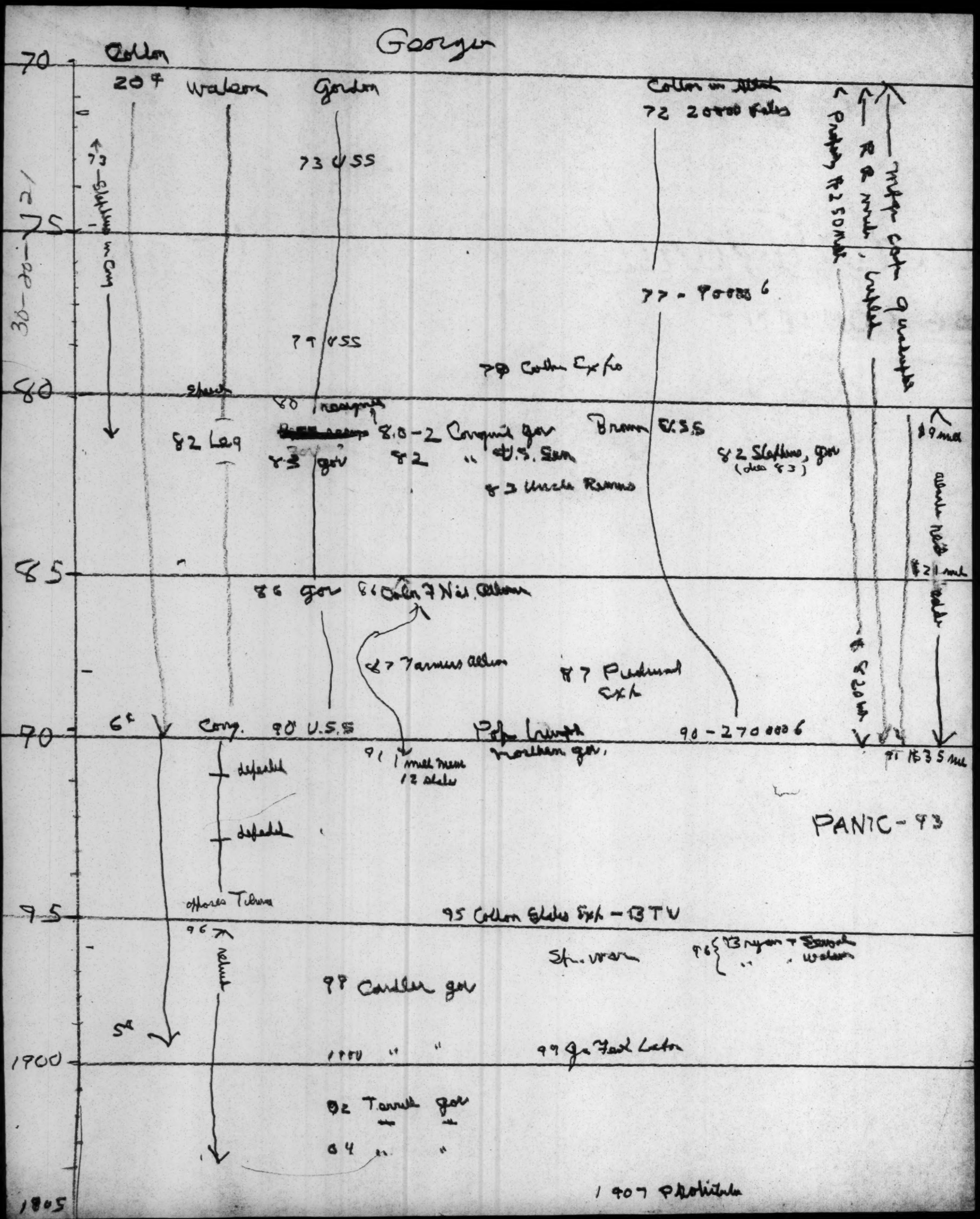
U.S.Senator, 73-77-79 (resigned)
Governor, I886-90
U.S. Senator, I89I-7

83-?

Colquit

Gov. 76-82
U.S. Senator, 83-94

Gov — 83-86
USS 1876-80 — Gordon 73-77
1880-91 — Brown
1883-94 — Colquit


Georgia
70
75
80
85
90
95
1900
1905
Cotton
20 f
Watson
Gordon
73 USS
73 Slaying in Cong
77 USS
79 Cotton Exp Co
80 resigns
82 Leg
83 gov
8.0-2 Congress gov
82 " U.S. Sen
Brown USS
82 Stephens, gov
(dies 83)
83 Uncle Remus
Cotton in Atlanta
72 20000 Bales
77 - 70000 6
Phillips RR Comm
RR Comm
Interstate Comm
19 mile
Uncle Remus
21 mile
Cotton
86 gov
87 Colquitt Nat. Cotton
87 Farmers Alliance
87 Peabody Exh
87 $250 M
Cong.
90 U.S.S
Pope Brandy
Northern gov.
90 - 270 000 6
91 1 mile meas
12 states
91 1535 mile
defeated
defeated
Populists Tillman
95 Cotton States Exh - ATL
96 relinq
Sh. Wars
96 93 Nyan + Stewart
Watson
98 Candler gov
5th
1900 "
99 Ga Tech Later
02 Terrell gov
04 "
1907 Prohibition
PANIC - 93

GOVERNMENT OF GEORGIA

Governors

I900 Candler
I902 Terrell
I904 "
I906 Smith
I908 Joe Brown = RR
I910 Smith
I912 Slaton (Frank Reynolds
I914 Harris
I916 Dorsey
I918 "
I920 Haedwick
I922 Walker —— George, Senator
I924 "
I926 Hardman

1892-97 Boggs - Chancellor
1900 Univ. System
1899-05 Hill
BALDWIN
Mayor 1912
governor 1920
— 1919 Emory dead
1922 Senator

32-12-3

When the election of senators came up, former Governor Brown was in the lead, but the planters were bitter with Brown because he had co-operated with the Republicans and they threw the revolt away from him and Stevens and elected Josiah Hill and the Republican Bledgett, by the help of the Negro votes.

32-11-13

The campaign for Governor in 1880 was stormy. Gordon resigned from the Senate and Colquitt appointed Brown to his place, probably through a political bargain. Brown was rich enough and Gordon wanted to make some money. It was said that Brown's course during Reconstruction had given him standing and influence with financiers in the East.

32-11-12

The first sign of political revolt arose in the western half of the Northern mountain area of the state where a Bullock Democrat selected by Brown, Gordon and Colquitt, was beaten by a country doctor who was sent to Congress. This was in 1874 and by 1878, the Independent movement against the Democratic machine had captured about one-fourth of the state.

In 1880 Grady supported Colquitt. Colquitt with the capitalists beat Watson's candidate Norwood. The Negroes liked Watson's attack on the convict lease.

In 1880 the International Cotton Exposition. The building was afterward converted to a cotton factory, and between 1880-85 the number of cotton spindles in Atlanta doubled.

In 1880 Brown gave $50,000 to the University of Georgia.

In 1881 in Watson's district there were 5,500 Negroes and 3,300 whites. Watson came out for free schools and against the convict lease.

Grady was very popular. His ideas were endorsed by A.C. McClure, and Pig Iron Kelly.

Cleveland visits Atlanta.

1887 the Farmers Alliance enters Georgia and sets up cooperatives.

1888 the Jute bag Trust is formed in St. Louis. A meeting of 800 farmers in Thomson start a boycott

1889 the Northern Farmers Alliance and the Southern Farmers Alliance met in St. Louis.

1889 Watson enters the race for Congress against the rich Major Barnes, 22 months before the primaries in the 10th congressional district.

1890 Watson is nominated for Congress by the Farmers Alliance and in six out of 10 congressional districts. The Democratic candidates lost their seats, and in the other four districts compromised. The Alliance controlled the state convention, chose the governor, wrote the platform, elected 3/4 of the Senators and 4/5 of the Representatives.

1890 all over the south and the west the Alliance was victorious.

1890 it was necessary to elect a Senator to succeed Joe Brown. Brown had succeeded Gordon in the Senate. Gordon now wanted to go back to the Senate. He joined the Alliance and although the Augusta Chronicle said that he was "visionary, profligate, unreliable and unbusinesslike, he succeeded in beating a grandson of John C. Calhoun, and with the support of Watson won the nomination. Calhoun was a railway attorney.

1890 Ocala meeting of the Farmers Alliance, turned toward a Third Party movement.

1891 Cincinnatti meeting of the Peoples Party.

1891 Eight Populists are in Congress with Watson

THE FUTURE OF GERMANY

By W. E. B. Du Bois

When I received my first academic degree in 1888, I chose "Bismarck" as the subject of my oration. I was twenty years of age and of course had never been outside the United States. But I had read of the Franco-Prussian War and I was tremendously impressed with the character of Bismarck so far as I could learn about it. Later I came to know more. From 1892 to 1894 I was a student of the social sciences in the University of Berlin. During my vacations I took every opportunity to see as much of Germany as possible. I spent a summer at Eisenach. I attended meetings of the Social-Democratic Party in Berlin. I visited the Hanse cities, made the Harzreise, spent Christmas in a village in the Rheinpfals, visited Leipzig, Breslau, and Muenchen, and had glimpses of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Hungary. Later in my life I again saw Germany after the First World War. I was in Berlin and Stettin in 1926 for several weeks. Then in 1936 on a Fellowship supplied by a German-American organisation I spent five months in Germany at the beginning of Hitler's reign.

From this basis of knowledge I venture as a foreigner to say something to the German people concerning their future in this day of crisis for the whole world. I can conceive pretty clearly the kind of German state which Otto von Bismarck had in mind. It was a closed, unified state with a common cultural heritage, one language, and a magnificent literature. He proposed that this state, able to defend itself from all aggressors, situated in the midst of Europe, would develop and grow and make a still greater center of civilization than it was at the end of the nineteenth century. It would support itself by agriculture and industry, make the things which it needed, and following the great example of the Hanseatic League, make also some of the best and most useful articles which it would sell to the rest of the world for things Germany could use. The course of this cultural development

would be guided by an aristocracy not simply of birth but of training, using not simply hereditary German elements, but contributions from Jew and Slav and importations from the ends of the earth.

At the time I first saw Germany this goal seemed to be in ready reach. Under the second Wilhelm, there was, to be sure, foolishness, show, and distorted ambition, but nevertheless the mass of the German people were educated; they had among their great leaders some of the best brains of the world; their writers were listened to everywhere; their scientists led civilization; and the average German was satisfied with life and hopeful of it.

There was, of course, the great mass of artisans and of working people, of peasants and forgotten folk who were not yet conceived of as an integral and indispensable part of the German people and the source of future ability and ideal. But even here there was movement and I could feel it in the meetings of the Social-Democracy, and in the efforts of the state to protect the worker.

But there was one thing which Germany did not realise, and that was that the modern world at the opening of the twentieth century was being deliberately divided into two great parts which were looked upon as being permanent and necessary. The one part led by the British Empire conceived of the modern world as building civilisation upon a white Europe which was going to depend for its culture, food, clothes, luxury, and comfort mainly on the land and work of the rest of the world. These colonial and semi-colonial regions, inhabited for the most part by people of more or less colored skins, were regarded by reason of their natural gifts and possibilities to be the servants of the white folk of the earth, and that their land, labor, and material would serve as the foundation of future civilisation. Moreover, the white peoples of the modern world who were to conduct this vast operation and determine the division of the world's income, were not necessarily all of the white peoples, but were especially the English, who started colonial imperialism, the French, who with some difficulty forced themselves

into a position of sharing, and later the English-speaking peoples of North America.

In the first quarter of the twentieth century, this meant that the center of world rule was in the hands of Britain, France, and the United States, and that Germany and Austria, with Italy on the fence, precipitated the First World War in order to compel Britain, France, ~~and~~ and the United States to grant them a larger share of the colonial loot in Asia, Africa, and South America.

Thereupon the second part of the world that had been neglected and taken for granted; the peoples of Asia, Central America, and finally of Africa began to insist that as their price for helping the imperialists during their struggle for income, they themselves be recognized as having some degree of independence and autonomy. The result was the rise of the first Socialist nations in the world with a concept of civilization higher than industry, trade, and military force and based on the ultimate concept of income produced by the training of ability and distributed according to human need. In the bitter effort of Western Europe and the United States to prevent any such organization of the world as would stop the leading nations of civilization from fattening on the ignorance, poverty, and disease of most of the world, Germany was cut in two.

Now comes the problem and the pressing problem, not only for Germany but even more so for the world: first, how long and how far shall Germany remain divided into two parts, the one under the control of the still powerful Western concept of holding most of the peoples of the earth as serfs to feed, clothe, and amuse the more powerful peoples; and how far Germany shall make common cause with the mass of the world's population, the workers of Europe, the poverty-stricken, diseased, and ignorant masses of the rest of the world who are today struggling to their feet and determined to become an independent part of the modern world and of future civilization. The main question which will settle this matter is the question of war. As the war of civilization

40-3-5

upon the backward people during the nineteenth century placed most of the world in slavery to the rest, so today the military power of the West built upon a new and miraculous technique is in a position to keep most of the world in slavery if it insists on following the leadership of the United States, Britain, and France. If on the other hand there should arise a united Germany which refuses to take part in further world wars, which insists on industry for the welfare of mankind and for trade to advance democratic equality among all peoples; and which insists that having itself once based its existence on the most perfect military machine of its time -- such a Germany would have the brains to learn that civilization is not a matter of force and would have the courage to declare that war must stop; and that it will have no part in a Third World War which can mean nothing less than suicide.

39-8-2

Germany must realize that outside of this one main question, as to whether she is willing to join the colonial imperialists or side with the Socialist leaders of peace, there is absolutely no question which need divide the great German people from a new and unified culture.

###

1 white + 1 black + 1 yellow

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things which it needed, and following the great example of the Hanseatic League, make also some of the best and most useful articles which it would sell to the rest of the world for things which Germany could use. The course of this cultural development would be guided by an aristocracy not simply of birth but of training, using not simply hereditary German elements, but contributions from Jew and Slav and importations from the ends of the earth.

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colored-skins, regarded were by reason of their natural gifts and possibilities to be the servants of the white folk of the earth, and that their land, labor, and material would serve as the foundation of future civilization. Moreover, the white peoples of the modern world who were to conduct this vast operation and determine the division of the world's income, were not necessarily all of the white peoples, but were especially the English, who started colonial imperialism, the French, who with some difficulty forced themselves into a dominant position, and later the English-speaking peoples of North America. In the first quarter of the twentieth century, this meant that the center of world rule was in the hands of Britain and France and the United States, and that Germany and Italy were outside the centers of power. It was then that Germany and Austria precipitated the First World War in order to compel Britain, France, and the United States to grant them a larger share of the colonial loot in Asia, Africa, and South America. Thereupon the second part of the world that had been neglected and taken for granted; the peoples of Asia, Central America, and finally of Africa began to insist that as their price for helping the imperialists during their struggles for income, they themselves be recognized as having some degree of independence and autonomy. The result was the rise of the first Socialist nations in the world with a concept of civilization higher than industry, trade, and military force and based on the ultimate concept of income produced by the training of ability and distributed according to human need. In the bitter effort of Western Europe and the United States to prevent any such organization of the world as would stop the leading nations of civilization from living on the ignorance, poverty, and disease of most of the world, Germany was cut in two.

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Germany must realize that outside of this one main question, as to whether she is willing to join the colonial imperialists or side with the Socialist leaders of peace, there is absolutely no question which need divide the great German people from a new and unified culture.

41-3-322

AMERICAN NEGRO POLITICAL ACTION 1840 - 1860

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

When Abraham Lincoln was born there were a million Negroes in the United States. As he looked around him as a boy every fifth person he saw was of Negro descent. A half century later when he was elected President in 1860 there were four and a half million Negroes in the country, or 14 per cent of the population. They formed a much larger proportion of the workers. Something between one-fourth and one-third of the American citizens were Negroes belonging to the working class. That means naturally that history takes little account of them because history has been used to telling about the dictatorship of property--the people of wealth. Concerning them it records minute details: the way they dressed and lived, their words, their marriages, their family. But of the people doing the work necessary to support the community it has only been lately that history has made any record. And even today the record is faulty.

Moreover, in the United States 1850 to 1860 in addition to the black workers, the white workers increased rapidly. Twenty three thousand immigrants arrived in 1830; while in 1855, 500,000 were coming in annually. These were the people who built America and they were not as history might let us believe merely a mass of unthinking clods. The Negroes were active and their activity impinged on politics. In the South they raised cotton and with black labor and free rich land toward the West, cotton became king. One-half of our exports was cotton lint going chiefly to England. Not only did Negroes hoe cotton, but there was in the South a class of upper Negro

41-3-323

servants who raised and nursed the children and who conducted the aristocratic households of the plantation owners whose political power ruled the United States and so impressed the world. In addition to that Negroes were the chief artisans of the South. They built the home and the public buildings, the roads and thoroughfares. They did the beautiful craftsmanship in iron and wood and in New Orleans their artists published the first anthology of American poetry. Negro music became the first American music.

In religion the Negroes became an influential part of the white churches and then organized their own churches sending leaders like Allen to form the first Negro organizations which began to take political action. The Negroes themselves led in efforts toward migration and especially in ~~the organized effort that~~ inducing slaves to run away. This matter of fugitive slaves became in the 40's and 50's one of the great political questions. It is usually discussed as the "Underground Railroad" where the work of the white philanthropists who helped the fugitives on their way North is emphasized. But of course the chief actors in this drama were the slaves themselves who escaped from the South into the North; and into Canada where they procured the invitation and help of the British government. This called not only for individual slaves willing to dare the fearsome risks of running away but leaders to encourage and guide them. Such persons appeared. There was Harriet Tubman, frail and sick, who led three hundred slaves or more to freedom and on whose head the South placed a reward of $40,000. There was Josiah Henson, Elijah Anderson, John Mason, and William Mitchell. How many slaves thus escaped no one knows but Governor Quitman of Mississippi declared that between 1810 and 1850 the South lost 100,000 slaves valued at more than $30,000,000.

This was of tremendous importance in a capitalist country. The land was there rich and almost free. ~~Slaves were~~ Labor was absolutely necessary, but

their price (of slaves) was rising because of the laws against the African slave trade. These laws were not all enforced even as late as Lincoln's inauguration. Indeed he hanged the first slave trader. But the price of slaves rose; their keep became more expensive because while in the West Indies it was cheaper to work them to death and buy new importees, in the United States, they had to be better fed and housed. This made a domestic slave trade from the Border states to the lower South and the higher prices supported the aristocracy of Virginia. On this situation came the run-away slaves and the South was in quandary: did happy slaves steal away? Of course not, but capital was disappearing and the nation must stop it. Free Negroes were organising to bankrupt slavery and a drastic law to make kidnapping easy was passed. The whole nation was in hysterics.

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Negroes were prominent in the abolition movement and gave that movement reality and status both in the Northern United States and in Europe. It was the living, speaking Frederick Douglass that made people see just what slavery could mean and WALKER'S APPEAL as early as 1829 was a bitter call to Negroes to realize their degradation.

Charles Remond and his sister, Frances Harper, Henry Highland Garnett, and William Wells Brown in addition to Sojourner Truth became great leaders in the Abolition movement. It was black men even more than whites whose appearance in England and France during the 50's kept Europe from supporting the South during the Civil War. Douglass, Pennington and Samuel Ward all were received by crowds of listeners and in the end were even more influential than William Lloyd Garrison in making English workers hate slavery.

Negro newspapers began to appear from 1827 when Russwurm published FREEDOM'S JOURNAL to Frederick Douglass' NORTH STAR which affronted Garrison. Not only were Negroes influential as individuals but their organized effort was of great importance. They established settlements in Canada, in Northern cities like Cincinnati, Philadelphia, New York and Boston. They called con-

ventions from 1830 up until the very eve of the Civil War. They met in Rochester, Cleveland, New York and Philadelphia. In 1853 they formed a National Council of Colored People and sent out a Manifesto saying, "with the exception of the Jews under the whole heaven there is not to be found a people pursued with a more relentless prejudice and persecution than are the free colored people of the United States."

In 1848 the Citizen's Union of Pennsylvania was organized to fight for first class citizenship. In 1852 the American League of Colored Laborers was formed in New York. In 1857 a Negro convention in Philadelphia denounced the Dred Scott decision.

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Several Negro conventions opposed colonization and Martin R. Delany denounced the American Colonization Society as arrant hypocrites and one of the Negroes' worst enemies. Delany organized Negroes for migration to upper Canada. Lott Carey led a group to Liberia as early as 1821. An organized effort at migration began in 1853 with the formation of a national council of leading Negroes which attracted representatives from as many as twelve state conventions. Negroes had become sondivided on this question that only those who believed in colonization were invited. Among those who attended were William Webb and Martin R. Delany of Pittsburgh; Dr. J. Gould Bias and Franklin Turner of Philadelphia; Augustus R. Green of Allegheny, Pennsylvania; James M. Whitfield of New York; William Lambert of Michigan; Henry Bibb and James Theodore Holly of Canada; and Henry M. Collins of California.

Frederick Douglass who was opposed to colonization was critical. "A convention to consider the subject of emigration," he said, "when every delegate must declare himself in favor of it beforehand as a condition of taking his seat, is like the handle of the jug, all on one side."

James M. Whitfield, the writer of verse, came to the defense of his co-workers, continuing a literary duel with Douglass for a number of weeks.

Three parties appeared at the convention of 1853, one led by Martin R. Delany who wanted to go to the Niger Valley in Africa, one by James M. Whitfield whose interests were in Central America, and the third by Theodore Holly who advocated settling in Haiti. These men were commissioned to go to these various countries. Holly went to Haiti and discussed the question of admitting Negroes from the United States.

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Evidence of considerable interest in emigration began to appear. Illinois and Indiana sent out commissioners and strong sentiment was expressed by delegates attending the Cleveland Convention in 1854.

A colonization convention was held at Chatham , Canada West, in 1856. Holly reported on his trip to Haiti at this meeting and from this meeting Martin R. Delany proceeded on his mission to the Niger Valley in Africa. There he concluded a treaty with eight African kings, offering inducements to Negroes to emigrate. Eventually two thousand emigrants went to Haiti in the first expedition in 1861, but they were unprepared and the climate unfavorable, so not more than a third remained.

In addition to all this Negroes took part in political movements. Indeed it was the American Anti-slavery Society in which Negroes had prominent membership that was back of the Liberty Party organized in 1840 which polled 60,000 votes in 1844. But abolition of Negro slaves was not enough to attract any large numbers of Americans at the time. White American

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labor would not recognize Negroes as fellow workers but rather as dangerous competitors. The growing flood of immigrants especially the Catholic Irish regarded the Protestant blacks as enemies and attacked them repeatedly in riots and street fights in Philadelphia, New York and Cincinnati.

The free land which the nation owned in the West attracted the white immigrants. Therefore, in the West the movement against slavery was directed against black labor, free or slave and for free land. A Free Soil Party was organized but it attracted white laborers who were willing to fight for free soil, but unwilling to encourage freedom for black labor. In 1848 the Free Soil Party together with the remnants of the Liberty Party attracted 300,000 voters but the nation elected the slaveholder Taylor as President.

In the meantime various happenings in the United States began to change the face of affairs. Abraham Lincoln as a member of the Illinois legislature had to make note of slavery. He said it was unjust and unwise as a system, but he was sure that the Abolition Movement only made matters worse. Living in the North he saw slavery ~~but once~~ face to face on an excursion down the Mississippi and he said bitterly, "If I ever get a chance to hit slavery I will hit it hard." Meantime there came the terrible panic of 1857, perhaps the worst in our history. Then came the Dred Scott Decision with Taney's celebrated obiter dictum: that the Negro had no rights which the white man was bound to respect.

Harriet Beecher Stowe's UNCLE TOM'S CABIN went round the world. The attempt to seize Cuba, then in insurrection under the cooperation of Negro leaders, and before these events, the momentous discovery of gold in California and the rise of manufacturing. Capital invested doubled during the decade 1850 to 1860. Perry began colonialism in Japan and Cotton was king.

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But Frederick Douglass said of the Dred Scott decision, "We, the abolitionists and colored people, should meet this decision, unlooked for and monstrous as it appears, in a cheerful spirit. This very attempt to blot out forever the hopes of an enlsaved people may be one necessary link in the chain of events preparatory to the complete overthrow of the whole slave system."

Two years later John Brown was crucified. Six years later Abraham Lincoln declared the slaves under federal control "henceforward and forever free."

PROPERTY AND LABOR

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

35-7-21

Prperty is a legal concept, and legal concepts are made and changed by laws, legislatures and the votes of laborers. Property is the legal control of wealth. Now wealth is not and never was entirely the result of indivudual effort; it always involved some measure of group cooperation. And today more than ever before wealth, is the result of social effort added to the bounty of nature. Property is the legal right to use wealth; the wealth may stem from your own effort or from the effort of oth rs; it may come from siesure of gambling; from theft. There is nothing sacred about property; everything depends on the social welfare involved in its use.

This means that property and its use are proper subjects of political consideration and of election decison. Ther has been in America too much cheating and theft in the acquisition of property and too much injustice in its use. Where property has been acquired by hard work and sacrifice, its owners' right to enjoy it, should be recognized and protect d and no labor party has asked anything else. But this has not been the record of American business. Huge properties have been accumulated by highway robbery, monopoly of natural resourses belonging of right to all; and even by transgressing the very laws to protect the rights of the public.

Our present economic problem, stems from the fact that while production is increasingly a social process, the distribution of its results still remains largely a matter of the individual judgment of persons who happen to have or who seize the power to decide; and on the basis of concepts of property and income which no longer correspond to fact.

The paradox which consequently upsets the labor orld, is that despite the indispensable cooperation of laborers, managers, and capitalists in current industry, when the restults and increasingly valuable results are

distributed, most of the laborers get less than is necessary for decent life, while many of the capitalist get more than they need or can spend. And particularly capitalists get the power to direct the use of the residue for any purpose which they choose.

The age-long explanation of this is that goods are so scarce that with the best effort some folk must remain in poverty and need. It is this alleged fact that the 20th century laborer is disputing. He maintains that a more just distribution of the results of industry could eleminate poverty, disease and ignorance among the working class. For this purpose he has been organizing labor unions and trying by appeal, bargaining and if necessary by strikes, picketing and legislation to raise his standard of living to decency and comfort. He does not want in this contest to deprive manager or owner of his just reward for saving, planning and direction, but he insists that he, the laborer as partner in production, should have some voice in deicding what is just. He rejects certain age-old excuses for present conditions. When the National Association of Manufacturers advertises that the "more we produce the more we will have," he knows full well that this depends on who does the dividing and who gets the shares.

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The conventional answer to this contention of labor is that the essential capital to employ labor can only be had if its owners are attracted by large profit to invest their wealth instead of consuming it. Once this was true. In the 17th and 18th centuries most of the rich did not save; they spent conspicuously and extravagentely; and industry could only secure their cooperation by the gambler's bribe of high profit.

Today the situation is far different; there is capital in so great abundance that it begs opportunity for investment and indeed cannot be used in any other way. Also the risk of loss in legitimate industry is now small and might be reduced nearly to nil by intelligent and scientific planning. Moreover most of the curennt capital comes not from the rich, but from the

comparatively poor, who save for old age and a rainy day. But the huge profits of industry to not to them but to the financiers who as middle-men handle their funds, giving them 2% in savings banks while this wealth in foreign trade often reaps 50%. Small w nder Big Business fights and schemes and drafts the 18 year old youth. Profit is thicker than blood.

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This had led many a social thinker to point out that capital for all real human want and improvement could easily be taken from production and leave sufficient income for all consumers, provided of course that individual consumption wa so limited that no man had cake if any man lacked bread; that mink coats for the rich were not allowed, if the poor had no shoes. And of course here's the rub. This compulsion which socialism proposed long before Lenin as the only way to decent human life, raises shrieks of protest if hinted at today in the United States. Remember what hap ened when Roosevelt proposed to limit incomes to $25,000!

What church of the lowly Jesus, who railed against the rich, would for a moment admit or preach such doctrine? And yet, is it strange that the poor and hardworking laborers of the world, without sufficient food, shelter and clothes; fearing old age and sickness more than the flames of hell--is it strange that they by overwhelming majority are demanding this regulation of production and consumption; and that this is not Russian imperialism but American commonsense?

You cannot stop this line of thought from growing in an intelligent world even if you kill all the youth and dye the oceans' red with blood. Social control of production and distribution of wealth is coming as sure as the rolling of the stars. The whole concept of property is changing and must change. Not even a Harvard school of business can make greed into a science, nor can the unscrupoulous ambition of a Secretary of State use atomic energy forever, for death instead of life.

THE POSSIBLE FUTURE OF AMERICAN NEGROES

by W.E.B. Du Bois

Attempted prophesy is a thankless task, and one which long since I have tried to give up, ~~and~~ yet the demand for it rests upon the unquestioned fact that long experience with the past actions of men give at least some idea of what the future will be. For this reason I have tried prophesy many times, and usually have been largely wrong in what I have forecast. Nevertheless, I am almost compelled continually to try again, and perhaps with ever widening background my percentage of failure will be less. There are three periods which we may consider, only one of which belongs to the future, and ~~that is~~ there are the last 50 years of the 19th century, the first 50 years of the 20th, and the last 50 years which lie before us.

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In the latter half of the 19th century, the task of the American Negro was comparatively clear so far as object and method were concerned, but exceedingly difficult because of the obstacles faced. We ~~faced~~ had a set determination on the part of most white Americans to keep the Negro "in his place" as a low-paid worker and servant, a disinfranchised citizen, and a person without social recognition, living under caste conditions.

Many Americans opposed this program, and among them were the founders of the NAACP. Even among these founders, however, most of them drew the line of Negro progress strictly at what was called "social equality". It was the object of the Negro leader, therefore, at the time to fight for the enforcement of the Constitution; to explain the results of disinfranchisment, not only on Negroes but on whites; and to argue

for social equality.

In the first half of the 20th century the world was so upset by war and depression, that even the United States could not keep its attention centered on Negroes, because of the ~~It is~~ their absorption in world problems which compelled it to yield and progress so far as Negroes were concerned. Moreover, and of most importance, the demand for negro labor was so great and increasing so fast, that employers demanded it, and labor unions had to recognize it. Thus, by and large, the first half of the 20th century showed distinct advantages in the legal and economic status of American Negroes.

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But the Negro was not and is not free, and the peril today is that he ~~might~~ may not recognize that the problems which he faces in the second half of the 20th century are quite different from those which he faced in the 19th. He is going to become a voter in the United States, but that does not settle the question as to how he is going to vote. It really poses for him new and absorbing political problems. He is going to secure, certainly for a considerable number of the group, a more substantial economic position, with larger income, but this again raises the question as to what he is going to do with his income; by what methods he is going to earn and increase it, and what the relation of his wealth is to the wealth of the rest of the world.

And finally, and to increasing extent, he is going to be able to meet his fellow Americans on a plane of friendship and cooperation, but what is that cooperation going to be for, and with what kind of Americans is he going to cultivate friendships? His danger is that of becoming more American than the Americans - loud, greedy, boastful

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The world facing American Negroes in the 20th century is a world revolutionized from that of the 19th. In the 19th century our cure for all problems was education and earning a living. These problems have not been settled, but the question today is, what is going to be the content and object of education, and just what kind of a living is going to be earned? American Negroes must face in their own group the answers to these questions, and the problem of education is not simply the matter of learning to read and write and cipher. These are but preliminary techniques for the acquisition of knowledge. That gaining of knowledge is not simply knowledge of how the forces of nature can be used, but more importantly what kind of machines human beings themselves are, and what they can come to be, and what they have done in the past.

American Negroes facing these problems are today seriously handicapped. First, their ~~people~~ children are not learning to read, write and cipher well, not only in their segregated schools, but even in the public schools where there is no segregation. Beyond that, history is neglected. We learn the conventional history of the United States and Europe and, even more sketchy history of slavery ~~of~~ and the American Negro. We know almost nothing of the history of Asia and Africa. ~~and the history of Europe is poorly taught.~~

In the schools and colleges Economics is hardly taught at all, because the industrial organizations of the United States controls Education, and do not want people to learn of the transformation today of individualism into socialism. It is going on all about us, even in

the United States, and yet we do not understand it. That means that in the last half of the 20th century, American Negroes as well as the majority of American whites, are going to follow the economics of the middle ages, when people "made money", ~~when they~~ "saved" it, ~~when they~~ and "invested" for profit, instead of realizing that what men do is to work for what they need to satisfy their wants; ~~to~~ distribute these satisfactions justly, to consume all that is produced except that part which is needed for future production; and that future production is also solely for ~~consumption~~ satisfying human needs

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In the Negro group we are going to develop, and indeed have developed, economic classes, whose interests clash — the rich, the well-to-do, the poor. Unless we stop present trends, the rich are going to exploit and ~~keep~~ cheat the poor, and bitter enmities are going to rise between these inner groups, so great as to disrupt all inner unity or what we used to call "Race Loyalty".

On the other hand, if we keep this class distinction down to a minimum, and if we understand the new socialistic conceptions of work and income, we will find new alliances among the white people of America, and among the peoples of the world, and these alliances can be used, if we are wise, to improve the condition of men and to transform the world from a world of war, force and oppression to one of mutual striving toward the progress of all peoples and all classes, so as to loose for future civilization the vast energy and potentialities of the mass of human beings now held in thrall by poverty, ignorance and disease.

A THEORY OF HUMANITY

I say "a theory" instead of "the theory". The latter would mean something which was scientifically proven and could be assumed as final. On the other hand, a theory is merely an assumption which may be true and may prove to be inadequate. I think of the development of human-beings from the great apes which walked on their hind legs and who, from the great rifts and bottomless lakes of Central Africa down the Nile, founded one of the first human cultures. Their skins were black from the blaze of the sun: their hair was ~~trickled~~ from the influence of sun and weather, but there were some kind of human beings as ~~that~~ developed elsewhere in the world.

In China a group of human beings also developed and for 2000 years or more, established an astonishing culture and made many of the great inventions which human-beings use like the compass, gun-powder, printing and others. This long and proven history was never known by the West; so, today, we think of the history of human-beings as ~~an integral part of~~ the history of China, ~~not of course mentioning~~ and the history of the West. In this way, we ~~can~~ approach ~~in~~ a ~~more complete~~ picture of the culture of human-beings and the way in which men tried to meet problems of living. It happens today that, having failed to make ~~this~~ an integration of these two ~~kinds~~ of history; so that, ~~we can see more often that~~ we assumed the history of human-beings as divided into two or more parts which have nothing to do with each other. This is, of course, untrue. Men developed in different ways, but all the development of human-beings resulted or should have resulted in one development of human- culture.

Human labour which was common increased with the discovery of free land and tremendous resources in America. This led to the increased and systematic skill of human labour, and to the African history which robbed Africa of millions of its people and into directions which changed human culture. We will try to explain this. Assuming that there ~~must have been a~~ new different kind of human-beings which we call races, there were, of course, differences between groups and different efforts to solve the problems of living. But that did not mean that humanity was divided into different kinds of beings, rather it meant one general kind of human folk, trying various ways for solving their problems. Difference of method does not necessarily mean a difference in the kind of humanity which is trying out ~~xxx~~ these methods.

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discovery

American history changed the course of African history and ruined the internal efforts towards solving the problems of living. The re continued and are still continuing efforts to suppress the revolution of China. The slave trade which was an attack on the African developed country transferred the centre of economic culture to America. In Asia came a magnificent development of human culture. The culture was not separated from or influenced by the culture in the South. There are two sides of the same effort group -- two kind sides of efforts to solve the problems of human living; to fight back the enemies of life; to change methods of thought and action. Human history is ~~known in the sense that~~ it is a continued and varied efforts of the same kind of human-beings to settle all their ~~differences~~ problems.

NON-VIOLENCE AND WAR

by W.E.B. Du Bois

The greatest philosopher of our era pointed out the inherent contradiction in many of our universal beliefs; and he sought eventual reconciliation of these paradoxes. We realize this today. Our President asks the largest expenditure for war ever in human history made by a nation, and proclaims this as a step toward Peace! We have larger endowments devoted to peace activity than any other nation on earth, and less activity for abolishing war.

As I look back on my own attitude toward war during the last seventy years, I see repeated contradiction. In my youth, nourished as I was on fairy tales, including some called History, I quite naturally regarded War as a necessary step toward progress. I believed that if my people ever gained freedom and equality, it would be by killing white people. Then, as a young man in the great afflatus of the late Nineteenth century, I came to believe in Peace. No more war. I signed the current pledge never to take part in War. Yet during the First World War, "the war to stop war," I was swept into the national maelstrom and begged my fellows to "close ranks" and fight. After the Depression I sensed recurring contradiction. I saw Gandhi's non-violence gain freedom for India, only to be followed by violence in all the world; I realized that the hundred years of peace from Waterloo to 1914 was not peace at all, but war of Europe on Africa and Asia, with troubled peace only between the colonial conquerors. I saw Britain, France, and America trying to continue to force the world to serve them by using their monopoly of land, technique, and machinery, backed by gunpowder, and then threatening atomic power on all who did not bow to "free democracy" as defined by John Foster Dulles and Anthony Eden.

Then Montgomery in Alabama tried to show the world the synthesis of this anti-thesis. And not the white Montgomery of the Slave Power; not even the

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Black Montgomery of the Negro professional men, merchants, and teachers; but the black workers: the scrubbers and cleaners; the porters and seamstresses. They turned to a struggle not for great Principles and Noble Truths, but just asked to be let alone after a tiring day's work; to be free of petty insult after hard and humble toil. These folk, led by a man who had read Hegel, knew of Karl Marx, and had followed Karamchand Gandhi, preached "Not by Might, nor by Power, but by My Spirit," saith the Lord. Did this doctrine and practice of non-violence bring solution of the Race Problem in Alabama? It did not. Black workers, many if not all, are still walking to work, and it is possible any day that their leader will be killed by hoodlums perfectly well known to the white police and the city administration, egged on by white councils of war, while most white people of the city do nothing.

All over the Lower South this situation prevails. Despite law, in the face of drooling religion and unctuous prayer, while the nation dances and yells and prepares to fight for peace and freedom, there is race war, jails full of the innocent, and ten times more money spent for mass murder than for education of children. Where are we then and whither are we going? What is the synthesis of this paradox of eternal and world-wide war and the coming of the Prince of Peace?

It lies, I think, not in the Method but in the People concerned. Among normal human beings, with the education customary today in most civilized nations, non-violence is the answer to the temptation to force. When threat is met by fist; when blow follows blow, violence becomes customary. But no normal human being of trained intelligence is going to fight the man who will not fight back. In such cases, peace begins and grows just because it is. But suppose the beings are not human? Suppose they are wild beasts or wild men? To yield to the rush of the tiger is death, nothing less. The wildness of beasts is nature; but the wildness of men is neglect and often our personal neglect. This is the reason beneath our present paradox of peace and war.

42-44-20

For now near a century this nation has trained the South in Lies, Hate, and Murder. We are emphasizing today that when Robert E. Lee swore to serve the nation and then broke his word to serve his clan, his social class, and his private property -- that this made him a hero; that although he did not believe in human slavery he fought four long years, with consummate skill, over thousands of dead bodies to make it legal for the South to continue to hold four million black folk as chattel bondsmen -- that this makes him a great American and candidate for the Hall of Fame. We have for eighty years as a nation widely refused to regard the killing of a Negro in the South as murder, or the violation of a black girl as rape. We have let white folk steal millions of black folks' hard-earned wage, and openly defended this as natural for a "superior" race. As a result of this, we have today in the South millions of persons who are pathological cases. They cannot be reasoned with in matters of race. They are not normal and cannot be treated as normal. They are ignorant and their schools are poor because they cannot afford a double school system and would rather themselves remain ignorant than let Negroes learn.

Remedy for this abnormal situation would be education for all children and education all together, so as to let them grow up knowing each other as human. Pre cisely this path, these abnormal regions refuse to follow. Here, then, is no possible synthesis. So long as a people insult, murder and hate by hereditary teaching, non-violence can bring no peace. It will bring migration until that fails, and then attempts at bloody revenge. It will spread war and murder. Can we then by effort make the average white person in states like South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana normal, intelligent human beings?

If we can, we solve our antithesis; great Gandhi lives again. If we cannot civilize the South, or will not even try, we continue in contradiction and riddle.

42-49-21

Criticism of these things we fear because of secret police, encouragement of gossip and tattling and spying and an official list of persons under suspicion who are liable to discrimination and punishment without trial. A young Negro actor was invited to dine with us at the Soviet Exposition showing in New York; he refused unless he could secure the consent of the State Department. A Negro newspaper editor wanted to secure a gifted young man as assistant. He first consulted the Department of State. They refused because the young man had a record of criticism and had Communist friends. He was not appointed. Newsgathering services have been bought up by Big Business. Magazines are owned by banks and corporations. Radio and television are monopolies and bookstores are under police inspection. Great publishing houses only issue books which the State Department approves; otherwise they fail to share in government subsidies.

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the scrubbers and cleaners; the porters and seamstresses. They turned to a struggle not for great Principles and Noble Truths, but just asked to be let alone after a tiring day's work; to be free of petty insult after hard and humble toil. These folk, led by a man who had read Hegel, knew of Karl Marx, and had followed Karamchand Gandhi, preached "Not by Might, nor by Power, but by My Spirit," saith the Lord. Did this doctrine and practice of non-violence bring solution of the Race Problem in Alabama? It did not. Black workers, many if not all, are still walking to work, and it is possible any day that their leader will be killed by hoodlums perfectly well known to the white police and the city administration, egged on by white councils of war, while most white people of the city do nothing.

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It lies, I think, not in the Method but in the People concerned. Among normal human beings, with the education customary today in most civilized nations, non-violence is the answer to the temptation to force. When threat is met by fist; when blow follows blow, violence becomes customary. But no normal human being of trained intelligence is going to fight the man who will not fight back. In such cases, peace begins and grows just because it is. But suppose the beings are not human? Suppose they are wild beasts or wild men? To yield to the rush of the tiger is death, nothing less. The wildness of beasts is nature; but the wildness of men is neglect and often our personal neglect. This is the reason beneath our present paradox of peace and war.

For now near a century this nation has trained the South in Lies, Hate, and Murder. We are emphasizing today that when Robert E. Lee swore to serve the nation and

then broke his word to serve his clan, his social class, and his private property -- that this made him a hero; that although he did not believe in human slavery he fought four long years, with consummate skill, over thousands of dead bodies to make it legal for the South to continue to hold four million black folk as chattel bondsmen -- that this makes him a great American and candidate for the Hall of Fame. We have for eighty years as a nation widely refused to regard the killing of a Negro in the South as murder, or the violation of a black girl as rape. We have let white folk steal millions of black folks' hard-earned wage, and openly defended this as natural for a "superior" race. As a result of this, we have today in the South millions of persons who are pathological cases. They cannot be reasoned with in matters of race. They are not normal and cannot be treated as normal. They are ignorant and their schools are poor because they cannot afford a double school system and would rather themselves remain ignorant than let Negroes learn.

Remedy for this abnormal situation would be education for all children and education all together, so as to let them grow up knowing each other as human. Precisely this path, these abnormal regions refuse to follow. Here, then, is no possible synthesis. So long as a people insult, murder and hate by hereditary teaching, nonviolence can bring no peace. It will bring migration until that fails, and then attempts at bloody revenge. It will spread war and murder. Can we then by effort make the average white person in states like South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana normal, intelligent human beings?

If we can, we solve our antithesis; great Gandhi lives again. If we cannot civilize the South, or will not even try, we continue in contradiction and riddle.

WORLD SERVICE BY PROMOTING RACIAL EQUALITY

The first question is do we want race equality? I take it that most people in the United States think of this as a rather academic question of no immediate importance. From that point of view they neither want racial equality nor oppose it. Other things being equal they prefer to associate with their own folk and not with people who look and act differently. Such an attitude assumes that the peoples of the world can on the whole be kept separate and yet we have only to look at this global war to realize that this is no longer possible. We all have to meet and mingle more or less.

36-7-158

Then this brings us to the vital question that if races are not equal, does that or need that affect us? The war that is upon us and the war which went before were both based on the relation of races. In the first World War there was an attempt to have more equal access to raw material on the part of Germany and other nations and this access to raw material was demanded because investment in cheap labor and even forced labor and the use of raw material which it raised or which was the gift of nature made great profit possible to the colonial imperialisms of the day. The first World War then was a war of competition for the profits of investment in col red labor and raw material; that involves competition between col red labor and white labor, not always direct but sometimes as between copper miners of Africa and America it is direct. But always it is indirect and always there is the increased power of employers based on profits made by use of colored labor and that increased power of employers makes democracy even in politics, certainly in industry, impossible. There came now the question of limiting the competition between white and colored labor so that cheap colored labor would not

keep down the wage or interfere with the power of white laborers. Our chief hope there lay in the natural inferiority of colored labor both in efficiency and brain power. The doctrine by which nations were conceived of as composed of classes some of whom were natural rulers and some natural slaves was transposed and the colored line put the darker peoples in the place of the subjects and the white people in the place of rulers. And then we went on to invest in this inferiority of the colored people and out of that arose colonial imperialism and out of that rose the first World War.

36-7-159

The manifest difficulty of this doctrine of inferiority is that there are too many exceptions: exceptional persons of Negro and Asiatic descent are continually arising both in America, Asia and Africa; and they can progress by education and knowledge of technique. It was this situation that brought on a second world war. If the first World war was a war between investors the second World War was a war between this concept of controlling labor and different ideals of its control. And no sooner had it come than it became a war insensibly between East and West and then a war between colored and white. And into this war which was a war of technique even then more than into the first World War came colored troops taking part.

Considering these facts we face a struggle of racial and cultural groups for equality or autonomy and we must either plan between these groups a future of peace and development or of war and struggle.

I am presenting a plan: autonomy for China, India, Japan and some other colored countries. Then benevolent and scientific guardianship for other colored groups; such guardianship being carefully limited against motives of private profit by equitable distribution of the land, by education, control of all investment by democratic methods. This will involve the restraint of Europe and white America. It will involve for all men freedom of art.

For The African

unstated

Socializing the Professions

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

Several times in bits that I have written I have been interpreted as attacking or at least not fully appreciating colored professional and business men. This, of course, is not true. No one better appreciates the tremendous pioneering work that these people have done. I have tried to contribute to this work in my study of the Negro in business which was the first systematic attempt to evaluate the role of the Negro entrepreneur done forty years ago and my two studies of the Negro college graduate was real y an exposition of facts in defense of the Negro in the professions.

On the other hand, the time has come, not only for Negroes but for white people, when a change must be envisaged in the role of these persons. In order to preserve ultimate individualism and gift in various lines, the primary role of men in business and in the professions must be socialized. The business men have got to change the ideal of private profit into the larger ideal of public weal, of production for use instead of production for temporary social advantage. This is being realized by ever widening circles of men. But similar implications in the professions have not yet received so wide adherence.

Take, for instance, the position of the physician. His present status is based upon the assumption of a clientele with both intelligence and income who turn to the physician for advice. There will, of course, be numbers of people who are not intelligent, who will employ quacks or take patent medicine or wholly neglect themselves. But our present theory assumes that this class should be small and gradually lessening.

Now as a matter of fact the vast majority of people in a country like the United States including large numbers of average education and intelligence are not receiving

proper medical advice, care and hospitalization. The tremendous and epoch making advances in knowledge of the human body are not being made use of in the case of most men. On the other side and correlative to this, physicians are finding it hard to make a proper and dependable income in the majority of cases. Their services are asked for and patients neglect or even refuse to pay them and there is continual dispute in the case of advice and in delicate and difficult operation as to how much a physician ought to charge. A surgeon may earn a fee of $500 apparently by a half hour's work when as a matter of fact the skill which he put into that operation required years of study and practice not only on his part but on the part of thousands who have contributed to his knowledge.

38-13-152

Now what is the solution of this grave problem of public health? It is not that we should have fewer physicians or that the average income of physicians should be lessened. It is that medicine should become a public socialized service; that everybody in need of advice and care concerning his health should receive it as the contribution of the public to him, not in charity, but in self defense and for social uplift. The national loss through sickness, inefficiency and premature death is simply staggering. It must be lessened and it can only be lessened by an increased number of well paid and well trained physicians whose duty is to the public and who are paid by regular salary and not by individual fees; whose chief function is not to heal but to keep the public in health and prevent disease.

At first blush everywhere there is bitter opposition to such a proposition and the opposition falls into two parts: one a general dislike and suspicion of increased governmental function; and the other the desire on the part of the physician for individual development and individual pay as contrasted with social control and social obligation.

The first objection is one which must disappear before the facts. Increased functions of government are something that we have got to face and not simply argue about. It is manifest today that to a larger and larger degree government must interfere and guide in

actions and fields where it did not used to function. This is an inevitable development. Governments of the world today are guiding science, business, agriculture, income, expenditure and art. They will do more of this tomorrow. Of course, there comes the very difficult question of the efficiency with which the government can do these things. But the answer to this is clear: if they can be done efficiently by private persons, they can be done efficiently by public organizations. It is simply a matter of the applying to public work the standards and high ideals which private enterprise can now command.

So far as individualism in science and art is concerned, we must remember that the socialization of both works in the end for a higher and freer individualism by making certain that the work done is done on the widest scale with adequate return. Most physicians today do not get proper pay or have proper opportunity. It is only the few that reach the peak. With socialized medicine larger and larger numbers would have time for study and opportunity for experience and investigation which they cannot now get. Not in Ivory Towers, but in wide social service, individual genius will in the end gain widest freedom for peculiar development.

28-13-153

Socialized medicine has come to an increasing degree in England and throughout Europe. It is the ideal that faces America. Negro physicians must take it seriously into account. We ought to begin immediately by the establishment of cooperative groups who would hire and pay physicians to guard their health and serve them in sickness.

The same facts and outlook apply to dentists, to musicians and especially to actors as has been shown by the Federal Theatre Projects; and also to lawyers.

The case of lawyers has not been adequately discussed but it cries for attention and solution. Every Negro church in the United States ought to have on its staff a first class salaried lawyer whose business it is to advise members of the church and the community which it serves; to defend especially the poor and ignorant in court and to stop the outrageous manner in which Negro criminals are being manufactured through sheer ignorance and lack of knowledge of the law. In the South particularly the field for this kind of work is endless.

I trust that groups of colored people in churches and clubs will begin to discuss the socialization of medicine and the professions and to work out adequate norms and methods by which this great revolution can be best and most efficiently accomplished.

88-13-154

The South Beautiful

The legendary beauty of the South
The practical ugliness
The beauty of progressive ugliness
The bitter cry of outcast ugliness
The joyousness of the negro
The sensuousness " " "
Astin antidote:
Homely country
Lonely barren lives
Puritanism
Leaden Sunts
No holidays - Holy-days - Xmas.
Antidote thru' lack of teaching
No flowers

antidote thru Commercialism
Not any a cent for ornament
Ugliness frowned out & slapped
Blank walls & pine boards
Calm & board house
Hall House

41-9-275

The South Beautiful

Southward the mouth whole world with one accord has ever turned for beauty: & the great flower strewn fields of Italy, & the scented shadowy east, & the Indies, east & west, & the shores of our own carrying gulf. Proof of beauty still comes to us from our own South, in roses and magnolias, jessamine and orange blossoms, and great fleecy billows of white cotton. And yet withal the legend never ends. Across the Potomac or the Ohio westward a growing sense of utter ugliness, withered a protest and a wonder at the barren loneliness, the straggly unkempt

41-6-14

A social problem must ever be recessed and re-stated in terms of current attitudes, else it can not properly be understood. This is notso much because of any ~~xxxxxxxx~~ change in the essential facts, as because of continuous change in current beliefs. Such re-statement of the problems surrounding the American Negro I am attempting now.

Whether or not we call this a race problem, depends on what we mean by race: if we follow the I9th century definition and think of race as a biological group, set off from similar groups by distinctive and hereditable physical and psychological acter charistics, then even if such races exist in fact, the American Negro is not one because he is the offspring of many different strains of men. But if we mean by race, a group of folk, who by long juxapositi tion, common experiences and common memories, continous intermarriage and wide community of thought, feeling and action, have become a social entity such a cultural concept of race describes fairly well the position of the American Negro. Today

41-8-1

Naturally in the course of the the half millenium since Africans appeared in America this group has differed both in its own composition and in its relation to its social environment. Its members appeared first as straggling servants and adventurers accompanying Europeans; then in larger numbers they came asa group of laborers to fill a ~~an emergency created by~~ demand for the hard labor necessary for exploiting mines and transporting goods. All this was temporary and incidental to an unusual emergency. Then in succession came three crops -- ~~xx~~ cane sugar, tobacco, and cotton -- a drug and sweetening; a new luxury and a cheap clothing. All Europe, from king to peasant wanted these goods and the land suited to raising them was abundant in America. Only labor was wanting, and after a period of spasmod ic efforts to furnish such labor, English merchants in the I8th century organize the African slave on a systematic basis. The profit from this effort attracted so many ships that the imported slaves overflowed the West Indian and South American demand and the surplus was dumped into North America amid much protest. But before this protest became effective, the North American experiments in cotton raising in the new , rich land stretching from Carolina to Mexico, created an increased demand for ~~slave~~ labor. The new American democracy counter- this by forbidding the African trade, which they were confident in 1787 would kill the slave system in time. But this did not happen, because of slave smuggling, the increasing domestic slave trade from Virginia and the border stetes and because of the slow development of the Negro group into an increasingly effective labor force. By I820, the income from the slave system was too large and too widely distributed to easily be cut off. The slave power ~~not only~~ had strong

especially for the sugar plantations

hold on Northern trade and British manufacture, ~~but had imporialist dreams of extending into Mexico, the Carribbean area and South America.~~ and thus on the Church and aristocracy

This aro used opposition in the North from free labor, free Negroes and from followers of the democratic ideals of the French Revolution. Thus the Church and society, business and commerce came to grips with Abolitionists, Free Negroes , city laborers and small western farmers. Substantial agreement was reached by the mid-century on a policy of containment for the slave system south of Mason and Dixon line and east of the Mississisippi , but this understanding was broken by the growing exhaustion of Southern soil under the wasteful slave culture and the increased demand for cotton. The Cotton Kingdom thereupon came to have illusions of gr grandeur based on extending its system and its profits into Mexico, the Caribbean area and central and South America. To reinforce this economic urge came the new theories of Evolution, the doctrine of race superiority. Phenomenal increase in the Southern cotton crops in the fifties drove the Southern radicals into determination to force slavery on the nation as a legally recognized labor system.

41-88-2

The North reacted with force, not to abolish slavery in the area where it was established, but to prevent its extention to the rest of the nation and to hold intact the whole United States as an industrial and commercial entity. Thus the war "for Union" began Two truths soon emerged: it is impossible to conquer a large group of people and force them to do what they are unwilling to do; second, the fatal weakness of the South was its black labor force on which it dependes for support in war. This labor force began to desert to the Northern armies; first in driblets, then in vast crowds which taxed the camps; and finally as armed soldiers taking part in behind the line defence, then as front line shock troops. This ended the war,although few writers even now acknowledge. But it clear: as soon as slaves in any numbers stopped raising food for the Southern armies; as soon as 200,ooO Negro troops were armed, with the possibility of arming a million more, Southern resistence was futile. Moreover as black troops lessened the necessity for Northern drafted whites, the longer those whites in well-paid war industries would be willing and able to finance the war

The next effort on the part of the South was to return to the pre-war status. This was impossible. The war after I862 had been fought to "free the slaves", so that the slaves cohuld save the Union. The nation had posed before the world on this platform and thus kept England and France from aiding the South as their economic interests dictated. Slavery then had to be abolished after Appomatox. But the South offered compormise; parial emancipation with some property and civil rights, but no political rights. This the North was willing

ing to accept, but the South made further demands: increased political power, based on free but disfranchised Negroes; and some compensation for war costs and loss of slave property To this the West added scaling of the inflated public debt and lower tarif duties. When South and West threatened to unite in these demands, the North went into action: they enfranchised the freedmen to neutralise the increased Southern representation in Congress, supported the public debt at full value, refused to pay for Southern slaves or war costs and raised instead of lowering the tarif on which the new Northern manufacturing depended

41-8-3

Immediately the two parties came to terms: the South withdrew its demands for compensation and low tarif, while the North winked at the disfranchisement of Negroes, firsr by force and fraud and later by law ~~which the Supreme court promptly supported~~.

But the main peoblem still remained: how were four million workers, without capital, land, clothes or food, going to live and work as modern wage laborers? War emergencies answered this in part: the Negroes wrked in army camps, they raised cotton at a dollar a pound and they got hold of some abandoned land. ~~But this was but a drop in the vast bucket: soon the mass was reduced to peonage and sank to crime and disease~~. Many Americans by I870 were hopeful that the race would soon die out. Then the Negroes and an increasing number of white friends began to fight back: the white friends, especially in the insurgent and democratic churches established Negro schools in the South and the Negroes liberally filled them; in a generation most Negroes could read and write. They began to hammer at the democratic ideal. The North responded by offering a program of economic advancement which Booker Washington voiced and the South agreed to. But this program was never implemented: industrial schools were not provided to teach the newer and better paid skills; unions excluded Negro artisans and the South disfranchised even Negroes of education. Race hate flourished, lynching spread and wide-spread pessimism reigned over any solution of this race problem. This was accentuated by colonial imperialism in Europe which was built on the assumption that the white race was going to rule the World.

With new organization the American Negro began a new fight in I9I0. Helped by two world wars which crippled the white nations and set them murdering each other, the American Negro began to regain the ballot, forced himself into labor unions and bit by bit gained civil rights and recognition of his right to be regarded as human. The effort was costly. It made the group provincial, over self-conscious, and only partly willing to recognize white folk as at least partially human. But normalcy will gain if the world stops organized murder and if the United States in particular ceases to mistake Profit for Progress.

The interval of Reconstruction when for a brief interval the Negro was as free as his ~~ignoran~~ poverty and ignorance allowed and when under courageous leaders he gave the South public schools and new social legislation ~~and even escaped in part~~ the dishonesty and corruption of the whole nation, gave the whole race a lift and short head start. But only a start: the bulk of the race was still in semi-slavery, still in ignorance, still sick and diseased.

COLONIES

Modern Colonialism is the child of slavery and is in essence slavery without a foreign slave trade. When humanity forced the abolition of the slave trade vested interests turned from stealing slaves for the American plantations to controlling labor in Africa and Asia. Ordinary trade became forced trade and treaty relations changed to political control. Thus Imperialism arose on the ruins of the slave trade and masqueraded as effort to bring civilization and christianity to the heathen. Gradually it dropped pretense and became primarily a system of investment and exploitation, in which the well-being and progress of the natives was subordinated to the profit of the mother country, and forced labor , deprivation of land and denial of all voice in government, was accompanied by limited education and enough missionary effort to appease philanthropy at home.

The First World War called on colonial troops for both sides and was followed by the Mandates system, designed to start the abolition of the colonialism. It was never allowed to work, because of the increased value of colonial labor and materials, in an impoverished world. The mandated areas were incorporatedinto the colonial system of Great Britain, France and Japan.

The Second World War resulted through Japan, in the revolt of Asia and the beginning of the end of colonialism. This was met by a determined effort by the British, French and Portuguese and Belgians to concentrate an intensified colonialism in Africa. This was backed by increasing American colonial investment.

In our preoccupation with the menace of the Atom bomb, we may easily forget the threat of continued colonialism and the attempt to intensify enslavement of black folk. Already African troops are being used to repress insurgent Asia and even to cow labor in Europe. Low wage in mining, transport, agriculture and primary processing of materials in Africa, will inevitably depress wages in Europe and America, and put wealth and power into the hands of monopoly. In lands like Liberia, Haiti and Bolivia, expolitation of natural resources, by American capital in conjunction with local politicians and capitalists, may build a new colonialism and result in such strikes and repressive murder as rectntly occured on the Firestone rubber plantations.

The Charter of the United Nations unequivocally promised to seek the "political economic , social and educational advancement" of all subject peoples, whether in colonies or other non-self governing territories and to work for their "progressive development toward self-government or independence."

Unfortunately, however, the Trusteeship council was deliberately so constituted as to give colonial governments power to block most efforts to advance the colonial peoples or obtain reliable knowledge of their condition. The United States for the most part has joined with the colonial powers in this obstruction. It is the first duty of men of vision and progress to stop human slavery forever by abolishing the whole colonial system in accord with the Charter of the Unites Nations, and to stop once and for all this persistent attempt of modern culture to fatten and thrive on the slavery, poverty, ignorance and disease of millions of colonial peoples.

37-5-7/9

COLORED ADVERTISERS

In speaking about THE CRISIS and its advertisers before a branch meeting of the N. A. A. C. P. in Washington, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois made some statements which have been misunderstood. We, therefore, send out an authentic résumé of the speech:

"In the past, many people have not realized that advertising in colored papers is a business proposition. They have thought of it as charity to help along a worthy enterprise, or as blackmail to keep Editors from captious criticism. This era has now past, and many periodicals, and THE CRISIS especially, is trying to make colored businessmen realize that advertising is an investment which brings not only direct returns in purchases, but indirect returns through the psychology of repetition. Colored people have got to be made to realize things which it is easy to forget. That there are colored insurance societies which are soundly own; that there are colored banks, and that the percentage of failures is no greater than among white banks; that colored people are manufacturing things and hiring colored workers, writing books, conducting colleges, and keeping hotels. As colored advertisers realize the paying investment of advertising, they will make it possible for the colored periodical to depend more for support on its advertising pages, and to give the subscribers more for their money. Many readers do not realize that the actual income from subscriptions to THE CRISIS, and especially to large public periodicals, is only a small part of the return. THE CRISIS

might lose all its subscribers in a city like Washington and still suffer small loss in income, except as the reduced circulation influenced the advertisers. We must, therefore, in any effort to help periodicals, like THE CRISIS, not only ask for readers, but influence the colored business world to use this well-tried and effective method of increasing the number of colored buyers through advertising."

37-5-77

THE STRUGGLE OF BLACK FOLK FOR CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE UNITED STATES

By W. E. B. Du Bois,

Editor of THE CRISIS.

Quite apart from our personal ~~interest in~~ connection with it all, the struggle of persons of Negro descent to become full-fledged American citizens is a story of exceeding interest. When Negroes first came to the United States their status was no more fixed than the status of the whites who came. That is: it was not determined by their race and color, but by their condition. Moreover, in the English colonies there was no legal status of slavery, but only of "service" or indenture. Negroes then landed as "servants". But this was also true of white folk. Large numbers of whites came as indentured servants and very often when their term of service was up they were not freed and became slaves in effect. The laws about servants applied to black and white alike, and if the development in the United States had gone on naturally and logically, black servants would have gained their freedom just as white servants eventually did; would have become land owners and property holders, citizens and voters. This development actually took place here and there in nearly all the colonies, so that the Constitution was adopted by the vote of black people in many of the colonies where there were black folk born free or freed who held land and other property.

The desire, however, of England and other countries to make money out of the slave trade forced the colonies to buy more slaves than they wanted. The colonies tried often to resist the slave trade. Many of them, even South Carolina, sought to stop the importation, or at least to tax the imported slaves so heavily that they would cease to come. But England overruled them.

28-15-58

A new status, therefore, had to be envolved for Negroes and they became "servants for life" and then simply "slaves". W

When the United States became an independent country, there was the chance to check the slave trade and to allow those Negroes already here gradually to develop into free men with full civil rights. Two things prevented this. First, the large number of Negroes already in America, which meant that if they were absorbed into the body politic, there would be eventual inter-marriage and economic and political equality. The second reason was even more potent, and that was, that slave labor once established created a demand for more slave labor. While the country then in the early part of the 19th Century hesitated at the crossroads as to whether they would have more freedom and civil rights for Negroes or more slavery and color caste, the Cotton Kingdom arose; that is to say, the cotton crop raised by slave ~~trade~~ labor became so valuable that slavery was established on an economic foundation.

From 1820-60, thirty years, the fight was to prevent slavery from being permanent and universal in the United States. This was accomplished finally by the economic bankruptcy which arose from the impoverishing of cotton land and the consequent labor controversy and Civil War. After the war, the nation started again with the old question of civil rights for Negroes. An attempt was made to declare the Negro a citizen; give him a vote and make all discrimination in civil rights illegal so far as the United States was concerned. This legislation was nullified because the freed Negro had no real economic foundation. As long as in work and wages he remained a slave, he could not in politics and civil life become a free man. Negroes themselves saw this.

"The "Negro party" platform of 1876, in one state, advocated "division of lands of the state as far as practical into small farms in order that the masses of our people may be enabled to become land-holders." In the Constitutional Convention of South Carolina, a

38-15-59

colored man said: "One of the greatest of slavery bulwarks was the infernal plantation system, one man owning his thousand, another his twenty, another fifty thousands acres of land. This is the only way by which we will break up that system, and I maintain that our freedom will be of no effect if we allow it to continue. What is the main cause of the prosperity of the North. It is because every man has his own farm and is free and independent. Let the lands of the South be similarly divided. I would not say for one moment they should be confiscated but if sold to maintain the war, now that slavery is destroyed, let the plantation system go with it. We will never have true freedom until we abolish the system of agriculture which existed in the Southern States. It is useless to have any schools while we maintain the stronghold of slavery as the agricultural system of the country."

That greatest of our statesmen, Charles Sumner, tried to make the United States furnish the Negro with free land and a small amount of capital—"40 acres and a mule"; but the nation was impoverished: the politicians were stealing and grafting as never before, and it was impossible to get funds to establish a real and permanent Freedman's Bureau.

The civil rights of the Negro, therefore, had to follow his slow, economic emancipation. Most of the states introduced Civil Rights Bills which had to do with intermingling in hotels and theatres and restaurants. Through judicial interpretation most of these became dead letters, although in our day, a new set of more carefully drawn laws are very effective, particularly in the state of New York. These covered, of course, the less important part of civil rights. The greatest of civil rights has to do with work and wages, travel and treatment in the courts.

In the South, travel was restricted, not only by the insult of the "Jim Crow" cars, but by every device to prevent labor from seeking higher

wages and better conditions. ~~In the South,~~ work was so hedged about by new legislation that the freed man became a peon in the Mississippi bottoms ~~Louisiana, Georgia and other states~~ and the lower South, and unskilled workers at low wages in most of the country districts. In most states to leave a job was to go to jail. Only in the cities and larger towns did the Negro achieve the right to work as a skilled worker at something like decent wages.

In the North, the Negroes for a long time had little chance to acquire technical skill and they became ~~the~~ chance laborers and servants; they were carefully excluded from the organized labor movement and herded into slums.

38-15-55

Both North and South the Negro suffered in the courts. A distinct set of laws and customs made him in the South either the victim of excessive punishment, even extending to mob law and lynching, or what was just as bad, a victim of no punishment so long as his delinquency was confined to his own people or one that made him more easily exploitable by the whites. In the North, like all laborers, he suffered in the courts chiefly because of his poverty, although in some cases he received savage sentences.

Out of this morass the Negro has gradually but steadily made his way. It has not been a matter of better laws but gradual rise in the respect of the community. It has become increasingly difficult to classify all Negroes in a lump and discriminate against them. The economic power of Negroes as consumers has risen so tremendously that their wishes must be regarded. Slowly, ~~then~~ almost imperceptibly the Negro, therefore, is gaining his civil rights. He has gained more defenders in the courts through his own lawyers and interested whites. The very precariousness of his situation before the courts in the South has so reacted that Southern courts either must reform themselves or white civilization is in serious danger.

The World War brought the Negro his first chance since freedom to sell his labor on a wide scale to the nation at a decent price and the Great Migration resulted in bringing thousands of black laborers to places where they could get better wages and treatment and even pound open the sealed doors of some of the labor unions.

Every advance, however, brings new areas of oppression in civil rights. Particularly ~~did~~ in recent years prejudice found expression in residential segregation as well as in the boycott and riot after the migration. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been particularly engaged in breaking down segregation laws and bringing the matter before the courts both North and South.

32-15-56

Today the individual Negro who has achieved economic emancipation: that is, who has good employment at reasonable wages, and who lives in the more civilized parts of the United States, can enjoy a fairly full measure of civil rights as an American citizen. Of course, when he travels South he may find still the "Jim Crow" car compulsory in certain regions. If he wishes to build a house and move into a new residential district at home, he may find difficulty about the purchase and the terms. He would have difficulty in sending his child to a private school, and if he lives in Gary, Indiana, even to a public high school.

If such a man lived in the South and in the country districts he would be under severe civil restrictions; he might possibly vote, live in a good neighborhood and be protected in the courts; but he would always live in fear of unprovoked aggression; he would often find no decent schools for his children. In the city, schools for colored children would be more crowded and less well-equipped than those for whites. The Southern city Negro achieves independence and civil rights by erecting a more or less complete city within a city; he is only hindered by the economic jealousy and greed of the whites who thus lose a large part of the most exploitable class. Whites strive for colored

stores, theaters and real estate developments run by whites. Negroes contest this and political power determines the issue.

On the whole, the battle for civil rights which the Negro has been fighting for a century or more, while not entirely won, has had an astonishing series of victories and gained so large an amount of territory that today there is no question as to the legal rights of American citizens in the North. It is a case of enforcing the laws and insisting on Justice on the part of those who can afford it. Throughout the South it is more and more a problem as to how Negroes can be kept from a reasonable and increasing enjoyment of the more important civil rights.

38-15-57

While then there is much to do in the future, the experience of the past gives us every reason for hope to see in time for a black American citizen with full civil rights.

undated

The Church and the Development of the Negro Race

Three things American slavery gave the transplanted Negro - the Christian religion, the English language, and the habit of systematic toil. And even though these gifts were accompanied by the debauchery of the home, the destruction of social organization and the loss of self-respect yet they were of vast influence. Indeed it has so happened that today among Negroes the church organization is the greatest and most characteristic experience of their group life and is in many respects stronger as it is undoubtedly older than the monogamic Negro home. Nor is this singular if we cut off one limb of the animal, there developes added strength and dexterity in the other limb, so that nature in turn counter-balances the loss to a degree. So in human society: when the slave trade destroyed the African home and tribal life, it left the religious life largely untouched and transplanted to the West Indian plantations the African priest with his wierd rites and incantations. This inchoate group gradually developed as the only purely African institution on American soil changing from the Obeah sorcery to a semi-heathen Christianity, then to a definited part of the white Christian Church and then to separate Negro organizations. Not only did it thus grow but it took to its own strength the weakness of the home and tribal government destroyed by the slave regime: it usurped the home as a centre of social life and the tribal functions as a center of intelligent group striving of all sorts, and finally when fully Christianized the church became the fullest expression of Negro group life.

48-12-36

38-12-186

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35-12-1827

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THE SECRET EMPIRE OF SCALAWAG AND CARPET BAGGER

Georgia had had a different history from the beginning than Virginia and the Carolinas on the one hand or Louisiana on the other. The result has been that in this state a compact between northern capital and southern race prejudice has takenplace which has been unusually successful and has set an example to the whole south. This pact represents a treaty of peace between that part of the poor whites who have succeeded the slave holders in the domination of the south with that part of the north formerly represented by the carpet baggers and these two together are exploiting white and black labor. In order to do this they must keep the laborers divided, pitting white and black against each other. The best and easiest method of doing this is to encourage race prejudice. Race prejudice therefore in Georgia, so far as the real leaders of the state are concerned, is an artificial thing kept up for revenue only.

32-1-40

On the other hand, so far as the great mass of the laboring whites is concerned, it is a thing of passionate belief and concern which is kept at fever heat by vested interests and at the same time not a single institution in the state, either church nor school nor newspaper nor lecture platform is prepared to teach the mass anything different. Even the labor union is inhibited. The result is a much more hopeless situation so far as race prejudice is concerned than as though the thing rested on natural likes and dislikes of ordinary, uneducated people.

The prejudice of Georgia is today a part of a regular system. On it is built religion, political life, education and amount of income. To support this system the leaders are more and more forced to extreme measures. They must both encourage and placate the mob. They must allow a certain number of lynchings. They must craftily spread stories of outrages. They must encourage the mummery

of secret orders and along with this must go pretense at democracy among the whites. The white masses must be joyfully welcomed to certain common meetings and actions and at the same time warned that any radicalism on their part will lead to assumptions on the part of the Negroes.

In this way the state comes to be ruled by a single political party although in compensation for this the degree of decentralization in local rule is carried to such an astonishing extent that in most matters the state government is practically non-existent. Thus the northern southerner formerly called the scalawag sings the Star Spangled Banner and upholds national life on the old ground of state rights and the southern northerner formerly called the carpet bagger, defends the southern attitude toward the Negro and lauds the black mammy.

37-1-41

The only difficulty in this scheme is the Negro, who continually seeks to climb out of his place. Too much mob law is bad for business while too little allows the Negro to become a property owner and even wield some political influence. This brings the necessity of a certain amount of secret alliance with the Negroes who have property and influence and on the other hand a second source of difficulty are those representatives of the old master class and the educated and modern white man who see the injustice and foolishness of the present situation and who will now and then speak out. They are kept from agitation by strong social pressure , the threat of race difficulties and influence upon their incomes.

Such then is the secret empire of scalawag and carpet bagger in Georgia and the only hope of breaking it is through the fighting, educated black man in conjunction with two possible classes of whites, the educated and thinking whites and the white labor leaders.

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31-9-84

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31-9-85

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31-9-86

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POSTSCRIPT

To the Almighty Dead, into whose pale approaching faces, I stand and stare; you whose mistakes and stupidities and utter evil, have made wise with all wisdom, good with all experience and strong with Truth. In every name of God, bend out and down, you who are the infinite majority of all mankind; and overwhelm, and outvote and coerce the dwindling remnant of living beings, who in their fleeting days imagine themselves the best and wisest and most modern of men. Whither with wide revelation their stinking pride and empty boasting, whose recurring lies you know too well. Jeer at this last civilization which they have sought vainly to build on color or skin and curl of hair, on want and ill, rather than on decency of heart. Teach these willful fools all the things you well knew and forgot, dreamed and ruined, did and undid. Hell lies before us in our age; we push blithely into its flame and stench. Suffer us not to stew the world in unending Hell -- the Hell of South Africa, the Hell of our lower South, the Hell of Hells which is Europe today. Reveal, Ancient of Days, the Present in the Past and prophecy the End in the Beginning. Rebuke the blind who think they see that what is, will be forever; and what is not, can never be. Tell us, Forever Dead, there is no hope but Deed; there is no Dream but Memory.

41-2-180

AFRICA AND THE NEW PEACE

by W. E. D. DuBois

Not the Peace of Versailles but that of the Prince of Peace is the one that ought to engage the rapt attention of the Christian World today. And this because of a curious kink in our modern Christian ethics: we have long insisted that the individual must do right but we have without protest let the group do wrong. We easily condoned group brutality, theft and murder because we had assimilated "Sociology" and learned that apart from individual action there was an action of the group - an action which was presumbly ruled by inevitable natural laws and was therefore not amenable to wish, will or moral precept.

Today gradually but surely we have risen out of this mediaeval scholasticism into the scientific common sense of realizing that there is no "group" action which is not the action of individuals and that no mere synchronizing of effort can change murder to patriotism simply because in one case one man did the shooting and in another case a hundred thousand.

The degree of individual guilt may of course vary widely in the two cases and its more terrible incidence be hard to fix; force both of "Public" opinion and even of physical compulsion may vary the degree of guilt. But guilt it is and blood guilt and if the world is to make any real moral advance we must take up seriously this matter of group ethics and the share of individual blame for business immorality, race hatred and world catastrophes like the Great War.

One indication that we may be preparing to do this is the application of the best methods of group efficiency to religious work so that organized drives and large planning and clearing house methods are coming to be familiar in church effort. But how far does this indicate a similar orientation by which we are coming to judge the effect of group efforts by the standards of Christian ethics or even by

decent every day morality.

The indications of this change of ethical attitude are mostly outside the church. The intelligent secular public has largely come to the place where it recognizes that Big Business as carried on 25 years ago was nothing more or less than organized highway robbery; that much of this spirit and rule still remains and that just as the dashing Gentlemen of the Road despite their picturesque personalties had to be curbed by stern measures and public police in earlier days, so today group highwaymen -Captains of Industry- must be policed by the public and made to submit to some code of individual Justice.

This therefore is peculiarly the problem to the church today: how far is the Christian Church today prepared to recognize and punish individual guilt in group action and to apply the high moral code of Jesus Christ to business to national life and to international relations. And above all how far will the church apply the new ethical attitude to race relations.

38-15-2

Consider for a moment the ridiculous paradox of present conditions: here is a world empty of human population save in a few centers. We need men, we need work, we need goods. We need too everywhere, in Europe, Asia, Africa and America, advance progress, upward striving-human development to the utmost. There is need- there is room, and yet - we fear each other; we fear each others' growth, physical expansion, mental alertness, spiritual ambitions. We assume continually complacently, in social classes, in nations, in races, that YOUR advance hurts ME or will hurt me.

Is this true? It is as false as hell and every decent individual knows it is false; and yet he helps raise and support armies to fight Japan and Mexico, he erects protective tariffs to starve Germany, he refuses to say a word and do an act to free from Chains Ireland, Egypt or India and at the same time calls himself a christian and sends missionaries to Africa!

How can an intelligent Christian square such extraordinary action with his conscience? We will admit that today he is having difficulties with his conscience in regard to most of the cases mentioned but probably not with Africa. You see AFRICA is quite a different case. In the first place Science teaches us -

Right here let us pause. Let us remember that the Great War enriched our vocabulary with many words and our eye with new methods: Propaganda is very old but the world saw it working in 1914-18. It has now only to remember that because American Negro Slavery needed energetic defense, unanswered, unquestioned propaganda against Negroes and Africa has had full sway in the civilized world for nearly 400 years! Conceive the status of the German in human estimation and even in science if the anti-German propaganda of 1918-1919 had been continued 100 years!

Curious has been the effort of this systematic Negro hatred. For instance, there is no scientific proof that the Negro brain is smaller or weighs less than the White brain or that absolute brain weight has any direct correlation with mental capacity. Yet the fact is asserted with absolute conviction certainty again and again that the Negro race is naturally and inevitably inferior to the white without the shadow of a retort. This white myth rests mainly on 190 brains weighed by Topinard. Since his day the total Negro brains measured are less than a thousand and on the contradictory testimony of these measurements - for in some series the Negroes out-weighed the whites- 206,000,000 human beings have been incontinently sentenced to something worse than death- a policy of compulsory and eternal debasement.

Equally crass has been the verdict of history. Any school boy can tell you that Africa has no history and this despite the well known story of Egypt and Ethiopia, the kingdoms of the Songhay, and the Mellestine, the art and culture of the west coast and the agriculture of Zymbabwe.

That Negroes were a large and important element in Egyptian civilization, that they discovered the use of iron, the beginning of all modern culture; that their industry, commerce and art ranked high in value and meaning before the coming of the foreign slave trade- all this is known to every honest investigator.

Today then the civilized Christian world faces Africa. What shall it do with the Ancient of Continents. The answer is easy: The world owes Africa a Mission of Human Culture:

First, HEALTH. As Johnston says, "Africa is the chief stronghold of the real Devil - the reactionary forces of Nature hostile to the uprise of Humanity. Here Beelzebub, King of the Flies, marshals his vermiform and arthropod hosts-insects, ticks, and nematode worms - which more than in other continents (excepting Negroid Asia) convey to the skin, veins, intestines, and spinal marrow of men and other vertebrates the micro-organisms which cause deadly, disfiguring, or debilitating diseases, or themselves create the morbid condition of the persecuted human being, beasts, bird, reptile, frog, or fish." The inhabitants of Africa have had sheer fight for physical survival comparable with that in no other great continent.

The modern world has done much in tropical medicine, but hitherto its effort has been to protect the white merchant and not the black native. A systematic mobilization of medical missionaries could clean the fever coast, banish the tsetse fly, curb sleeping sickness and render the jungle and the swamp habitable not simply for white men but for all men.

Second, INDUSTRY. Africa is one of the greatest sources of raw material needed in modern industry, and it is a potential hive of necessary human labor. These facts have been the tragedy of the Dark Continent, for with singular accord the white world has been determined to secure this raw material at the least expense and to compel the Negroes to work for the benefit of whites at small wages or none at all.

The result has been mutual disaster, and disaster on a scale which should stagger humanity if humanity realized the truth: it overthrew the kingdom of the Askias, a Negro empire two-thirds the size of the United States with written records going back a thousand years, and an organized industry and commerce: it subjected the art and culture of the west coast to bloodthirsty Dahomey and Benin; it brought chaos to the valley of the Congo in the past, and even in our day it cost twelve millions native lives. "The land was confiscated by the state and farmed out to private Belgian corporations. The wilder cannibal tribes were formed into a militia to prey on the industrious, who were taxed with specific amounts of ivory and rubber, and scourged and mutilated ff they failed to pay."

"Europe was staggered at the Leopoldian atrocities, and they were terrible indeed; but what we, who were behind the scenes, felt most keenly was the fact that the real catastrophe in the Congo was desolation and murder in the larger sense. The invasion of family life, the shattering of every tribal law, the introduction of criminal practices which struck the chiefs of the people dumb with horror- in a word, a vertiable avalanche of filth and immorality overwhelmed the Congo tribes."

The slave trade cost Africa one hundred million souls, it caused death strife and upheaval all over America while in our land it caused our Civil War. It made our missionary effort even when sanctified by a Livingstone, fall to the place where the Church of England was willing to make blood vengeance on Mwanga an excuse for seizing the land and liberty of nations. First missionaries, then gin, then annexation and slavery has been the Progress of "Christianity" in Africa for nearly a half millenium. Finally the effort of Germany, England, France, Portugal, Spain and Italy to monopolize land, materials and labor in Africa in the twentieth century was the prime cause of the greatest catastrophe the world ever saw-the World War.

Have we not paid enough? Can we not now seek to organize industry in Africa primarily for the benefit of the Africans and not for making English, French and American millionaires? It is not a task of great difficulty. For centuries the African has been an artisan and trader, a planter and hunter. We have simply to secure him in his possession of the land, encourage his best wants, introduce gradually new tools and methods and above all return to him the full measure of his earnings without exploitation or cheating and without sadling him with those ficticious and dishonest returns upon invested capital which strangle and madden civilised labor. That this can be done the cocoa and palm oil industry of Nigeria easily prove.

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Third, GOVERNMENT. Local self government carried out by democratic methods is as indigenous to Africa as Germany. A Mission of Culture could strengthen these local governments, federate and enlarge them, induct natives gradually into office until modern representative self-government emerged. There is no question here of brains and ability- it is merely a matter of social technique. Africa can govern Africa as well as Europe governs Europe, once it has a chance to learn. In the past we used every ingenuity to harass native governments, deceive and cheat them embroil them in war and involve them in debt. Verily we have had our reward.

Fourth, EDUCATION. Revenues from Judicious taxation on industry could easily support government and a system of universal education for children. Natives of Africa are today taxed at an outrageous rate to support white officials on a European grade of income. The same rate of taxation laid on increased industry and on an encouraged and enthusiastic people could transform Africa in a generation. Universal education is a practical possibility. The mere fact that we have not educated millions of white civilized children is no argument that we cannot educate millions of black savages. We can do both or either if we

want to. We are victims of a system of Christian ethics which premits us not to want to abolish ignorance for fear we may lose some of our own privileges. But is this real Christianity?

Fifth, RELIGION. For centuries our conception of carrying religion to the heathen has been that of inducting them into the mysteries of sectarian Theology and interfering impudently with their established life and customs. Even in the shining cases where this has not been true, there has remained that sense of helplessness before organized industrial aggression which has made the missionaries mute forerunners of Wall street methods. This must be changed. The future missionary of religion should be sent with peremptory orders to regard every custom and belief as sacred which is not patently unsanitary hurtful and degrading. It should be his work to introduce the principles of a moral life and not the cult of a new belief. Through the Deed the power of the Word should gradually penetrate and that Deed must include not simply personal moral cleanness but group honesty, national Justice, international respect and inter racial decency.

If someone should answer we cannot teach this, then the rejoinder is plain: - we cannot teach religion.

One has only to enumerate these five points of a Commission of Culture to the African heathens to hear a chorus of "impossible"! But it is not impossible. It is simply that the modern white world is not at present disposed to help the darker world in any such way. And in addition to that is can say to itself with a certain justification; if such adminstration of cultural uplife is possible for the heathen why is it not possible for our own submerged masses?

The answer is clear. It is possible and imperative for the disinherited classes of white nations. It must be undertaken. That is the duty of the day - it is the New Politics. But unless at the same time we carry our social settlements and our Social Uplift not simply to the

slums of London and of New York but also to the world slums of Africa and Asia, these world slums will drag us down into jealousy and war. Out of a thousand proofs of this fact let me adduce just one: France today is arming Africa because she fears parts of Europe. Her bitter experience has taught her that she has reason to fear Europe. This fear is built on the military preparations of Europe. These military preparations would not be possible without the consenting votes of the working people of Europe. By this same vote the armies and navies of Europe have overridden Asia and Africa. Suddenly out of Africa at the call of France appears the black man armed. How will he be used? To overawe the white workers of Europe - of those parts of Europe which France fears, of other parts of Europe yes even of France itself. When white Europe out its depths shrieks out against this "barbarity" - Africa may answer "Who kept us barbarous but you?" Who for 400 years has stood by consenting to our degradation by slave trade, land-theft, murder deception and slavery? What do we owe you that you do not owe us?

In other words the uplift and safety of the submerged classes of Europe and America depends on the uplift of Africa for otherwise Ignorance and Brutality will come out of Africa armed to keep the laborers of Europe in their places. Does this reasoning seem strained and frantic? It is not. It is grim and present truth and if the Church even dimly sees her mighty mission she will face this gathering problem before it becomes a mad and cruel fact.

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The degree of individual guilt may of course vary widely in the two cases and its more terrible incidence be hard to fix; force both of "Public" opinion and even of physical compulsion may vary the degree of guilt. But guilt it is, and blood guilt, and if the world is to make any real moral advance we must take up seriously this matter of group ethics and the share of individual blame for business immorality, race hatred and world catastrophes like the Great War.

One indication that we may be preparing to do this is the application of the best methods of group efficiency to religious work so that organized drives and large planning and clearing house methods are coming to be familiar in church effort. But how far does this indicate a similar orientation by which we are coming to judge the effect of group efforts by the standards of Christian ethics or even by

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That Negroes were a large and important element in Egyptian civilization; that they discovered the use of iron, the beginning of all modern culture; that their industry, commerce and art ranked high in value and meaning before the coming of the foreign slave trade— all this is known to every honest investigator.

"The impartial historian will probably shrink from any attempt to estimate the relative degrees of savagery, bloodthirstiness, and brutality which the several nations of Europe imported into their task of spreading civilization and acquiring Empire. The deeper he goes into African history of the last forty years, the more painfully will he realize that no citizen of any of the Imperial States of Europe has the right to cast the first stone. ....."

Slavery, drink, and rifles, and the bloodshed and degradation which capitalism, in its hunger for profits and dividends (the modern auri sacra fames), has carried into every bay and river and forest of Africa, can never be atoned for; but that does not absolve Europe and its civilization from making in the twentieth century some amends to Africa for the crimes and cruelties of the nineteenth. ~~That cannot~~

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9-91-38

If Despite this the treatment of Africa by Europe has been indescribably unjust; Leonard Woolf writes:

in no other great continent.

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The result has been mutual disaster, and disaster on a scale which should stagger humanity if humanity realized the truth: it overthrew the kingdom of the Askias, a Negro empire two-thirds the size of the United States with written records going back a thousand years, and an organized industry and commerce; it subjected the art and culture of the west coast to bloodthirsty Dahomey and Benin; it brought chaos to the valley of the Congo in the past, and even in our day it cost twelve millions native lives. "The land was confiscated by the state and farmed out to private Belgian corporations. The wilder cannibal tribes were formed into a militia to prey on the industrious, who were taxed with specific amounts of ivory and rubber, and scourged and mutilated if they failed to pay."

"Europe was staggered at the Leopoldian atrocities, and they were terrible indeed; but what we, who were behind the scenes, felt most keenly was the fact that the real catastrophe in the Congo was desolation and murder in the larger sense. The invasion of family life, the shattering of every tribal law, the introduction of criminal practices which struck the chiefs of the people dumb with horror—in a word, a verifiable avalanche of filth and immorality overwhelmed the Congo tribes."

The slave trade cost Africa one hundred million souls, it caused death, strife and upheaval all over the continent of America while in our land it caused our Civil War. It made our missionary effort, even when sanctified by a Livingstone, fall to the place where the Church of England was willing to make blood vengeance on Mwanga an excuse for seizing the land and liberty of a nation. First missionaries, then gin, then annexation and slavery has been the Progress of "Christianity" in Africa for nearly a half millenium. Finally the effort of Germany, England, France, Portugal, Spain and Italy to monopolize land, materials and labor in Africa in the twentieth century was a prime cause of the greatest catastrophe the world ever saw-the World War.

Have we not paid enough? Can we not now seek to organize industry in Africa primarily for the benefit of the Africans and not for making English, French and American millionaires? It is not a task of great difficulty. For centuries the African has been an artisan and trader, an organizer, a planter and hunter. We have simply to secure him in his possession of the land, encourage his best wants, introduce gradually new tools and methods and above all return to him the full measure of his earnings without exploitation or cheating and without saddling him with those fictitious and dishonest returns upon invested capital which strangle and madden civilized labor. That this can be done the cocoa and palm oil industry of Nigeria before the war easily prove.

Third, GOVERNMENT. Local self government carried out by democratic methods is as indigenous to Africa as Germany. A Mission of Culture could strengthen these local governments, federate and enlarge them, induct natives gradually into office until modern representative self-government emerged. There is no question here of lack of brains and ability—it is essentially a matter of social technique. Africa can govern Africa as well as Europe governs Europe, once it has a chance to learn. In the past we used every ingenuity to harass native governments, deceive and cheat them, embroil them in war and involve them in debt. Verily we have had our reward.

32-16-8

Fourth, EDUCATION. Revenues from judicious taxation on industry could easily support government and a system of universal education for children. Natives of Africa are today taxed at an outrageous rate to support white officials on a European grade of income. The same rate of taxation laid on increased industry and on an encouraged and enthusiastic people could transform Africa in a generation. Universal education is a practical possibility. The mere fact that we have not educated millions of white civilized children is no argument that we cannot educate millions of black savages. We can do both or either if we want to. We are victims of a system of Christian ethics which permits us not to want to abolish ignorance for fear we may lose some of our own privileges. But is this real Christianity?

Fifth, RELIGION. For centuries our conception of carrying religion to the heathen has been that of inducting them into the mysteries of sectarian Theology and interfering impudently with their established life and customs. Even in the shining cases where this has not been true, there has remained that sense of helplessness before organized industrial aggression which has made the missionaries mute forerunners of thieves and murderers, and imperial expansionists.

Take the case of Uganda. "Uganda was known to be one of the richest and most advanced kingdoms of Africa." In 1876 the English "Church Missionary Society sends a mission. In 1879 a French Roman Catholic Mission enters.

In 1884 an English bishop, Hannington, is consecrated. The Mohammedans are also strong in the land. King Mwanga decides that both Christians and Mohammedans are disintegrating his country. He kills the bishop and persecutes all foreign religions. The Christians and Mohammedans combine and drive him from the throne. Civil War ensues between the two religions and the Christians invite Mwanga to return. The Mohammedans are overcome but the Catholics and Protestants proceed to civil war. Suddenly an armed English expedition without legal authority is sent in 1890.

his expedition massacred the Catholics, completed the overthrow of the Mohammedans and compelled the King in 1892 to cede his country to the British East Africa Company. Thus Christianity was established in heathen Uganda!

Surely such "missionary effort" must, clear. The future missionary of religion should be sent with peremptory orders to regard every custom and belief as sacred which is not patently unsanitary, hurtful and degrading. It should be his work to introduce the principles of a moral life and not the cult of a new belief. Through the Deed the power of the Word should gradually penetrate, and that Deed must include not simply personal moral cleanness, but industrial ~~group~~ honesty, national justice, international respedt and inter racial decency.

without political or economic arms and

If someone should answer we cannot teach this, then the rejoinder is plain: - we cannot teach religion.

One has only to enumerate these five points of a Commission of Culture to the African heathen, to hear a chorus of "Impossible"! But it is not impossible. It is simply that the modern white world is not at present disposed to help the darker world in any such way. And in addition to ~~that is~~ this, it can say to itself with a certain justification: If such adminstration of cultural uplift is possible for the heathen, why is it not possible for our own submerged masses?

The answer is clear. It is possible and imperative for the disinherited classes of white nations. It must be undertaken. That is the duty of the day - it is the New Politics. But unless at the same time we carry our Social Settlements and our Social Uplift not simply to the slums of London and of New York but also to the world slums of Africa and Asia, these world slums will drag us down into jealousy and war. Out of a thousand proofs of this fact let me adduce just one: France today is arming Africa because she fears ~~parts of~~ Europe. Her bitter experience has taught her that she has reason to fear Europe. This fear is built on the military preparations of Europe. These military preparations would not be possible without the consenting votes of the

01-91-85

working people of Europe. By this same vote the armies and navies of Europe have overridden Asia and Africa. Suddenly out of Africa at the call of France appears the black man armed. How will he be used? To overawe the white workers of Europe — of those parts of Europe which France fears, — of other parts of Europe, yes, even of France itself. When white Europe out of its depths shrieks out against this "barbarity" - Africa may answer "Who kept us barbarous but you? Who for 400 years has stood by consenting to our degradation by slave trade, land-theft, murder, deception and slavery? What do we owe you that you do not owe us?"

What France is doing all Europe is contemplating. An English Imperialist wrote during the war:

"The demand for so large accessions of [colonial] territory, though justified also on commercial grounds, rests essentially on the second factor which has emerged in the course of the war, the realization of the military potentialities in the training under modern conditions of the natives of Africa."

In other words the uplift and safety of the submerged classes of Europe and America depends on the uplift of Africa, for otherwise Ignorance and Brutality will come out of Africa, armed, to keep the laborers of Europe in their places. Does this reasoning seem strained and frantic? It is not. It is grim and present truth and if the Church even dimly sees her mighty mission she will face this gathering problem before it becomes a mad and cruel fact.

22-16-11

The impartial historian will probably shrink from any attempt to estimate the relative degrees of savagery, bloodthirstiness, and brutality which the several nations of Europe imported into their task of spreading civilization and acquiring Empire. The deeper he goes into African history of the last forty years, the more painfully will he realize that no citizen of any of the Imperial States of Europe has the right to cast the first stone.

Slavery, drink, and rifles, and the bloodshed and degradation which capitalism, in its hunger for profits and dividends (the modern auri sacra fames), has carried into every bay and river and forest of Africa, can never be atoned for; but that does not absolve Europe and its civilization from making in the twentieth century some amends to Africa for the crimes and cruelties of the nineteenth. That cannot be done by making a scapegoat of our enemies, by sending them out into the wilderness with all their and our own sins upon their backs, and by seizing the opportunity of dividing their "possessions" among ourselves. It can only be done if, in some way or other, both for Germany and ourselves and for the whole world of European States, we destroy the colonial system, founded upon economic imperialism, in Africa, and set up in its place some system of Government which will cease to make of Africa a mere farm-the live-stock human beings-for the stock-markets and marts and needy adventurers of Europe, which will assure to the Africans the rights and privileges of human beings, and which will cease to make colonies, from Cameroon to British East Africa, a mockery of our professions and our civilization.

Take the case of Uganda. "Uganda was known to be one of the richest and most advanced kingdoms of Africa." In 1876 the English "Church Missionary Society sends a mission. In 1879 a French Roman Catholic Mission enters.

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38-15-54

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Labor and Capital.

More than in most social problems, the argument surrounding labor and capital is a matter of words. If we change these indefinite and shifty terms and speak clearly of labor as effort and sacrifice; and of capital as tools and materials, we have taken a great step toward understanding. First of all, we include all work—whether of laborer, manager, or seer—under effort and sacrifice; and we easily recognize that all income of every sort is due to this cause, and this alone. On the other hand, as income is and must be personal, no income is due tools and machinery as such, but is only due the person who made or bought them by effort and sacrifice.

As long as men make that which can be immediately consumed or enjoyed, the problem of income is simple: one's income is what he makes or what he buys with what he has made. Property, under such a simple economic regime, is a social institution for insuring the equitable distribution of income, according to effort. Even in the case of land and natural resources the supply is so large that their enjoyment can be considered the result of the effort of discovery. Of course, they suffer whose efforts find no corresponding wants; and the old and maimed may go uncared for.

But with Health and Justice, private property under such circumstances, and helped out by Charity, was a beneficient institution.

Revolution came, however, when the manufacturing process began to prolong itself and the things which men made to satisfy their wants required years and decades - even centuries, instead of months and days and hours, as formerly. A new sort of goods, subject to ownership, appears,- namely, machinery and materials in various stages of manufacture. This kind of production called, not only for extended time, but also for wide

48-12-41

individual cooperation among workers. In other words, social, as distinguished from individual, production became the rule of our industrial life.

Social production brought new problems and emphasized old ones.

1. The monopoly of land and raw materials.
2. The value of the finished product.
3. The ownership of the materials and product.

1. Concentration of industry and new demand for raw materials gave a monopoly value to some land which was, not the result of individual effort, but rather of general social growth. Yet this "Unearned Increment" went to swell the private fortunes of those who held title of certain lands or who had access to raw materials.

2. The value of food to me today or tomorrow is fairly easy to determine; but what can we say of the value of cocoa to the inhabitants of New York City a year hence? Puzzling questions arise of the number of born and dying in the next year; the migration to and from New York; the habits of drinking; the cost of other food; the income of individuals; the rent of houses, etc.

Yet if cocoa is to be had next year, we must begin now, at the latest, to provide it. Somebody must, therefore, guess at the future, using such knowledge as he can get to study his conclusions. It is this guessing at the Future value of goods, whose manufacture must begin now, which has made gambling in "futures" so large and fatal a part of the modern industrial process. Unearned increments in the value of products, due to changes in human life and thought, have become vast prizes, given to the daring and unscrupulous rather than to the industrious.

Even in the case of the widely demanded staples of long established indastry, where this element of chance is a mimimun, the fact remains that the value of the finished product is determined at a time far

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removed from the beginning of its manufacture and correlations between anticipated and actual value can never be exact.

3. The new goods- machinery and materials in processs of manufacture- naturally belong to those who furnish the raw materials and labored to transform it. This ownership is further complicated by the fact that the laborers, often sell their share in the Ultimate Product, for food and clothes and other present necessities.

This contract of sale, or the wage contract, was at first the sacrificing of the thrifty for the enjoyment of the thriftless; then it was entirely transformed and became the price paid by the rich who would wait to the poor who were hungry. Naturally, it tended to become the lowest amount necessary to keep workers from starving. Political power and Labor Unions have raised this price today in some cases to an equitable wage, but with most laborers the present low wage still is the cause of poverty and crime.

48-12-43

Contrast this with the condition of those who buy the laborers' share in current production; ~~then~~ their income is unregarded by public opinion because it is unknown, being hidden as a "return to capital" when in reality income must always be personal and a return for effort or a gift. The ownership of machinery and materials brings ownership of finished goods. Ownership of finished goods, made by the social time process, is always a monopoly and gives the owner, not simply present income, but the vaster power of controling the character and extent of future production. Moreover, long custom has allowed the owner of such goods to add to their selling price enough to pay for the replacement of his machinery and raw materials. Surely ~~there~~ these must be replaced, but the consumers who pay for the replacement should own them. As it is, invested effort dies with the doing; invested materials tends to

become a perpetual receipt for future effort.

Such, then, is our great, modern, industrial problem, stated badly and simply and without many of the qualifications which complete treatment would entail. It involves the question as to the future attitude of society toward property ownership and particularly ownership of raw materials, tools, and machinery, goods in process of manufacture, and finished products.

Every civilized land has begun to restrict this ownership; by heavy income taxes, by restricting the freedom of the wage - contract, by fixing selling prices, by seizing property for public use, and by state industrial interprises.

However, to large and larger numbers of persons, called in general, Socialists, these seem half-way measures. They say that the state should own all materials and machinery and that thus society as a whole should exercise the power now wielded by capitalists. This, however, brings up a number of difficulties:

1st The just method of dispossessing present owners.

2nd The ability of the state

(a) to direct industry

(b) to apportion income

3rd The spiritual effect of the socializing of industry on the individual.

To some, these difficulties seem simple: they say that the Social Revolution through an inevitable Struggel of Classes will dispossess all capitalists by force; that there will be as much ability in the State after such a Revolution as before, and that the public can hire it just as private persons formerly did, and they assert that Justice and Co-operation in work will so increase income and reduce the hours of labor as to abolish poverty and yet leave a maximum of spiritual freedom.

Without doubt, this program of the extreme Marxiam socialists could

48-12-44

only be brought into working order by much blood, suffering, and injustice and the more moderate Socialists - and do not most of us belong to that class? - seek a way to the same great ~~and~~ end through peace and development. Not that we minimize the costs of the present system in poverty, crime, and tears, but we know the more awful costs of revolution and war.

First, those who today own machines and materials are the thrifty savings ~~banks~~ depositors and small bond buyers ~~and~~ as well as the great Lords of Industry. Indeed, our most modern tyrants get their power and wealth through the control, rather than the ownership, of things. Dispossession, therefore, must be intricate social surgery, working through inheritance confiscation, excess profits taxes, mimimum wage limits, state insurance, and state regulation of industry. In some obvious lines the state is prepared today to actually direct industry and in others but little preparation would be necessary.

Nevertheless, there still remains the great question: Have we today a State that could direct industry as a whole, taking over all income and distributing the finished product? We may as well answer, proudly, We have not. First, we have not the Science of Human Action which must replace present guesswork and gambling by uniting and ~~systematory~~ systematizing statistics and economics and sociology. This we may easily have when we realize its practical necessity.

Secondly, we have not the intelligence necessary to the training and choosing of ability and the subordination and machine-like obedience which the industrial process must entail for a large part of every human beings' life, even though social reform left us a large, fine, free leisure. True, we have industry today, but it is the fear of starvation that oils its wheels and not the clearly conceived weal of the world.

We need, then, Science and Intelligence. But we need more, far more than this:

48-12-45

Thirdly we need the will to judge our fellows Justly. That is what ~~consumes~~ conscious distribution of income means. Today we determine income by power by chance, by personal likes and dislikes founded on little that is substantial or defensible. Distribution of Income should never be ~~mechanical~~ mechanical - it should be spiritual, ethical, a weighing of human desert. All this we lack and shall lack many generations.

But granted that we lack science, intelligence, and the will to Justice, are we like to acquire this under present conditions? We are not. Therefore, the present must be changed just as fast as change will help to install a new system. We can have a scientific census, and vital statistics and scientific surveys of our resources. We can have real schools to promote civilization and culture and not simply teach transient technique, and we can begin to teach that indsutrial reform begins in Justice toward our fellowmen.

It is as the Maxists rightly say, not impossible. But it is not as they wrongly assume, a matter of mere edict or change of system. It is a vast question of individual morals and training; a matter of introducing newer and higher and better and higher ideals for present selfishness and ignorance. It calls for years, not days, for centuries, rather than decades.

All this, however, is no excuse for reaction - for hesitating at beginnings. We mast begin. Society must begin today to take up the duties which it has so long wickedly left to selfish individuals. The result of such beginnings will not be the Millenium, but it will look toward it.

48-12-16

(1) Labor and Capital [No carbon]

More that in most social problems, the argument ~~summoning~~ surrounding labor and capital is a matter of words. If we change these indefinite and shifty terms and speak clearly of labor as effort and sacrifice; and of capital as tools and materials we have taken a great step toward understanding. First of all we include all work whether of laborer, manager or seer under effort and sacrifice, and we easily recognize that all income of every sort is due to this cause and this alone. On the other hand as income is and must be personal no income is due tools and machinery as such, but is only due the person who made or bought them by effort and sacrifice.

As long as men make that which can be immediately consumed or enjoyed the problem of income is simple: one's income is what he makes or what he buys with what he has made. Property under such a simple economic regime is a social institution for insuring the equitable distribution of income according to effort. Even in the case of land and natural resources the subtlety is so large that their enjoyment can be considered the result of the effort of discovery. Of course there suffer whose efforts find no corresponding wants; and the old and maimed may go uncared for.

But with Health and Justice, private property under such circumstances, and helped out by Charity, was a beneficient institution.

28-12-1941

(2) *

Revolution came however when the manufacturing process began to produce daily and the things which men made to satisfy their wants required years and decades — even centuries, instead of ~~years~~ months and days and hours as formerly. A new sort of goods subject to annihilation appears, namely machinery and ~~materials~~ materials in various stages of manufacture. This kind of production called not only for extended time but also for wide individual cooperation among workers. In other words social as distinguished from individual production became the rule of our industrial life.

28-12-195

Social production brought new problems and emphasized old.

1. The monopoly of land and raw materials
2. The value of the finished product
3. The ownership of the materials and product.

1. Concentration of industry and new demand for raw materials gave a monopoly value to some land which was not the result of individual effort but rather of general social growth. Yet this "Unearned Increment" went to swell the private fortunes of those who held title to certain lands or who had access to raw materials.

The value of food to me today or tomorrow is fairly easy to determine; but what can we say of the value of cocoa to the inhabitants of New York city a year hence?

(3) *

Puzzling questions arise of the number living & dying in the next year; the migrations & aid from New York; the habits of drinking; the cost of other food; the income of individuals the rent of houses, etc.

Yet if cocoa is & be traded next year one must begin now at the latest to provide it. Somebody must therefore guess at the future, using such knowledge as he can get & slowly his conclusions. It is this guessing at the future value of goods which manufacture must begin which has made gambling in "futures" so large and fatal a part of the modern industrial process. Unearned increments in the value of finished due & changes in human life and thought alone become vast prizes given to the daring & avid unscrupulous rather than & the industrious

Even in the case of the staples the widely demanded staples of long established industry the fact where this element of chance is a minimum the fact remains that the value of the finished product is determined at a time far removed from the beginning of the manufacture & consequently between anticipated and actual values can never be exact.

3. The new goods — machinery and materials in process of manufacture naturally belong to those who furnish the raw materials and labored to transform it This ownership is further complicated by the fact that the laborers, sometimes through lack of thrift, more often forced by their poverty, sell their share in the ultimate Product. & the owner for food and clothes and other present necessities

28-12-196

(4)* This contract of sale or the wage contract was at first the exception & the trusty for the enjoyment of the thrillers; then it was entirely transformed and became the price paid by the rich who owned most & the poor who were hungry. Naturally it tended

32-12-192

& become the lowest amount necessary & keep workers from starving. Political power & ~~social power~~ into ~~unclean~~ Labor Unions has raised this price today but much more laborers in some cases & ~~an equitable wage~~ an equitable high, ~~like in other~~

Low wage ~~,~~ all is the cause of undesired the present & ~~crimes~~, poverty, & crime

Contrast this with the condition of those who buy the laborers share in current production: their income is unexplained by public opinion because it is unknown, being hidden as a "returned capital" when in reality income must always be personal & a return for effort or a gift. The ~~control~~ ownership of machinery & materials being ownership of finished goods. Ownership of finished goods, made by the social time process is always a monopoly & gives the owner not simply present income but the power of controlling the character & extent of future production. Moreover every custom has allowed the owner of ~~goods~~ such goods & add & then selling price enough & pay for the replacement of his ~~goo~~ machinery & raw materials. Surely these must be replaced but the consumers who pay for the replacement should

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own ~~labour~~ effort. As it is invested ~~labour~~ ~~dyes~~ dies up all the decay; invested ~~materials, ores & foundations~~ materials, tools & income, a ~~fund~~ potential receipt for future ~~labour~~ effort.

Exploitation is our great modern industrial problem, stated baldly and simply and without many of the qualifications which complete treatment would entail. It involves the question as to the future ~~treatment~~ attitude of society toward property ownership — and particularly ownership of raw materials, tools and machinery, goods in process of manufacture and finished products

Every civilized land has begun to restrict this ownership: by ~~securing~~ ~~a~~ ~~for public use~~ ~~in the shape of death, taxation, for public use~~ ^ heavy income taxes ^ gift taxes; ~~but~~ by ~~interference with~~ restricting the freedom of the wage-contract,

by restricting the owners power of re-investment,

by ~~and~~ ^ by selling prices by severing ~~the~~ property for public use ^ and by stable industrial interference

~~This latter method attends a large number of persons known as Socialists~~

38-12-198

The danger of such ownership lies in the tremendous social power which it lodges in private hands. The rich in goods are powerful for they can indulge themselves and buy services from others. But the owner of machinery and materials can determine, to a large extent, what there shall be in the market to be bought, what it shall be sold for and what the income of the mass of laborers shall be.

This, the modern world recognizes is too great a power and one easily abused. Every civilized land, therefore, has begun to restrict this power of ownership. Large wealth is more and more heavily taxed and charged with our taxes and effort is made more or less successfully to distinguish wealth in machinery and unfinished materials from other wealth. Efforts, too, are made to restrict the power of property in determining wages and conditions of work and even in determining what shall be manufactured and the price of sale.

38-12-199

However, to large and large numbers of persons, called in general socialists, these seem half-way measures. They say that the state should own all materials and machinery and that thus society as a whole should exercise the power now wielded by capitalists. This, however, brings up a number of difficulties:

1st The just method of dispossessing present owners.

2nd The ability of the state

(a) to direct industry

(b) to apportion income

3rd The spiritual effect of the socializing of industry on the individual.

To some these difficulties seem simple: they say that the Social Revolution through an inevitable Struggle of Classes will dispossess all capitalists by force; that there will be as much ability in the State after such a Revolution as before and that the public can hire it just as private persons formerly did, and they assert that Justice

and Cooperation in work will so increase income and reduce the hours of labor as to abolish poverty and yet leave a maximum of spiritual freedom.

Without doubt, this program of the extreme ~~marxian~~ Marxian socialists could only be brought into working order by much blood, suffering and injustice and the ~~same~~ more moderate socialists - amd do not most of us belong to that class? - ~~seek~~ a way to ~~the~~ the same great end through peace and development. Not that we ~~summarize~~ minimize the costs of the present system in poverty, crime and tears, but we know the more awful costs of revolution and war.

38-12-200

First those who today own machines and materials are the thrifty savings-banks depositors and small bond buyers and well as the great Lords of Industry. Indeed our most modern tyrants get their power and wealth through the control rather than the ownership of things. Dispossession, therefore must be intricate social ~~energy~~ surgery working through inheritance, confiscation, excess profits, taxes, mimimum wage limits, state ~~insame~~ insurance and state regulation of industry. ~~Above all the State~~

In some obvious times the State is prepared to, & actually direct industry and in others and little preparation would be necessary.

Nevertheless there still remains the great question: have we today a State that could direct industry as a whole taking over all income ~~as allocated by the present time~~ and distributing the finished product? We may as well answer frankly, We have not. What we have not the Science of Human Action which must replace present guesswork and gambling by exacting and systematizing statistics and economics and sociology. This we may

28-21-82

early, have when we realize its practical necessity.
Secondly we have not neither the intelligence ~~nor unselfishness~~
necessary & the training and choosing of ability ~~and devotion~~
& the subordination and machine-like obedience
in this the industrial process must enlisted. Time we
have nothing today but ~~of~~ the fear of starvation
that oils its wheels and not the clearly conceived ideal of the whole.

We need then Science and Intelligence ~~and the~~
~~ability Sacrifice~~. But we need ~~thirdly~~ more, far more than this;
Thirdly we need the ~~ability~~ will & Judge our decisions
finally. That is what ensures distribution of income means.
Today we determine income by power, by chance,
by personal likes and dislikes founded on little that is
sustainable or defensible. Distribution of Income ~~can~~
should never be mechanical — it should be ~~simply~~
spiritual, ethical — a weighing of human desert. All
this we lack and shall lack many generations.

But granted that we had Science intelligence
and the will & justice, are we able to ~~do~~ decide this
under present conditions? We are not. Therefore
present must be changed just as fast as
change will permit & install a new system.
We can have a scientific economy, and what
statistics & scientific surveys of our resources.
We can have real schools & promote civilization
& culture & most simple & teach economic techniques

~~In a correction~~ change part of every human being's life even though ~~reform~~ reform left us a large fine fierce remnant

9)

And we can begin to teach that individual reform begins in Jesus Name and for Christ's sake.

It is as the Marxists rightly say not impossible. But it is not as they wrongly assume a matter of mere edict or change of system. It is a vast question of individual morals and training; a matter of introducing newer and higher and better

38-12-202

and higher ideals for present selfishness and ignorance. It calls for years not days, for centuries rather than decades.

All this, however, is no excuse for reaction - for hesitating at beginnings. We must begin. ~~Surely~~ Surely must begin today to take up the duties which it has so long wickedlyleft to selfish individuals. The result of such beginnings will not be the Millenium but it will look toward it.

ON THE NEW YORK STAGE.

I have watched with much interest the developing interest of the Negro on the stage in New York and, therefore, necessarily in the American drama throughout the nation.

I came to New York at the end of an era when Williams and Walker, Cole and Johnson and Ernest Hogan were a fading memory. To be sure, Bert Williams continued for many years but he was in the eyes of the stage a tradition, rather than a new force. Then came the determined effort to put the Negro on the stage and Mrs. Hapgood and her players made a brave, fine effort but New York looked on in askance. Dissolution efforts followed the Ethiopia Players, the attempt to have colored and white players in the same cast, and things of that sort. Just as matters were settling down and the pessimists saw the end of the Negro on the stage, came the triumph of the new musical plays "Shuffle Along" and "Runnin' Wild". These after a while seemed to have reached their limit, despite the latest "Africana" with its jungle flavor and the gorgeousness or "Rang Tang". Of course there was that other beginning: "All God's Chillun" down in the Village, followed on to "Deep River", "Abraham's Bosom", and the Little Theatre movement in Harlem. Then there came another angle. Colored and white players appeared in the same cast, and the African motif expanded. One sees this in "The Golden Dawn" and in "The International" down at the Playrights Theatre, with its Meyerhold flavor. Then there is the beauty of "Porgy" and the excellence of "Show Boat", both of which captured New York. There is Abby Mitchel as the maid in "Coquette" and other cases to many to list as a single genre or a particular line of development. It all simply means to me, as I sit and look upon the changing stage, that into the American drama slowly but with a sureness that is astonishing, the Negro is taking his legitimate

26-2-98

part. He is arriving. For this we owe much to the pioneers, but we owe something too to the players of today: Bledsoe, Wilson, Robeson and Mrs. Rose McClendon.

36-2-145

KENYA

The situation in Kenya, East Africa is one of the most extraordinary combinations of physical and social problems that could be imagined. ~~First of all comes the physiographical peculiarities.~~ In east central Africa, near the Indian Ocean arises a plateau with mountains in the midst of a ~~vast~~ desert ~~which cuts the area off from~~ from the highlands of Ethiopia, ~~the plains of~~ North Africa ~~and the great~~ Congo valley. In the midst of this island plateau, and right on the ~~equator a moun~~ tain shoots ~~_____~~ feet into the air to the region of ~~eternal snows~~. This mountain and its foothills, sinking from high plateau to swamp, is Kenya, where two centuries ago lived four or millions of the finest specimens of African manhood

Kenya was never a center of slave trading. But it was a path to the interior, and a peculiar sort of geographical phenomena. Kenya is a high mountain set in a desert exactly on the equator, and covered with eternal snow. The desert stretches right to the headwaters of the Nile, cutting off the mountains of Abyssinia from the Kenya Highlands.

The Kenya Highlands are peculiar. There is a low range of hills overlooking the Indian Ocean. The soil is rocky, and the rainfall is scanty.

To the south, between Kenya and Tanganyika, formerly German East Africa, the desert comes up to the Highlands, and almost cuts Kenya from the central plateau.

It is this island that forms in our day the most intricate and costly of the British race problems, which has in our times cost millions of money, and hundreds of thousands of lives. The foothills of the mountains form the Kenya Highlands, lie in a small plain between the Highlands and Lake Victoria Nyansa.

Outside the narrow coastal strip, the only land of any value in Kenya lies on this mountain plateau, and in the small plain between the Highland s and Lake Victoria Nyansa.

The shores of the this high island are 4000 feet above the sea the highest peaks go up to 10,000-18,000 feet.

began in 1905 when control was transferred from the foreign office to the colonial office. Lord Elgin was then colonial secretary, and Winston Churchill under-secretary. Churchill ruled that the privileged position of the European settlers in the Highlands as against the Indians, could only be effected by administration, since there could not be actual legal restrictions. He recognized apparently no restrictions so far as the native Africans were concerned.

But the Indians were resistant and had historical reasonx to be. The Indian community was much larger than the white and historically the trade between Africa and India was large and had pre-dated any connection between India and Europe. It was still a considerable trade and there was the question as to how far more Indians would have the right to migrate to Kenya, which was, of course, within theBritish Empire. The Indians demanded free immigration, the right to buy land and a law of voting which would place all voters in each constituency on a common electoral role.

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Because of this demand xxxxxxxx and the question of rights for Indians and natives the government had sent out from England a series of commissions to study the xxx situation and make recommendations.

There ensued a series of commissions sent out by parliament to examine the conditions in Kenya and toreport. During the 1st World War the demands of the Indians were dormant, but were revived in 1921 when a commission headed by the man who is now Lord Halifax made proposals to Mr. Churchill which were considered by a committee on which four leading Indian statesmenx sat. They came to no agreement, but in 1923 the Duke of Devonshire announced an epic making decision of the government, which

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40-7F-3

grievances, and declared that"persons of every race, every religion, colored no less than white, have a right to equal treatment in accordance to their needs." It permitted the Africans to grow coffee, and own land on individual tenure, and ordered that taxation should be graded according to wealth. Unfortunately, this paper was never acted upon, and aroused objection in white Kenya, particularly because it repeated the Devonshire pronouncement... of 1923 of the "paramountcy of native interests."

A special commission under Lord Moyne went to Kenya in 1932. They concluded that the natives were not getting a fair deal, and were carrying too great a burden of taxation. They criticized lack of social services, and proposed that Europeans pay more in the ~~m~~ form of an income tax. The main part of this recommendation was not adopted.

In 1934 Sir Morris Carter spent a year studying the land problem and reported. His report felt bound to accept most of the proposals of the settlers, recognizing that the large claims of a small number of Europeanxx immigrants were of equal importance if not more than those of three million native inhabitants.

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For a long time the problem of Kenya which aroused most outside interest was that of the people of the east Indies who formed a larger proportion of the popu lation than the whites ever did. These Indians were not intruders as most of the British assumed but next the natives have been longest in East Africa

An order in the Council in 1898 gave the government power to acquire land but not to alienate it. Alienation was legalized by an order in 1901. The Crown in Kenya granted rights in land which may be summarized thus: To the Europeans, 2000 miles in freehold and 5,500sq. miles in leasehold. To the Indians, 22 sq. Miles. To Africans: no land at all.

40-7F-6

1P The natives became tenants-at-will of the Crown. Every vestige of legal right in land whether belonging to tribe, chief, or individual tribesman, was obliterated. Successive governors were allowed to dispose as they thought fit of the whole country and its inhabitants irrespective either of their rights or their wishes.

A few years ago laws were passed to control native squatters in the Highlands, in order to extinquish tenant's rights which they might have acquired in time, and to reduce them to the position of servants to be evicted at the convenience of the employers. These laws deeply affected the whole status of about 150,000 Africans who were squatting on European land.

The foothills of the mountains, and the large Kavirondo plain are the only areas of arable land occupied by the natives. The rest has been given to whites. And this is the story of Kenya.

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as poor as any in the world, and suffering from disease, which they cannot remedy because of their poverty, paid at least 1/4 of his maximum earnings in direct taxation, while the richest European in the colony escaped tax.

The indirect taxation falls not only on luxuries like whisky and tobacco, but on necessities of life like flour and clothing, and is deliberately designed to add to the profits of the whites at the cost of the blacks.

40-7F-7

In the spring of 1929 the income of the average peasant family was from $15 to $20 a year including the value of the food. $20 a year is the average income of a peasant Kenyan today. It was estimated in 1921 that the Africans of Kenya received in wages 7½ million dollars, of which from half to 2/3 was paid in cash. Thus the government exercises a nearly complete control over the industry of Africans and uses that control to increase by every possible means the profits of the European colony. That colony depends for its existence on the artificial support of the government. It was declared that until the late 20's the Africans in most districts received very little returns from the relatively high taxation which they were paying.

In 1936 the Director of Agriculture wrote that practically nothing had been done by his department for native agriculture up to 1929. The Africans were allowed to grow neither tea nor coffee and yet in the areas which about half of them inhabit coffee might be a reliable and profitable crop. Social services which have gradually been built up to protect workers do not exist in Kenya. There is no workingmen's compensation act. Every effort is made to make the worker leave home for alien and often absentee landlords. This is the great cause of the decline of the population .

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40-7F-4

The bill was drawn up by a select committee representative of settler's interests. It was a question of life and death to the squatters.

In 1924 it is forbidden the African in Kenya to rent land from its European owners. It is universally recognized that profound social changes cannot take place rapidly without disaster. In Kenya an ignorant peasantry has in large part been turned into an industrial proletariet in a single generation. ~~Nothing of the kind has ever happened in the same time in the world before.~~ The result has been a social disintegration of which declining population is an outward sign. In 1924 the policy pursued in Kenya was of taxing the poor instead of the rich, of alienating unoccupied land to the Europeans, and forcing Africans to work for Europeans.

A leaseholder, even if the lease be only annual, has a higher status than a wage-earner, and the authorities in Kenya agree with the settlers that the presence, in the "settled" areas, of Africans with a status higher than a wage-earner, and so more independent, is so offensive that it ought to be a penal offence. So in 1918 it was made one. The Resident Natives or Squatters Ordinance then enacted has it that" no occupier shall permit any family to reside on a farm save under the conditions hereafter prescribed." A magistrate's permission is needed for every squatter that the owner of a farm may want, and all of them must do a minimum of 180 days' paid work in each year for the owner.

In 1921 the Secretary of State for Colonies, being pushed by English opinion, sent instructions that administrative officers were not to take any part in recruiting labor, but they were ordered to encourage natives to go to work. But bishops of the Church urged compulsory labor.

The ordinary farm laborer in Kenya gets $2.50 a month and can earn $25 a year by working all the year. Out of this ~~cash~~ he must pay ~~12 shillings~~ $3 a year Hut Tax, ~~while the tax on a white man who earns $1000 a year is $15.~~ In addition ~~the African must pay~~ to the tax imposed by his native council. ~~In the case of dependents the tax on Europeans is lessened, while that on natives is increased.~~

~~Africans in Kenya have to pay three direct taxes.~~ This by padding the rolls and charging several taxes to each hut, amounts to $5 a year, and in 1931 this tax brought in 3 million dollars. In 1942 half the males of Kenya were either employed at wages or on military service, and that proportion in some districts has reached 77%. ~~The amount paid in taxation by Africans~~ which was ~~at least~~ 2/3 of the whole tax revenue of the colony in 1924.

The last kind of direct tax paid by Africans in Kenya is in the shape of ~~un~~enforced labor. All adult males are required to do 6 days' unpaid work every three months. In order to force the Africans to hire out a registration office is kept open which costs nearly as much to maintain as the whole amount spent on the education of Africans.

In 1924 the largest and poorest section of the population of Kenya,

It used to be said that the boon bestowed on African natives was stopping inter-tribal war. But the first World War destroyed more life than a generation of inter-tribal wars. Over 350,000 unarmed porters were

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used in the campaign against the Germans in East Africa, of whom 150,000 came from Kenya. About 14,000 were in the armed services.

In the Chino war 46,000 men were killed or died of disease and of these 40,645 were untraced and unclaimed balances of paying wages amounting to ~~135,000~~ #775 000 pounds were still owed them. The widows of these dead porters received no pensions but have to pay hut tax like other widows. The number of deaths does not include many thousands who died after their return home, from diseases contracted during service.

8-F7-04

The number of Kenya Africans officially known to have lost their lives in the ~~Great~~ 1st World War, ~~40,000~~, is actually a larger proportion of the population than it was in the case of ~~this country~~ G.B. Britain. (The records were admittedly incomplete and the true total was at least 60,000).

Forced labor for private employers was used during the war. And during the last war, as in the early 20's, administrative officers again became recruiters of forced labor.

During the 2nd World War in the Ethiopian campaign four or five of the tribes joined in freeing Ethiopia. South African whites, and East and West AFrican tnative troops were fighting. British and Indian forces were employed. The Sudanese were used, and AFricans from Belgian Congo further south. The immense value of African armies was proved, and the dependence of British Africa upon imperial protection.

In 1924 Miss Perham reminds us that Europe is dependent all the world over on the loyalty ~~of~~ and courage of colored troups, African, Indian, Chinese. The policy of racial discrimination is therefore against the growing demand of our time that the domination and racial privileges of white men should be diminished in order to allow greater racial equality.

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The first race problem in Kenya was that of the Indians. They had the larger part of the trade. In the early years of the colony the Indian rubee was the money for trade.

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40-7F-10

After ~~At the time of~~ the last World War, the Africans began to get improved social services, and an inter-colonial college was established at ~~Mak~~ Makerere..... In 1924 Kenya spent 110 pounds on education for the African community of 3 million as compared with 115 pounds for the education of less than 1000 European children. Most of the money for African education goes to missions, and is increasingly devoted to supplying commercial demand for Africans

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40-7F-11

Once admitted into a society, the principle of inequality of status tends to spread. In Kenya for example, the first advantage gained by Europeans over the native Africans was that they alone got grants of Crown land. Then they got exclusive franchise rights. Then superior education for their children, the monopoly of coffee-growing, and so on until in every phase and function of life Europeans are in one position and Africans in another, always the lower position.

The ultimate fact is that Africans, being human, will not tolerate this inferiority of status much longer. If this series of fortifications built along the racial boundary is not removed deliberately, it will be overthrown.

Kenya was a crown colony in 1924 and it is a country governed by a governor under the direction of the Colonial Secretary and with the help of a legislative and an executive council. Of the former, half the members are officials, and the minority is composed of 11 Europeans, 5 Indians and 1 Arab.

The Indians have refused to elect the members allotted to them, since their agreements were repudiated.

The AFricans in Kenya are bitter, with ~~It is~~ one long list of ~~tears and~~ grievances. ~~A commissioner said~~ They believe ~~are under the impression~~ that the Europeans is determined to keep the native under, take his land, and use him as a laborer at the Colonial ~~smallest wage. There is deep feeling among the Africans,~~ especially, of course, ~~among the Kiyuyu~~ Kikuyu, with regard to land.

~~There is a development of~~ The political societies ~~which~~ are carefully watched by the police. And at the beginning of the last World War all the leaders of three Kikuyu and Kamba societies were arrested on charge of sedition and many of them stayed long terms in prison untried.

After the First World War a Kikuyu called Harry Thuku, started a political society which resulted in an attack upon the jail with sticks shouting and singing. This was called an uprising although none of the defenders of the jail were hurt. Thuku was shipped to the Somali border, but the tax which caused the uprising was reduced from 16 shillings to 12 shillings.

There were strikes and riots in Mombasa in 1937 , arising out of bad labor conditions.

Miss Perham says "it takes a great deal to drive Africans to overt resistance. It took the gross neglect and underpayment of labor to drive the dockers ~~in~~ to riot in Mombasa in 1938."

The second reason for these rules is the rise of a number of societies independent of European influence, with the purpose of ventilating grievances and advocating reforms. (The largest of these societies, the Kikuyu Central Association, sent two of its members to give evidence before the Select Committee. The Committee declined to hear them.

40-7F-12

Since the first World War the agitation of the Indians has absorbed the attention of the public. The Indians demand three things: free immigration, the right to buy land, and a franchise law which would place all voters in each constituency on a common electoral role. The Wood-Winterdan (?) agreement admitted the Indian trains to the franchise and to free immigration, but supported the exclusive right of Europeans to ownership of land in the highlands. The Devonshire Despatch approved by the cabinet in 1923 gave a communal franchise to Indians and left the question of immigration open. The publication of the Wood-Wedgerton agreement was followed by a violent political storm in Kenya. The European colony determined on resistance. Armed rebellion was threatened, and was thoroughly organized. A deputation was sent to England, and the verdict of the country was reversed.

Today there are in Kenya 40,000 Europeans, I00,000 Indians and 5 million Negroes

In Uganda there are 4000 Europeans, 40ooo Indians and 5 million Negroes

In Tanganyika there are 20,000 Europeans 50,000 Indians and 7,500,000 Negroes

40-7F-15

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What now, has happend to the natives? Fifty years ago the central part of the Highlands was inhabited by various tribes, most of them ~~Nomads and not thickly settled. There were, for instance,~~ herdsmen, sparsely distributed. the Masai, ~~who had come~~ came down from the northern desert ~~and are now settling down to agriculture.~~ They, like their predecessors, the Gala, are among the handsomest of mankind. Tall, and comely, ~~and~~ they have for centuries ~~had~~ been cattle raisers and raiders. The Europeans came in contact with them in their search for a direct route to Uganda, and have progressively taken their land. When the Uganda Railroad was built, 1895-1901 it ~~crossed~~ cuts the grazing land land of the Masai in two

40-7F-16

The Masai were given land amounting to about 1/10 of what they had previously owned, and spparated into two parts so as to ruin their cattle grazing. The government ~~finally~~ tried to satisfy them by promising a wide corridor between the parts, and declared that this land should belong to the Masai "as long as the Masai tribe should live". Five years later they had broken their word and ~~again the Masai lost land, and by~~ 1919 45,000 of them with 2 million cattle and sheep were in an area without water and practically useless. Land formerly belonging to them and had been now ~~worth~~ tens of millions of dollars were given to Englishmen. ~~In 1924 these landholders were not taxed and paid no direct taxation.~~ A great block of the Masai land was carved out of the very heart of their holdings and they were forbidden to use that land except as contract laborers at the will of the landlord.

So too, the Kikuyu, who are today making most of the trouble, lost the larger part of their land. Some of it was given to white settlers for coffee farms, and natives ~~in Kenya are~~ were not allowed to raise either tea or coffee.

Other tribes like the Temba, and the Milu, have had to surrender a large part of their area. As result of this procedure, perhaps 100,000 Africans in Kenya are ~~today~~ landless, ~~and there is no room for them in the reserves.~~ The native reserves are overcrowded and

3)

They appeared first ostensibly to put down a new slave trade, which had begun in the Sudan under the Egyptian monarch, Mohammed Ali, and was carried on to furnish servants and workers for the Turkish Empire and later for the American slave trade.

Then in the 19th century a new slave trade arose in East Africa, which furnished ivory and slaves for various parts of the world, especially England and America. But new economic interests intervened, after the Napoleonic wars. Profits from American slavery began to decline because of slave revolts, because of ~~wide~~ increased competition, and finally because of the organization of the cotton kingdom, which ~~furnished~~ raised its own slave laborers from the border states of the south. ~~There was capital to spare and to reinvest.~~ ~~And~~ The partition of Africa between 1875 and 1884 showed the possibility of a new development, with the Africans employed as laborers in ~~their own country~~ Africa upon tropical goods in ~~great~~ world demand.

But for a while it looked as though the control of this new industry might go either to the East Indians who had long controlled Indian and African trade, or, what was more to be feared, it might go to the Arabs or to the French, ~~who had their eyes upon~~ in the Valley of the Nile. The British therefore, led by missionaries like Livingston, and explorers like Stanley, appear upon the scene late in the 19th century, as leaders of a crusade to stop the foreign slave trade ~~and chattel slavery in Africa.~~

For this reason they hurried into Africa from the East to keep back the French movement toward the Nile, and the Mohammedan and Catholic influence in the Uganda. This led them across the land which is now called Kenya.

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Medical advance began now to enable Europeans to live in the tropics, and the control of labor in Asia and Africa produced profits which were the cause of modern colonial imperialism.

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When the Industrial Revolution took place in Europe and the slave trade to America waned, there was a demand for reinvesting the profits of capital. The raw materials were derived each year in greater degree from tropical countries, — Africa, Asia and elsewhere. Democracy in Europe limited the profits.

said, "Primarily Kenya is an African territory, and his majesty's government thinks it necessary to definitely to record their concerned opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if and when those interests and the interests of the immigrant settlers should conflict, the former should prevail."

42-FL-04

This statement caused great excitement at the time, and finally was practically withdrawn. The Indians had demanded free immigration, the right to buy land, and a franchise law which would place all voters in each constituency on a common role. The Duke of Devonshire in 1923 granted the communal franchise but left the question of immigration open.

A violent political storm ensued in Kenya, and the European colony practically determined on armed rebellion. A deputation was sent to England and the verdict of the council reversed.

In 1924 a large royal commission was appointed, but without giving reason, this was dissolved the following year.

The Kikuyu lost most in the past and have the most pressing urgent needs. They lost valuable men and land to settlers for coffee farms. Some of this was compensated for but at a very small rate, and much of it of inferior quality to that which had been taken away before.

46-7F-25

Moreover, some of the land taken away from these people was widely separated so that those in one part were unwilling to go so far to their friends, relatives and tribes, and too, there was considerable difference in climate.

The main object of the Maurice Carter report of 1924 set out to achieve, that is the removal of a deep sense of grievance among the Kikuyu, was not obtained.

The officials brought pressure on chiefs and people so as to induce practically the whole male population to offer for work. Some ran away. It cost 20,000 pounds a year to keep the registration office open while only 24,000 pounds a year was spent on the education of Africans.

The nature and spirit of the policy of government in Kenya in 1924 was illustrated by the fact that the largest and poorest section of the population, as poor as can be found in the world, suffering from disease which cannot be remedied on account of their poverty; this proletariat has paid at least a quarter of its maximum earnings in direct taxation while the richest European in the colony escapes tax. The deliberate policy of the government is to induce the whole able-bodied population of African natives to work for wages for private employers.

40-7F-27

In 1938 in the district of South Kavirondo the Africans earned 53,000 pounds in wages and 99,500 by sales of produce or 150,775 in all. Of this they spent 47,900 on commodities, while government taxes, fees and fines took 75,000 pounds or almost half. Thus the government took back exactly half the income of people whose annual cash earnings are about 9s. a head.

The indirect taxation falls, not only on luxuries like whisky and tobacco, but on necessities of life like flour and clothing, and is deliberately designed to add to the profits of a favoured minority, at the cost of the rest of the community.

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in the spring of 1929. It gives the income of the average peasant family, growing crops both for consumption and for sale, in a Reserve, as from 3 ~~lbs~~. 10s. to 4 ~~lbs~~. 10 s. a year, including the value of the food consumed by the family. It estimates the income of the average wage-earner's family to be 10:15.

we are left with 4 ~~lbs~~ a year as the average income of a peasant family in Kenya today.

In 1921 the chiefs..... asserted that it was the practice to force women and girls to work on plantations. The total sum received in wages by Africans in Kenya in 1921 was estimated at 1,500,000 pounds, of which half to 2/3 was paid in cash. This means less than 11 shillings a month for the average wage of workers. Other than cash the wages consist of blankets, and food, In short, the government of Kenya in 1924 exercises a nearly complete control of the industry of Africans, and uses that control to increase by every possible means the profits of a European colony that depends for its existence on its artificial support by the government.

3)

In June 1930 the Government published the now famous White Paper on Native Policy in East Africa, and instructed the Governors of the various East African Dependencies to carry out its directions. It was far less downright than the statements on the same subject made eighty years ago by former British Governments. But it did say that Africans were to be allowed to grow coffee; it did say they might have land on individual tenure; it did direct that taxation should be graded according to wealth; and above all it laid it down that "persons of every race and

40-7F-30

every religion, coloured no less than white, have a right to equal treatment in accordance with their several needs". If it had been acted upon, this White Paper, though halting and often vague, might have been perhaps as useful a check to the long period of drift in the wrong direction as a more direct and definite statement would have been.

The publication of the White Paper was followed by loud and emphatic protests. Objection centred on the phrase, copied from the Devonshire White Paper of 1923, "paramountcy of native interests". (In truth, no one knows what it means. No African or friend of Africans, asks that in any respect Africans should be in a position higher than Europeans. All that is asked for is equal justice. Professing to give more than equal justice, we give less.) Lord Delamere said that compliance with the directions of the White Paper would involve the amendments of more than twenty Ordinances, as laws are called in Kenya, and announced that until it was withdrawn he would refuse cooperation with the Government of Kenya. A few months later he was reappointed to the Executive Council. The settlers of Northern Rhodesia issued a statement repudiating the White Paper and asserting, with perfect truth, that its execution would completely reverse the policy of their Government.

were cattle raisers and raiders, whose wars like those of the Scottish clans were thundering exhibitions, and object was cattle.

Europeans came in contact with them when in search of a direct route to Uganda. In 1890 the herds of the Masai were swept away by the Rinda pest epidemic, so that many of the Masai died of starvation. The Kikuyu and the ..omba... took this opportunity for revenge. Just then the British agents came in , and stopped the raiding and between '97 and 1901 the Masai settled down near Nairobi. The Uganda railroad was begun in 1895, and finished in 1901. It cost the land of the Masai. The governor, Sir Charles Eliot determined to make the country a European colony, and applied to the British treasury for money. The British refused but an officer was sent to South Africa to find people who could be persuaded to accept grants of land and live in the country.

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In Eliot's time the main body of the Masai lived within the center of their formerly extensive territories in the .Rift.. valley between ~~the~~ Nairobi and Naikuiu. The railway transversed their best grazing ground. The governor was hospitable to those whom he had invited to settle, giving them land in areas of 10,000, 25,000 and even 100,000 acres. The grants were not even surveyed beforehand. The government acted as if no native rights in land existed, and in law these rights were soon completely swept away. The Kikuyu suffered worse because among them land rights had begun to be personal. Tens of thousands of them were living in 1924 on land to which they had an indefeasible claim. The Masai lost most so far as area is concerned.

Europeans were laying claim to ownership in the Rift valley. Grants of land were made in London without informing the governor of Kwnya,

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40-7F-31

Until the appointment in 1931 of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament, the only one of these Commissions that was properly representative was the large Royal Commission of 1924, which was dissolved in the following year, for a reason that has never been publicly explained. While the reports of all except one of these Commissions contain long accounts of what their authors considered were the needs of the Africans, who in Kenya are 98 per cent of the population, and are an even larger proportion in the other East African countries, none of them explained at all adequately their wishes,

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In 1924, ~~In 1923~~ the Labor government sent a parliamentary commission, under Mr. Ormsby-Gore to report on conditions. This report gave occasion for reiteration of the policy of the government as to the place of the native in the body politics by Mr. Amery

The deplorable decision of the Select Committee to refuse to hear the delegates chosen and sent, at the cost of great sacrifices, by Africans themselves, though it had listened to the delegates chosen by the Government, must have added many to the number of those in Kenya who suspect that our promises are not intended to be fulfilled.

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in 1927, and a new special commission under Hilton-Young and with Dr. Oldham was sent. On receipt of their exhaustive report, which the Kenya settlers did not like, Amery dispatched Sir. Samuel Wilson to discuss the matter with the local government. His report was received by Lord Passfield, the former Sidney Webb, who issued several papers on the subject. The matter was then submitted to a joint committee of parliament which presented its report in October 1931. Delgatians of Africans, Indians and Europeans were brought from Africa.

They evacuated the Rift Valley unwillingly and found themselves short of both land and water. Despite this treaty, the Masai were moved in 1910, and the word of the government finally broken. Thousands of cattle died and old people perished by exposure and hunger. The Masai openly resisted. The dispute was taken to court but finally it was decided in favor of the Europeans. Appeal to the Privy Council was made, but the Masai did not have money enough to carry the case up.

40-7F-34

During the 1st World War some of the Masai were employed as soldiers.

Thus in 1919 45,000 men, women and children of the Masai tribe and 2 million sheep and goats were put into an area largely without water and useless except for inferior meat and skins. Land worth tens of millions of dollars which once belonged to the Masai now belonged to Englishmen.

In 1984 this land was not taxed and its owners paid no direct taxation. Thus out of the Masai land was carved an immense block in the very heart of the country, and they were forbidden to use that land except as contract laborers at the will of the landlord.

The Kikuyu lost most of their land, and today have the most pressing needs. Valuable land was lost to settlers for coffee farms and the natives were not allowed to raise coffee.

The Carter Report of 1924 was trying to achieve the deep sense of grievance among the Kikuyu but this was not accomplished. Just what now had happened. ~~xxxx~~ (they assigned?) (Cough) .....farms among the Kikuyu where people were crowded from 283 to 1000 to a sq. mile. They are improving and making better use of their land but they need more and better land.

taken away their lands and hemmed them in. They have suffered from the Rindepest epidemic and many of them in 1890 died of starvation. Between 1897 and 1901 they settled down near ~~the Persian town of~~ Nairobi. But when the Uganda railroad was built between 1895 and 1901 it cut straight through the land of the Masai, which was in the Rift Valley, and given by the governor Sir Charles Eliot in unsurveyed tracts of 10,000, 26,000 and even 100,000 acres to the white immigrants whom he was planning to bring in.

40-7F-35

The government acted as if there were no native rights in land. The Kikuyu suffered worse because among them land rights had begun to become personal while among the other tribes the land belonged to the tribe. There was no doubt of the rightful claim of the Kikuyu in 1924 to the land where tens of thousands of them were living and to which they had a clear claim. On the other hand, so far as area is concerned the Masai lost most. A British official said in 1904: "The Masai will never give us trouble so long as we treat them fairly." But at that very time 320,000 acres in Kenya was owned by a British syndicate. 100,000 acres had been given to Lord Delemere who afterward beaame the chief authority on Kenya, and 32,000 acres each by other men, and these grants embrace the best and most fertile grazing lands of the Masai, and both banks of the only 4 rivers in the vicinity.

In 1904 a half-hearted attempt was made to designate two areas which was to belong to the Masai, "so long as the Masai as a race shall exist". A road half-a mile wide was promised them. The two reserves made an area only about 1/10 as large as the tribe had occupied between '93 and '97.

at the time

The governor, Sir Charles Eliot ~~was the first who~~ proposed the policy of introducing an aristocracy of European landholders into Kenya. The next two governors did little but the 4th governor Girouard, between 1909 and 1910 advanced the idea and finally the plan was firmly established under Sir Edward Northey, just after the 1st World War.

40-7F-40

Alienation of land proceeded rapidly, the idea being to place political and social supremacy of the white race on the permanent subordination of the natives. This raised so many difficulties, revolts and unrest, that the British government was bound to interfere. The intervention of the government

land now occupied by the natives. 50 years ago the central part of the highlands was inhabited by the Masai. The eastern part of the highlands is still in great part occupied by the Kikuyu, the Temba, the Melu and other tribes, although the first two have had to surrender a large part of their area. The western part of the highlands contain several tribes who like the Masai came from the northern desert in the past and are settling down to agriculture. The great bulk of the land alienated in this area was not under native occupation when alienated. But all these tribes lost small areas of land granted by the government to Europeans. The Nandi have lost considerable area since 1914. The Kikuyu group number more than a million. Those on the .T.av..... plain andhills rather less than a million. The other tribes together, the coast people, the nomads and the agricultural tribes in the western highlands number less than half a million.

It was estimated that this area had four millions.

40-7F-36

up to the Highlands, and almost cuts Kenya from the central plateau. It is this peculiar geographical island which has formed in our day an intricate and costly British problem entailing the expenditure of millions of money and hundreds of thousands of lives.

Kenya is a fertile island set in a desert, with deserts north, east and south. The Kenya mountain itself rises from the northeast corner of this territory, exactly on the equator, and covered with eternal snow, a curious geographical contradiction. The desert stretches without limit north and east and far off in the desert rises an island continent in a sea of broken hills covered with thorn scrub. This is Kenya colony. It contains 240,000 sq. miles of which the greater part is desert, and some of it almo t rainless. Outside the narrow coastal strip, the only land of any value in Kenya lies on this island of mountain plateau, and in the small plain between the Highlands and Lake Victoria Nyansa. The shores of this high island are ~~10~~,000 ft. above the sea, its highest peaks are 10-15,000 feet high. Down the middle of the island there runs from north to south the Rift Valley, with half a dozen lakes but with no river on its floor. It is a broad break in the earth's surface, with walls sometimes straight and precipitous, and sometimes lost in fantastic hills. This break, which is said to be the only thing on the earth's surface which a human being might see from the moon, can be traced from the Dead Sea in Palestine through the Red Sea to Lake Tanganyika and the Zambesi River. Kenya, therefore is a strip on the seacoast, too dry in the north for cultivation, with rain enough in the south, and a vast desert in which wild beasts, lions, giraffes and antelopes outnumber the

40-7F-41

of Africa had been parcelled out among European countries. Eastern Africa alone remained.

The first explorers of Kenya were missionaries. In 1888 the British government transferred the sovereignty of British East Africa to a chartered company. This company could not pay its way and in 1893 Great Britain took direct responsibility for British East Africa including Kenya and Uganda.

There was a new motive now in protecting missionaries and extending trade. The French were trying to extend their West African Empire to the Nile and French missionaries entered Uganda. Also, trade was and long had been in the hands of Indian traders and Arabian Mohammedans also came to Uganda, making a three-way fight.

40-7F-42

During the first 3/4 of the 19th century Arabs attempted the conquest of this region between the coast and the Great Lakes. The slave trade encouraged by Mohammed Ali, was opened in the Sudan which at first furnished slaves to the Turkish Empire, then supplemented the American slave trade as it was partially suppressed, and at last evolved into a new trade in slaves and ivory, through which porters bringing ivory from various parts of East Africa were themselves seized and sold as slaves.

Great leaders of this traffic like Tippo Tib controlled large parts of East Africa and even conquered a part of the upper basin of the Congo. It was this slave trade that Stanley and Livingstone were opposing and it was one of the cruelest phases of the African slave trade. Kenya was not in the region of this slave trade. There a low range of hills overlooks the East African shores. The soil is rocky, and and in the northern part the rainfall is scanty. This bulk of largely uninhabitable country stretches right to the head waters of the Nile, cutting off the mountains of Abyssinia from the Kenya Highlands.

Along the frontier between Kenya and Tanganyika the desert comes

In the war between Christianity and Mohammedanism, between the 9th and the 18th centuries prisoners were sold as slaves on both sides. As early as the fifteenth century Moors were imported into the south of Portugal, and the first slaves to America were from Portugal and not from West Africa.

When the American slave trade began the whites established what were called factories on the coast, furnished the coast tribes guns and powder, and encouraged them to make war on their inland neighbors and sell them as slaves. In this way slavery became a purely commercial transaction. Cheap rum and gin added to the degradation.

40-7-44

Vasco Da Gama occupied forts on the East African coasts, which centuries before had been founded and occupied by Mohammedan Arabs. Each town had its own sovereign and the settlements were built mainly on islands close to the land, surrounded by a fringe of plantations. Gold was the object of discovery and conquest and its trade a monopoly. A great deal of gold was obtained from the southern part of the East African coast.

For 2 centuries the Portugese tried to monopolize the trade by sea between Europe and Asia, but English, French and Dutch adventurers made inroads.

In the 19th century East Africa became of importance to Europe and the Portugese held only a few scattered posts. The Zambesi, the largest river in Africa, had settlements on its banks, large quantities of gold were gotten in the neighborhood from the center of African civilization, Zimbabwe.

By the opening of the 20th century most of the tropical countries

The Arabs established depots where small parties of slaves were organized into large caravans. These slaves were trans-shipped to American vessels and even during the Civil War several cargoes of them were landed in the Confederate states.

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40-7F-43

Gibbon tells us that the Emperor Augustus foresaw ~~an Empire~~ a realm with universal citizenship, and that when the power of the Roman Empire was at its height and ~~during the time when~~ its subjects ~~were~~ happier and more prosperous than any earlier or later society, there was in the empire no race feeling, and the highest posts were open to the sons of men quite as barbarous as any ~~part~~ of Africa today.

In the British Empire the Crusades increased respect for Asiatics. In Shakespeare's time color did not prevent Othello from being painted as a hero and marrying a lady of high social status. Saladin ..... was painted as a man of highest gifts, who could aspire to the hand of an English princess. In fact, in the 18th century the British treated Asiatics and Africans as ordinary men and women. In that century a quarter of the seamen in the renowned British navy, were colored, ~~and~~ our It is of interest to remember that one of the causes of the war of 1812 was the impressment of colored American seamen by Great Britain. Curiously enough, race feeling in England seems to have arisen about the time that African slave trade was abolished, and that was because that on the ~~basis~~ collapse of the American slave trade, there was built a new colonial ~~slavery~~ imperialism with results which we are feeling today. Iron and copper were long used in ancient Africa, and indeed the use of iron probably began there and then ~~was distributed~~ spread to Asia and Europe. African art in stone and wood of great merit, and ~~the~~ no institution of slavery ~~was of the primitive sort that~~ up to the 16th century did not involve sale ~~up through the 16th century.~~ It was the American slave trade that ~~extended and~~ transformed slavery in Africa and ~~was~~ became itself an extension of the industrial slavery established in the Mediterranean countries.

40-7F-45

The ordinary farm laborer gets ten shillings a month. He can possibly earn 5 lbs. a year by working all the year and his .ox..... will cost 2 lbs. 10s. a year. On that 4-5 lbs. cash he must pay 12 s. a year hut tax, while a non-native on 200 lbs. pays 3 lbs. In addition the African must pay his native council rate. In the case of dependents the tax on Europeans is lessened while that on natives is increased. The income tax on Europeans was raised by 40 to 50% in the first year of the last World War and has since been raise d again and an excess profits tax introduced. In-direct taxation has been increased.

Africans in Kenya have also to pay three direct taxes. One falls on all, the others only on the peasantry, i.e., those who live by cultivating their own land in the Reserves. By far the largest is the hut and poll tax. The amount of the tax is 12s. But that is not its real incidence, which, as will be shown, is 28s., or more than twice as much. In the Budget for 1931 this tax is estimated to bring in £607,000 lbs. If that sum is divided by the amount of the tax, 12s., we see that more than a million separate taxes will have to be paid. And there are not more than half a million adult African males in the country, including the old and otherwise unfit.

The African tax has stood still at 12 s. for many years. But in Britain, where taxes have gone up, wages have al so gone up, whereas in Kenya wages have not increased and compulsory labor resorted to in lieu of the attraction of high wages.

In 1942 half of the males in Kenya were either employed at wages or were on military service, and that proportion was soon raised to 55.5%. In the Kikuyu districts, 58.5%, and in one case 77% were thus employed. A half million of the Kavirondo had 56.6% of their men away, and the Nandi 85%, and 94% with those on military service.

The third and last kind of direct taxation paid by Kenya Africans consists of unpaid forced labour. Under the Native Authority Ordinance, all adult males may be and commonly are required to do six days unpaid work every three months. The penalty for refusal wasformerly a fine, up to 7r10s. But Sir Edward Grigg represented in 1928 that a fine was not punishment enough, and since then a magistrate may add a sentence of two months' rigorous imprisonment.

750,000 pounds paid in taxation by Africans is at least 2/3 of the whole tax revenue in 1924.

The Hut ~~Act~~ Tax was first levied in 1901 at the rate of two rupis for each hut. Since then the tax was raised by easy stages until at the end of the 1st world war it was 16 shillings, and was the ~~.....~~ rolls was padded in various ways.

Well into the late '20's the Africans in most districts received very little return for the relatively high taxation which they were paying.

In 1936 the Director of Agriculture, wrote that up to the period of 1929 practically nothing had been done by the Department for native agriculture.

Africans in Kenya are allowed to grow neither tea nor coffee. In areas that are inhabited by about half the African population, coffee might be both the most reliable and the mostprofitable crop.

40-7F-49

in the last few years the penalties that are inflicted on Africans have been made heavier, and the evidence on which they are convicted made more flimsy.

Social services .....have gradually been built up to protect the workers do not and cannot exist in Kenya. There is no working-man's compensation act, for instance. In Kenya every effort is made to make the worker leave home to work for alien and often absentee landlords. A great cause of the decline of population is interference with normal family life, separating husbands from their wives, tends to diminish the birthrate and encourage sexual irregularities.

In 1944 Kenya Africans are getting improved social services. There is an inter-colonial college at Makerere.

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In 1924 the government of Kenya spent 22,000 pounds a year on African education, as compared with 23,600 on the education of less than a thousand European children. Most of the money for African education goes to missions. Mission education is increasingly devoted to supplying commercial demands./

Since no enquiry has been made by the Government, the number of landless African families in Kenya is unknown. At a guess, there may be 40,000 of them, of whom half or 100,000 souls are the dispossessed. There is no room for these people in the Reserves. Here and there, it is true, families can be found with as much as fifty acres of good land, perhaps even more. But we have no right to ask such people to make room for others, when the average European holding is more than two thousand acres, or about four square miles. Nor is there room in the unalienated Crown land. There are some 2000 square miles of it or more. But it is all inferior land, most of it with no permanent water. The last of the good land, areas in various parts comprising nearly 200 square miles, were alienated in the spring of 1930.

40-7F-50

The policy pursued for five years by the last Governor, Sir Edward Grigg, which was ~~really Lord Delamere's, which in turn, though this is denied, was~~ an adaptation of the South African policy, has dangerously ripened unrest in Kenya. He was not the first Governor to believe that the key to every door to prosperity was the encouragement of "white settlement", by building up, by means of privileges and subsidies of many kinds, a European colony large enough to be entrusted with the responsibility for governing the country.

The Carter report felt bound to accept largely under the influence of the settlers, that the large claims of the small number of European immigrants and of those who might come, were of equal importance and in some cases of more importance than those of three million native inhabitants who were already there and had nowhere else to go.

Lord Moyne undertook a special commission to Kenya in 1932, and Sir W. Maurice Carter spent a year studying the land problem and the results were recorded in a large volume in 1934.

46-7F-47

In 1932 Lord Moyne was sent out to investigate. His conclusions were that the natives were not getting a fair deal. They were baring relatively the greater burden, and making the heavier contributions.

This was in regard to social services. And he reports the helplessness of the natives in regard to the imposition of taxation. He speaks of poor districts, highly taxed, of the rigid and ill-adjusted system of native taxation, and is satisfied that it is not fair to give such poor districts so small a proportion of the taxation which they raise. He proposes that the Europeans pay more in the form of an income tax. The main part of his recommendation was not adopted.

When the African slave trade to America was suppressed in the 19th century, the Arab settlements on the East coast belonged to the Sultans o f Muscat one of whom had built the tower of Zanzibar. They employed slaves of ability in positions of trust as merchants, ship captains, and shared in the profits of their enterprise. Some part of the produce of the coast plantations ~~.grain.~~(?) coconut oil and fibre, red pepper and dried fish were

40-7F-46

exported to Arabia, the Persian gulf and West India. The farmers were nearly all slaves, the town workers were half slaves, half free. There had always been a small slave trade here, but in the 19th century the trade to America enormously increased. This was because of cheap fire arms after the Napoleonic wars and the interruption of the cultivation of the cloves. (?)

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The Indian community which outnumbers the white, has an inferior political status.

40-7F-2

An Indian member of the Kenya legislative council said, "The trend of events as I see it in this country, is to create and perpetuate a landed aristocracy with a powerful influence with government, ~~which will not be allowed to go in a direction in which there is a tendency in the United Kingdom.~~"

40-7F-13

A report in 1911 shows that 3000 sq. miles were leased during the preceding five years at a total rental of ~~6,000 pounds~~ $32200. By 1914 the land leased to Europeans amounted to 5,000 sq. miles and the rentals came to a penny and a farthing an acre. The great bulk of the land was granted in blocks of ten to five hundred sq. miles.

40-7F-39

industfy in Europe. Capitalists therefore turned to the exploitation of countries without free institutions and began to be taught that control over countries beyond their own increased their glory and strength.

Indirect government through chiefs was impossible in East Africa because of the demand of tribal authorities for labor, which the white landholders needed.

40-7F-37

50 years ago the central part of the Highlands was inhabited by the Masai tribe. The eastern part is still occupied in part by the Kikuyu and other tribes, although they have had recently to surrender a large part of their area which is a chief reason of the present uprising.

40-7F-38

The Masai tribe came down from the northern desert and are settling down to agriculture. These Masai have especially suffered. They, like their predecessors, the Gala, are among the handsomest of mankind. Tall, and comely, and for centuries cattle raisers and raiders, carrying on wars like those of the Scottish clans. The Europeans came in contact with them when in search of a direct route to Uganda, and have progessively

Since 1914 land has been alienated under the Soldier's Settlement scheme. Under this scheme officers and men, most of them officers, got free grants of 160 to 300 acres and were free to lease land up to as much as 5,000 acres. And these could be turned into freeholds by the payment at any time within ten years without interest, of 4-40 shillings an acrex. Everything possible was done for these men. Their machinery was imported free of duty their produce carried on the state railway at leas than cost. Yet most of the farms were abandoned and their European population in 1924 was less than it was in 1921. Some of the beneficiaries never went to Africa, some only went with the intention of selling their land to others, and others expected African laborers to do all the work.

40-7F-32

82-F-04

The Masai represent a difficult moral question. They were nomads living on land in and around the Rift valley. This was land which would do for grazing cattle, but many European farmers have been unable to make it pay. Some of the finest agricultural land was in the Masai reserve, but most of it has been taken away, some of it during the last war.

[illegible] use that land except [illegible] as a contract laborer at the will of the landlord, seems to me an act that cannot be defended.

92-F-04

Liberal imperialism decided to build a railway to Uganda. Most of East Africa looked toward India rather than Europe. The currency was Indian and the Indian penal code was taken over.

European settlers in Africa want to have it both ways. They want to have a full supply of cheap labor, but in the interests of racial segregation they do not want that labor to have the status and claim to social services that workers elsewhere in the world are able to demand because they are organized as workers and as voters. White settlers maintain that since the government had encouraged them to come it had also undertaken the obligation to provide them with labor.

Lord Delamere once said: "If the policy was to be continued that

In order to force Africans to work for the whites, their reserves were cut to prevent them from having sufficient land to make them self-supporting. Taxation was used as a method of obliging the natives

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40-7F-14

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During the first world war the Indians' demand for equality of political status was dormant, but was revived in 1921 when Mr. Wood, afterward Lord Halifax, submitted proposals to Mr. Churchill which were considered by a committee on which four leading Indian statesman sat. They did not come to an agreement, but in 1923, the Duke of Devonshire announced the decision of the government in a state paper, which included a considered statement regarding inter-racial relations in Africa.

The Duke of Devonshire said in his report for the government in 1923

40-7F-22

All this except land ownership in the white highlands, the government conceded in I923. The result wa a furious uproar in white Kenya and open preparations for armed rebellion. ~~A deputation went to London and the Government retreated~~ from the Duke

This was the reason of the pronouncement of the Duke of Devonshire that Native rights were paramount against the demands of outsiders. But the Indians were permanent residents and as subjects of the British Empire demanded ~~the right of further immigration and for equality of political status~~ equal treatment with other British subjects

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12-FL-04

and true as is our nature, and break from the Money-worship vulgar parade of the Other-world. We need to cultivate the home — make it cheerful, glowing, and happy, at holiday-tide. Train the girls in the old forgotten arts of embroidery and sewing, teach the boys that "our house" is the centre of God's universe, to be loved, enjoyed and defended. Lift the souls of your dear ones at this glad time up to Him:

"Strong Son of God, Immortal Love,
"Whom we that have not seen Thy face,
"By faith and faith alone embrace.
"Believing where we cannot prove!"

33-2-142

Christmastide is coming, and we should not only celebrate it as the greatest of festivals, but should strive to make it a truly family festival. No family should be without its christmas-tree, and woe to the careless father or mother who lets the hearts of their little ones hunger after little remembrances of Infinite Love! Costly gifts to friends and children are not only unnecessary, but undesirable: no gifts of my life have given me the joy that the little fantastic "cruller" men, grandma used to fry me. They did not cost a tenth of a cent, and yet they were priceless. A little table-mat worked in love; a spread embroidered in thoughtfulness; a book selected and marked by sympathetic taste; these are gifts of God, far richer than gaudy toilet-sets, gilt foolishness, and velvet ostentation. Let us Negroes be simple

33-2-141

Of the Coming of Little Children

undated

You will read in the bible how it says of the Child Jesus — "And God so loved the world that he sent his only begotten son into the world that the world might not perish but have everlasting life" And so it is with all the fathers & mothers — they send their children out into the world that the children may grow & be good men & women & help the world. & the world never dies — the fathers & mothers die but the little children live & when they grow old their children live & so on forever & this is Eternal life

. . . .

. . . .

Now I come to wonder & the mystery of all this is & ever will be the Coming of these little children — the strange new way each day about us — How & why all this be? No man knows — it is the great Unfathomed secret of life & the great thing we know yet some things we know not

When God has told us

yet some things we know not

You remember in Maeterlinck's Blue Bird how the souls of little children waited & be born & cried & the ship of life & how at last when the child started the great secret of the mother was heard in the world beyond. How we know that all life that is to be waiting to be born in an egg

Little chicken waits in here egg
Little birds in birds egg and so on
And stays & stays little human babies
wait in human eggs — [illegible]

[illegible]

33-13-236

The Ocean

The attempt to monopolize the shores of the ocean for the benefit of the few is increasingly successful. A theory is being developed by which a beach is declared "private" and useable only by the property holders adjoining. It is thus becoming increasingly difficult for American citizens to bathe in the ocean without paying tribute to real estate dealers, hotel keepers and bathing house proprietors. This works unusual injustice upon colored people because they are discriminated against, not only by these monopolists but by the white bathers. Colored people are continually forced into advocating segregated beaches in order to escape this discrimination. But just as in lynching and lawlessness, the real victim is not the Negro, but the whole land and its inhabitants, so the growing monopoly of ocean-bathing is going to bear heavily in the future upon those who are blithely seeking color discrimination along the whole ocean front of the United States.

33-44-43

30-23-19

In a recent number of the CRISIS it was stated that the first wife of the late John W. Thompson of Rochester, New York was a white woman. We are informed by his daughter, Mrs. Joseph C. Moore, that this is a mistake. Both the first wife and second wife of John W. Thompson were of Negro descent.

Werner Drewes, North German by birth, has travelled widely around the world--Asia, South America, the West Indies and throughout the United States. He is an artist, especially interested in colored types. He has held an exhibition at the 135th Street Branch Library, and is still interested in painting colored folk. He is now living in New York.

10-43

16,8,41

Junctions

The proposed bill to curb the power of the courts in the case of injunctions brings forward again the sort of dilemma which repeatedly faces the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This Association has always been an organization of Liberals and even of Radicals on many matters of social advance. We believe in Democracy; we believe in the widest distribution of the right to vote; we believe in individual freedom of action and of speech to the utmost practical limits; and we believe in the Union Labor movement. In order to forward the realization of these beliefs for all men, we are organized to attack discrimination along the color line because it is primarily this kind of discrimination that hinders social advance in so many cases. It happens, therefore, that we often face curious dilemmas. Suppose that a wider right to vote would give the ballot to people who would vote for colored discrimination, and suppose that in this same proposed widening of the ballot there is either restriction or at least no further enfranchisement of Negroes? In such case, increased Democracy might easily work for increased colored discrimination. It would be, therefore, a puzzling question as to what action this organization ought to take. Should it support a widening of the right to vote because of Negro disfranchisement or should it stand for more voters, when Negroes were not included, therefore, bound at least temporarily to suffer? The same question comes with regard to school funds, particularly in the South. It is proposed to issue bonds for a large increase of school facilities, but no promise is made as to whether Negro schools are going to benefit or not. Shall the Negroes vote for the bonds on the general principle, that increase in education for anybody is better than ignorance? Or shall they say no bonds and no increased school funds for anybody unless the Negro schools are

36-2-116

adequately provided for? The same question comes in the case of Labor injunctions. There can be no doubt in the minds of our fair-minded men that the increased use and repeatedly widened power of court injunctions threatens the overthrow of Union labor. The power must be curbed. But this power of injunction has been used, not simply to protect capitalists and employers, it has been used to protect minority groups of employees against whom Union Labor discriminates. This is especially true of Negroes. Despite all of the true and restricted promises, Union Labor in the United States today has a general movement and with only minor exception, descriminates absolutely and continuously against colored laborers. It either keeps them entirely out of the Union or admits them here and there with great difficulty, or if they are admitted in considerable numbers, discriminates against them systematically when they are inside the Union. For this reason, Negroes have been compelled to win their place in organized industry in the United States by widespread and systematic scabbing. There is scarcely a single semi-skilled or skilled industry where the Negro has not gained what little imagination he has to Union ranks by first acting as a scab and strikebreaker. When now comes a proposal that the power of injunction be curbed and limited to dangerous and tangible property, this Association again faces a dilemma. If this bill is passed the power to discriminate against black men or against any minority group on the part of Unions will be tremendously increased. If this bill or some other bill, with similar purpose is not passed, the labor movement will be permanently checked. What is our duty? We may hesitate as to what action we should take concerning this specific bill, but on one point there can be no hesitation. This matter of colored discrimination in Union ranks has got to be put up to Union Labor now and definitely and in no uncertain terms and with arguments based upon unanswerable fact. And then Union Labor in the

36-2-117

United States must take a stand.

36-2-118

File DuBois

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30, 23, 32

I firmly believe that the wide-spread attempt to restrict higher education in the case of persons belonging to certain classes, religions and races is spreading over the world because of the same chief causes. Just as in the early 19th century the common school training of the working classes and of women in general was opposed lest political and social power get into the hands of these people, just so today the domination of the world by certain European nations is being safeguarded and perpetuated by restricting the higher training of the working classes, of Jews, and of Negroes in Africa and America.

This numerus clausus is not the direct result of war conditions except as war always brings nasty and unfortunate things. Nations got a chance to do this with a certain amount of public approval because of the war.

The origin of the numerus clausus is chiefly economic and psychological although, of course, in the case of the Negro the fact that he was a slave helps.

It is not justified from the point of view of humanity or from the point of view of any nation or any race. It does not protect races, it weakens them.

A concerted attack by reason and science upon this policy should certainly be organized.

THE JIM-CROW CAR

A RHAPSODY

A group of persons of all colors are sitting in a Southern home, looking out on a beautiful spring landscape. One suggests a journey in the world, most of the others demur. The thought of the journey seems to depress them. The White One asks: "But don't you like to travel?" "Certainly," say the others, "but --", and one begins - there is the waiting-room, describing the part of the depot in the South set aside for Negroes on a particular journey which she took. Number two tells of the ticket window and of the difficulty of buying tickets. Number three tells of boarding the cars. Number four describes a car in which she journeyed, its dirt and accommodations. Number five tells of the white folks who were in there and who passed through. Number six describes the news butcher and the conductor. Then follow in order a series of stories of experiences covering smoking, changing cars, lunches, heat, prisoners, etc., until the arrival at the end of the journey. Finally, the White One says: "But all that will be changed now; railroads are national." "But the nation is Southern," answers the black man,"and as long as it is, there can be no change."

41-9-291

You are about to listen to the rhythm in word and song by which a group of human beings far removed from you have tried to express; their thoughts of life and death. These people, some twelve million in number, are the descendants of black slaves which Europe forcibly transported to America in the 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th Centuries. The blood of all nations flows in their veins, but the predominant strain is black African. They have known life with all its depths of sorrow and degradation and they have also experienced its finer and higher compensations in sunshine and love, sacrifice and toil. They have given America its only folk song and its dancing. They are beginning now to express themselves in prose and poetry, in painting and in sculpture. Their work is intensely human and calls for human encouragement and sympathy over all the world.

Keys Niels Speech

35-2-546

The re is in Cleveland , Ohio, a cultural exhibit which has received much less attention than it diserves. It is a succession of Cultural Gardens, broidering a public park. Here in small compass are plots of ground with statues of persons inscriptions and plaques commemorating nations and groups which have contributed to the civilization of the world and the city. Ther not only is Germany, Italy and Greece illustrated, but Lithuania, Poland, Hungary. England is remembered by a Shakespeare garden. But the Negro race is not there. This is curious for two reasons first, the Negro race has played a striking part in Cleveland history, from the day of Frederick Douglass , the Langstons and Senator Bruce to that of the late Charles W. Chestnut. And secondly, the whole area of fine homes bordering the park, once the abode of rich Cleveland society, is now owned almost entirely by Negroes and in most cases kept up quite as well as in the past. But while the Lithuanian can and does cherish his cultural past and is still American, the Negro is paying for his fight to become an American citizen by rapid surrender of his cultural heritage and experience. Any suggestion then of a "Cultural Garden" for him would meet bitter opposition from Negroes themselves

38-23-25

George W. Coleman is the father of the present Open Forum movement. I have spoken many times before Forums in all parts of the East, Middle and Far West. I regard the Forum movement as the straightest step toward practical, intelligent democracy that is being taken today. In a world of dangerous propaganda, deliberate misrepresentation and intellectual muddle, the Open Forum in America is one of the few bright and reassuring spots.

36-2-123

In a certain prominent Baptist church in Memphis, whose Pastor is, if I mistake not, Doctor Cox, there was published a large notice: "Come in, rest and pray." Under this notice was a drinking fountain and on that in small letters: "For white folks only."

36-2-124

Dr. H. Claude Hudson was born in Louisiana and educated at Wiley University. He began praticing dentistry in Shreveport, Louisiana, a lynching town, where he dared to establish a branch of the N. A. A. C. P. A mob, led by the Sheriff and Chief of Police, invaded the annual meeting of the colored Doctors of the State of Louisiana, looking for Mr. Pickens who was to address the meeting. After this Dr. Hudson removed to California and joined the N. A. A. C. P. Branch at Los Angeles. He became President and the great activity of the Branch during the last three or four years has been due in no little degree to his energetic leadership.

CREDO

I believe that all men, black and brown and white, are brothers, varying through time and opportunity, in form and gift and feature, but differing in no essential particular, and alike in soul and the possibility of infinite development.

Especially do I believe in the Negro Race: in the beauty of its genius, the sweetness of its soul, and its strength in that meekness which shall yet inherit this turbulent earth.

30-3-10

A true Fairy Tale

Sherwood Healy

Once upon a time a white Southerner of Macon, Georgia, married (or at least consorted with for life) a colored woman, Eliza Clark also of Macon. Of this couple were born seven children, four sons and three daughters.

The father brought them north and tried to enter them into the public schools of New York. But this was before the Civil War and he could onlyget them into a Quaker school on Long Island.

They were or eventually became catholics. One son J.A.Healy became Catholic bishop of Portland, Maine. Another son became president of Georgetown University, D.C., where Negro are not now admitted. A sister became Mother Superior of the Congregation of Notre Dame. Another brother was ordained to the priesthood, but died.

49-5-36

Of such is the Kingdom of Heaven, but not of earth, since the ~~Cruch~~ Church did not ~~know~~ dream that these her children were of Negro descent.

THE CRISIS IN ENGLAND.

The Girl who is too busy to read newspapers, being interested in more important things, asked at dinner between courses:

"What's the matter with England, anyway?"

Others throughout the land are asking the same thing and want the answer in the same space and time.

Briefly, the trouble with England is Coal, Aristocracy and Imperialism.

Coal gave England during the 19th Century an immense industrial advantage. She trained her working classes and became a manufacturer of iron, steel, cotton and woolen goods and other commodities on a world scale. She sold these all over the world to pay for the food and raw material which she imported. But imports were cheap because they were raised largely by primitive, undeveloped countries, with low wages and slave labor; and goods were dear because England set the price according to her skill and wants and she wanted Wealth and Leisure.

Two things ensued: English capitalists England became rich from foreign commerce and England swung gradually from the slave trade into a new conception of industrial empire. Yes, England, rich philanthropy freed the slave but it was because English capital she saw that transporting material could be made to pay better than transporting black men. England She became imperial. On her vast dominions the sun never set. But this wasn't mere sentiment. It was hard, paying business. She seized colonies, lands and territories on any pretext and by any method. Murder, theft, cheating, force marked her imperial way. She developed the greatest navy in the world and for years her navy was so large that it could overcome the warships of any other two nations.

34-2-111

When she had conquered a territory or a colony, she organized it for business. With her surplus wealth, she loaned the colony money for its development. She established plantations, raised sugar, rubber, cocoa, all sorts of things; she built railroads; she built up, by means of highly paid English officials, a strong local government backed by army and navy. This meant that the investment soon began to pay. It paid in Canada, it paid in Australia, it paid all over Africa, it paid all over Asia. It was by the end of the 19th Century the most magnificent business institution in the world.

On this was built the second thing: English aristocracy. The nobility and gentry of England represent not so much hereditary class as triumphant commercialism. They receive huge incomes; they have vast privileges and the money that they make out of colored labor all over the world enables them to hold English labor in its place.

But eventually came disaster. First, local colonies where there were enough white people, asserted their independence of England and ~~refused to be simply money-making institutions.~~ their right to exploit them own "niggers" and white workers. Thus, England lost the United States and had to recognize the independence of Canada, Ireland, Australia and South Africa.

Then the laborers at home demanded more and more recognition there until they actually established a labor government but did not know what to do with it when they had it; and finally came War. War because of imperial colonies and profit-making War killed men, overthrew industry, destroyed credit, and England finds herself today with her industry disorganized and imperiled by industry in Germany and the United States; with her control of credit lost to France and the United States; and with her working classes idle and angry and her colonies on the edge of revolt. For the first time in her existence, she is on the verge of recognizing the independence of a colored country—India.

34-2-112

Out of this hole Ramsey McDonald tried to pull the nation. The aristocracy ~~yelled~~ yielded a little but not much. Organized industry and banking fought for privilege and threatened bankrupcy. Then the Socialists gave up and Ramsey Mac Donald, Stanley Baldwin and Lloyd George have united in a new temporary government to make at least the beginning of a new country.

It will be some job!

One wonders if Imperialism, Aristocracy and Coal after all really paid quite as well as the world once thought!

Suppose the British Empire instead had invested in human intelligence for the masses; comfort, not simply for the aristocracy; liberty for darker peoples as well as white; and the art of beauty for all mankind?

England article

1926 (?)

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34-2 107

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34-2-108

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34-2-109

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A committee of gentlemen went up the Maine coast recently as guests of Mr. John E. Nail to look at the proposed resort site at Sorrento. Among them were George H. Harris, Editor of the NEW YORK NEWS, E. K. Jones, Secretary of the Urban League, Thomas W. Tayler, Secretary of the 135th Street Branch of the Y. M. C. A., New York City, H. H. Pace, President of the Northeastern Life Insurance Company and W. E. B. Du Bois, Editor of THE CRISIS.

36-1-30

The Maine coast in the vicinity of Bar Harbor is one of the most beautiful places in the United States. It is a combination of mountains and sea, the highlands coming straight down to the water with islands and deep indentations into the land, rolling meadows, hills, rocks, trees and beautiful resorts. This coast has long been one of the great playgrounds of America for those people who want high altitudes, cool, fresh air and proximity to the ocean.

Recently, a plot of six hundred acres opposite Bar Harbor, at Sorrento, has been put upon the market for sale and Mr. Nail has secured an option. The land presents unusual aspects of beauty. There is a high, wooded ridge with old trees and magnificent views of the country round about, the mountain ranges and shining sea. There is an island, abundant space for golf links and a stretch of land near the sea available for home sites and cottages. There are already three hotels in excellent condition and several cottages and other buildings. There is a large swimming pool which enables bathers to avoid the extreme temperatures of the northern sea and yet have excellent bathing

facilities. There are docks and bear landings, a post office, excellent roads, a fine water supply and a population of kindly people without race prejudice.

All these details together, however, do not convey any adequate picture of the crisp, clean air, the beautiful foliage, the deep blue of the sea and the extroardinary peace and attractiveness of this retreat.

The question now is: are there enough American Negroes who appreciate a quiet, Exclusive resort of this sort to finance it? If five hundred persons could be secured who would put $1000 each into the proposition, they could secure home sites of adequate size and be part of one of the finest summer settlements in the United States.

36-1-31

Sorrento can be reached by rail in eighteen hours from New York by direct express, or by boat from New York or Boston in twenty-four hours or less, or by motor car over perfect roads from any part of the United States.

Persons who are interested in this proposition can secure further information by writing Mr. John E. Nail, 145 West 135th Street, New York, New York.

Haiti

Haiti has had twenty-six presidents since the death of Christophe in 1820 when the North and South were reunited. Of these seventeen have been deposed by revolution and five died in office. Eleven of these twenty-six ruled between 1911 and 1916. Twelve of the twenty-six were Negroes, six were griffe—with a very small percentage of white blood—and eight mulattoes.

All these rulers were made to feel the ancient curse on Ham. Foreigners have never failed during any period of the century and a quarter of Haiti's independence to study how they might exploit that country. A small group in the capital and in the Cape were always gambling on the political situation, loaning money to this or that local chief who wanted to start a revolution and who, if successful, would promise large returns to the foreigners. Claims on Haiti by the United States began when Christophe seized United States vessels, after one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars sent through his agencies to buy goods in the United States had been fraudulently held there.

Relations between the two countries were also complicated by the fact that white refugees from the reign of terror in Haiti landed in the United States, causing slave owners here to fear that what had happened in Haiti would come to the ears of the slaves and induce revolt. A long series of unpleasant incidents took place in the United States as a result of the French refugees planning armed expeditions to bring Haiti back under the French flag. Fonchet prophesied in 1795 that Negro control in the island would mean that the United States would always feel a certain repulsion toward Haiti.

The United States early declared that it would not recognize Haiti as a country. At the same time, however, it was anxious to develop commercial relations. Little wonder that Haiti was slow

37-4-36

to grant commercial favors to a power which showed itself opposed to political relations.

Trade continued, however, despite all drawbacks. In 1822 the United States was exporting as much to Haiti as to Russia, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark and Ireland combined, and more shipping entered the United States from Haitian ports than from any other country save England, the British American colonies, and Cuba.

In the eighteen thirties, with the growth of abolition agitation, the question of recognition entered upon a new phase. To the voice of the merchants who were interested in Haitian commerce was added that of the opponents of slavery. When the House of Representatives adopted the celebrated gag rule, which forbade all discussion of abolition, resolutions demanding the recognition of Haiti were substituted for those which came under that rule, in order that the question of slavery might be kept before the people.

The difficulties between the two countries is illustrated by the fact that the United States intervened in Haitian affairs a number of times before the present occupation, which began in 1915. As early as 1799 she prohibited United States ships from entering the island's southern ports, thus preventing delivery of war materials and defeating Rigaud, the opponent of Toussaint. During the reign of FaustinI the United States joined France and England to stop a Haitian war with Santo Domingo. In 1866 and 1867 United States naval vessels visited Haiti "because of revolutionary movements that threatened to place in Jeopardy the lives and property of American citizens." In 1870 the United States warned Haiti to keep out of the question of the annexation of Santo Domingo to the United States. In 1889-90 the United States warned Haiti to keep out of the question of the annexation of Santo Domingo to the United States. In 1889-90 the United States made such insistent efforts to secure Mole St. Nicholas that much unfriendliness

to this country was created.

The very year before the final intervention in 1915 efforts were made to protect American citizens and secure a treaty giving the United States special privileges in Haiti. Thus on some fifteen occasions the United States, not to mention other countries, has put such diplomatic pressure as some authorities name as intervention in the Black Republic. In fact, Haiti has received practically nothing but discouragement from other nations.

32-4-28

A Mild Suggestion

From my little window I watch the world. I read from time to time many a proposal to settle finally the Negro problems. To me however they seem tame and dilly-dallying. They do not go directly to the root of the matter. The one proposes that we get rid of our prejudices against black folk — the idea! Another that Negroes rise to our level — what will that matter? It is not poverty we hate but Niggers — not ignorance but Niggers, not crime but Niggers. Some propose to make them emigrate — but think of the waste of time & money and patience, & the like. No my friends I am convinced you are not radical enough — that you unwisely hesitate to express what really hovers in the background. Honestly now, my white friend, South North East & West — in club and mine, on scaffold & lawn, what you really want is to be rid of these Negroes — thoroughly & finally rid of them, isn't it?

33-2-26

Good! Well then Kill them. May yankee not [illegible]
star — I'm in Civil Earnest. Small [illegible] seem to
[illegible] in these [illegible] times of war when Glory
is [illegible] the market. Kill them I say. Make
careful & satisfactory arrangements & kill out
the yankee nation in twenty-four hours.

The soil of Georgia is red — some
say from blood — this is not so. It is from
the [illegible] iron in the clay and side Hill.

Of course I deem one [illegible]
time is a frightful waste of
[illegible] — against the genius of the country

.... Most of us of course do not believe
that the Respectable Jesus of the 19th century
would have the effrontery to send Negroes
& the same heaven with us; — the American
A.B.C.F.M. & the contrary notwithstanding

I have some friends in Georgia who
would do they undertake this matter

33-2-27

It would afford such a glorious
outlet for our fighting blood — such
expansion

und

38-13-182

The Cleverness of G. B. S.

I am often in doubt when I hear criticisms of George Bernard Shaw as to whether I myself am exceedingly clever or an unusual fool. I remember reading Shaw's works first on an ocean voyage, a half dozen or more volumes. I was entranced. Afterwards, in an English railway carriage I said to two companions - an Irish Presbyterian and an English physician - "he is the greatest prophet now speaking." To my intense surprise, the roof actually rose from that carraige and when they were thru, I was silent. Since then I have had the same extraordinary experience again and again. "Fannie's First Play" which was to me a great tract for the moral freedom of women and the downfall of hypocrisy became in the hands of so many of my friends and acquaintances "simply, funny and queer" and here now comes Van Tassel Sutphen seeing in what I regard as the finest recent defense of christianity and religion of all kinds the "solid incontrovertible fact" that the author cannot possibly be a gentleman. Amazing! Spinthe

38-13-183

seems to me a most suitable mmetic for a feast of sacrifice since he is the kind of hypocrite that the God of the New Testament spews out of his mouth. Ferrovius is funny only as all simple, sincere religionists, is pathetically laughable efen in his deep sincereity. But above all of these contradictory and half done exponents of religion stands the splendid religious woman and the fine humanity and love of animals in Androcles himself. How can anyone fail to see Shaw's great message in this play?

GOLDSMITH BROS.
COVER LINEN

Disarmament in Asia

The fruits of war are war. No asiatic with an ounce of sense can have any faith in the peace movement in Europe when one remembers the past. Europe had raped India, and finally, it had every intention of raping Japan. The only thing that saved Japan was the army and navy. That army and navy secured for Japan, Manchuria. But Europe took it away from her on the plea that it belonged to China, and then annexed it herself. The World War and the Russian Revolution made it impossible for Europe to hold Manchuria. She now turned around and asked Japan to give it up in the interests of China. Japan replied that China is not _____ ___ play possible because of her exploitation by Europe. She declared that in effect, if not in so many words, that the only reason Europe is favoring China is because China is helpless with civil war. There is only one thing, therefore, that will convince Japan today or all Asia in the long run that Europe wants peace, and that is for Europe to give up the _____, second, therefore to war, and then his present exploitation of the darker nations. If Europe and America are determined to continue to extract from Africa, India and China the tribute which they have taken in the last one hundred years and more, then that determination spells war. War of defense, on the part of Asia, so far as it can organize itself; warof aggression on the part of different European countries to gain a large part of the lute. Such wars would be dangerous for civilization. They would mean organized murder, poverty, and the disfranchising of human beings. The first step, therefore, toward effective and real peace must be the abolitionof race prejudice, the abolition of the exploitation which is based upon this prejudice, and the willingness of

Europe and America to exist by their own labor and by such trade with other races as will return to those races decent returns for their labor and material. Until this is accomplished, all appeals for peace and disarmament are in vain.

33-6-5

Franklin

I rode with a beautiful river — wide or wide & shimmering waters flanked by great mountains; grim chimneys belched, great lumbered hills rolled back the sky & towns ran by now stretched on river bank, now nestled in woods, now banked two storied on the mountains. The evening sun blazed golden & the dashed & smiled but ever the eternal hill sat beside the world - grey rocked bare with now a streak & great & some dim roofed cottage keys - above

Then came Franklin — two yarn mills for hostesses & where the crowd was friendship & laughter; a hasty clear cut & kindness like and an audience of 400 white black & grizzled. It was a different place for talking & I faltered

and the audience sat very still & looked
& any version of the word-war, & of
course — white silent & well dressed
& would willingly have asked questions
When we went & the little colored
church & graveyard & each hands
we envied & untamable fellowship &
I can't [illegible] this version of towns &
timbered hills & two kind faces all
friendship & joy

41-9-296

41-9-323

My Dinner

Of course it happens daily & certainly no colored man or woman in America lives who cannot tell the tale in a ~~thousand~~ hundred variations. And yet I am realizing more & more each day how few of my white friends realize even faintly the dreadfulness of this daily tragedy. It is not fair nor safe for such ignorance of the lives of one's fellows should exist and I am therefore tempted to tell just this episode

I am, it goes without saying, brown & smiley. I was asked urgently to come to Winnipeg from my home in New York city & lecture on the "Brotherhood of Man". The time seemed opportune ~~& atta~~ — when is not the time to speak of Brotherhood, that day when all its claims fail? — I went, although my folks most frantically protested

It was a long journey, from nightfall on Monday to Midnight Wednesday. Passing the gleam & shadows of the Dakotas we rode to the plains of Western Ohio & went into the grimness of Chicago where night fell again. Another morning found me at St Paul & then

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The Fort Garry

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CHAS. L. DE ROUVILLE, Resident Manager.

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▫ ▫

UNDER CONSTRUCTION,
THE MACDONALD, EDMONTON, ALTA. THE PRINCE RUPERT, PRINCE RUPERT, B.C.
THE QU'APPELLE, REGINA, SASK.

F. W. BERGMAN, MANAGER OF HOTELS, WINNIPEG, MAN.

2

dallamed a day of gray wonder: a mighty world of darkness shrieked & shrieked away — opulent, silent almost unlemental and Oh so big and horrible. I came to Winnipeg at night and to the city & some of the city officials & a reporter met me. At the Hotel Royal Alexandra there seemed to have been some mistake & my room had not been reserved They were sorry. It made some inconvenience but little difference: I was by one o'clock installed in the Fort Garry Hotel, a beautiful tall new structure, quietly elegant. I raised to bed with a glad rage.

The next morning I gave myself the luxury of a breakfast in my room & then went out to view that quiet clean city & its marvelous resources.

I was to speak at 8, so I determined to have no lunch & dine at five. I met the beautiful girl

(2)

Henry Highland Garnett was born as a slave in Maryland, December 23, 1845. He ran away with his wife to Pennsylvania and in 1825 came to New York City. He was educated in the African Free School on Mulberry Street and studied with Charles L. Reason, Charles T. Downing, Ira Aldridge and others. He and Alexander Crummwell were afterward educated at Oneida Institute in New Hampshire, and he was graduated in 1839. He settled in Troy; studied for the ministry, and was licensed to preach in 1842. He became pastor of the Liberty Street Presbyterian Church, where he stayed ten years, and published a paper called "The Clarion". He was a cripple for many years, on account of the swelling on his leg; finally he had his leg amputated in 1841. He married Miss Julia Williams in 1842. In 1850, he visited England, France and Germany. Afterward, he went as a missionary to Jamaica, and during the Civil War became a chaplain of colored troops. He then served as President of Avery College; became a pastor of a Presbyterian Church in the District of Columbia, and then went to Shiloh Church in New York City, where he remained as pastor for twenty-six years. In 1881, accepted the position of Minister to Liberia. He lived but a short time and I have visited his grave at Monrovia.

33-6-9

Milholland

JOHN E. MILHOLLAND AND THE UNIVERSAL RACES CONGRESS

In 1911 there was held in London, a Congress of representatives to all the chief racial groups of the world. It was an extraordinary meeting, and if it had not been over-shadowed by the immence and the final breaking of the world war, it might have easily become the beginning of a movement in human relations which would have transformed the face of humanity.

37-8-30

The Races Congress was started by the Ethical Culture Society and conceived and executed by Gustav Spiller. In the United States to men advocated it and helped it; Felix Adler and John Milholland. John Milholland furnished the enthusiasm and motive power, and particularly was the one who interested me, urged my attendance, and contributed to my expenses.

Mr. Milholland's business at the time necessitated his spending a large part of the year in London. He was particularly interested in making London think straight on the American Negro problem. He was incensed at the time of Booker T. Washington's visit. The idea was spread abroad in London in thinking circles that everything was going well in the United States and that everybody agreed with Mr. Washington's program. Milholland protested. He sent letters to the papers and he sent letters to America. As a result, a spirited protest, signed by many leading American Negroes, was sent to London to show that Mr. Washington's program was inadequate and his picture of racial conditions in America unfair.

Mr. Milholland wanted this followed up by a personal visit from me and attendance upon the Races Congress. He arranged to haveme invited to address one of the prominent women's clubs. Immediately, protest from American members and frequenters of the club arose. They threatened dire things if I should appear. The English people knew little about me or my point of view, and were disposed to be very hospitable to Mr. Washington, but at the same time, they did not propose to have America dictating as to what persons they should listen to.

(John E. Milholland and the Universal Races Congress.)

They rose up and squelched the opposition and gave me a notable dinner. Her Highness Ranée of Sarawak presided and Maurice Hewlett, the Bishop of Honduras and many other persons were present to listen to me.

The Races Congress assembled in the great hall of the University of London. There were prominent Englishmen, like Sir Harry Johnston and Lord Weardale, distinguished French and German scientists, Italians and Austrians, East Indians, Japanese, Chinese, Egyptians and Africans. Practically all nations were represented, and there ensued an extraordinary and frank interchange of ideas and comparison of inter-racial problems. I shall never forget the morning when the gentleman from Ceylon paid his bitter tribute to Christians who were used to singing the hymn "From Greenland's Icy Mountains; from India's Coral Strand," ending with a lovely sentiment, "where every prospect pleases and only man is vile!"

37-1-31 8

The Congress was an immense and world-wide success. Its printed report, gotten out simultaneously with the meeting, still forms a reference book of great value. A permanent organization was formed, under the presidency of Lord Weardale, with the Prime Minister of England, Arthur James Balfour, J. Ramsey MacDonald and General Booth as Vice Presidents. The Executive Council was a Who's Who of race leaders throughout the world. But alas, at the very time the Races Congress was meeting, a German war vessel visited Agadir, and before another Congress could be assembled, the world was at war.

In all the proceedings of the Congress, Mr. Milholland was prominent and took a leading but unobtrusive part. I shall always thank his memory for the opportunity of attending this great and significent meeting.

& women center the eye & ear of the audience — the audience which sits in the orchestra demands power but uses mainly & unconsciously on the audio deck balcony.

It is beautiful but not consistent — the walls are the usual white color & are mottled in the windows On the other hand the artificial lighting is neatness & harmony having the stylized busts on the roof

30-16-32

St Marks

30-16-31

We are beginning to get churches of a certain distinction — formerly conventional even now not usually ours or adapted to our use but beautiful. The new St Marks has a distinct dignity & a certain finesse & completeness of effect. I & centers on the pulpit — the great unbroken curve of the balcony & the corresponding curve of the marble solid & oaken pews over the generous bowing of the brace three circles small & circly all about & simple & attentive on the pulpit a severe ordeal

4. grey stone over the pulpit was simple & beautiful in two straight lines & a third segment in the middle the carven curves of chancel boards behind a square & solid pulpit. On either side stretch the short lines of the choir & in front the organ. Does much

HAITI

The persistence of the United States government in appointing to the head of the educational system of Haiti a man whom the best class of Haitians neither respect nor trust, augurs ill for the Haitian proclamation of President Hoover. It is especially unfortunate, coming as it does right after the visit of the Education Commission. The Crisis has said little about this Commission because there was little to say with any degree of comfort. We deplored its appointment because the necessity of sending any Commission to study the reasons and justifications for our interference with Haitian affairs was bad enough, but necessary after the mistake had been made. When, in addition to this, a Commission was appointed to meddle with the internal educational system of an independent sister state, without that state's wish or desire, this was merely adding insult to injury. And The Crisis wishes that President Moton had courteously but firmly declined to aid any such Commission. But Mr. Moton, with several Negro Americans of distinction, and with one white representative of the General Education Board, consented to visit Haiti. But there were several things connected with that visit which were most unfortunate. A Commission of one government to act is guided very strictly by rules of dignity and procedure. A United States Commission arriving on a war vessel, duly escorted and saluted by United States officials, proclaims to the world and to the country to which it is sent that its mission is important and its is left to its hosts a matter of thought and care. But when a Commission, like the Moton Commission, travels in discomfort and endures the careless neglect of the President of the United States and its subordinates, this is not simply an insult to the Presidents of the two greatest Negro

47-1-186

institutions of the United States; it is an insult to the government of Haiti, and Haiti knows it. It is not a matter which can be hushed up by silence and endured as a merely personal affront. The Haitian Educational Commission, the moment they put foot on American ought to have given the Associated Press a statement of what they had been through that would have made the ears of the President tingle. In addition to this, they should have had the privilege of giving their findings and recommendations immediately to the press without waiting for President Hoover to vary or revise it. As it is, American Negroes still wait for explanations, and either a defense or an arraignment, and certainly, a report signed by the Moton Commission.

781-4-187

I know of no greater service that could be done for American democracy than to put real information in the hands of the mass of reading Americans at a trifling price. It is a tremendous service for human uplift.

47-4-134

The Prisoner is not a play for the tired business man. It is a grim, hard drama with a fundamental philosophy of peace and love which the world has always voted over-simple and unworkable. But the play is sincere and well acted and its lesson of the prison which jealousy and ambition may build about a soul, as well as the free spirit which a jail may confine, and well brought out in simple tense scenes.

36-2-138

Inter-Marriage

1

The following states forbid marriage between white persons and persons of Negro descent:

Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, West Virginia.

This makes twenty nine states in all. In the other nineteen states such marriages are legal.

36-2-121

Life insurance is no longer a luxury nor an experiment. It is just as much the duty of a modern man to have his life insured as it is to wear clothes, to get married, and to eat nourishing food. The expense can be kept to a minimum by taking out the life insurance at an early age which effects a double saving: the paying of a smaller amount for the insurance and the habit of thrift when young at a time when thrift costs least in sacrifice. All this applies to any person, of any color, sex, or race. But young colored men and young colored women should be especially interested. The conditions under which their people live make death a more imminent risk. The breaking up of families by death, poverty and accident is greater in their case. And the habit of thrift is a thing which must be especially ~~remembered~~ learned by a race emerging from the thriftless customs of a slave regime. The first duty then of a young colored person is to earn a living. The second duty, is to take out life insurance.

36-2-131

Negro-Caucasian Club,
Ann Arbor, Michigan

36-2-155

Twenty-five students of the University of Michigan met in a restaurant in Ann Arbor last June. They were members of the Negro-Caucasian Club and their guests, including Christians, Jews, Mohammedans, Brahmas and Agnostics and five members of the University faculty. The Dean granted this club only temporary recognition. It has brought to Ann Arbor speaks as William Pickens, Norman Thomas, Paul Blanshard, A. Philip Randolph, Roger Baldwin and various professors of universities. The club sent representatives to listen to the Sweet trial. Literary men and teachers, like Kelly Miller, and Jean Toomer and Alain Locke came to speak. The aim of the club is to encourage a spirit of friendliness and fair-mindedness between the races and to study and discuss the problems of race relations. The club wants to see other such organizations throughout the country.

YOUTH

The fear of Youth is the most astonishing of fears, and yet, curiously enough, most widespread. After all, what can Youth do but fail, and what more than that have we done? On the other hand, if, perchance, here and yonder, Youth with its new dream succeeds, then the world works forward; a little step or even a great mile. This is progress, and the only technique of progress I have ever seen. Always, I hail Youth. Hail and farewell.

36-1-4

[1927, probably]

Few people read. Fewer colored people read. We gossip, we skim the headlines of the newspapers and we read the details of the last prize fight, but if in the large assembly of our people those persons raised their hands who had in the last year read through carefully a book worth reading, the number would be astonishingly small. This is only a habit and it is a bad habit. We ought to organize groups to buy books for ourselves. There are very few people who could not spend five dollars a year in buying good books and most of us ought to spend ten dollars. In addition to that we should provide libraries and books for those of us who are too young or too poor to buy them and for bringing together the more costly books which even the well to do could not afford. Unless we become a reading people we cannot become educated, and unless we are educated we cannot advance either as quickly or as far as we ought to.

38-18-18

Q. D. Johnston

In modern civilized life there are certain things which every man does. He is born; he is educated; he goes to work; he takes out life insurance; he is sick; he dies. Few of these things which can be avoided, certainly not the first and the last. The degree of a man's civilization is measured by the care which he takes of the other items. To be sure, uneducated men have succeeded; some men do not work, and perhaps a few serious men do not carry life insurance. But none of these omissions are to be recommended. All of them are essential to life. Sickness may be avoided to some extent; death never. Insurance is a method of making these the least possible burden upon the man himself, his friends, and his family.

36-2-150

Along the Color Line

Africa

37-5-120

The site of an iron foundry four thousand years old has been discovered in Northern Rhodesia. It shows that in Africa iron was smelted at that early day in the culture of the Stone Age. Of course, scientists are already trying to figure out what "superior race" brought this knowledge from outside Africa, instead of realizing that iron is the gift of Africa to the world.

Culture through Literature in terms of Sociological Founda..

If we note the literature written about Negroes in the United States we may pick out: Sewall's "Selling of Joseph", the poems of Whittier, Lowell, and Walt Whitman, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" by Harriet Beecher Stowe, the orations of Phillips and Sumner, the fiction of Cable, Page and Howells. If we place beside this the literature written by the Negroes themselves, we have: the poems of Phyllis Wheatley, the autobiography of Richard Allen, the almanacs of Benjamin Banneker, David Walker's Appeal, the life of Gustavus Vassa, the essays of William Wells Brown, the biographies of Loguen and Douglass, the poems of Whitfield and Harper, numerous slave biographies, Simmons' Biographical Dictionary, Williams' History of the Negro Race, Washington's "Up From Slavery", and the work of Chestnut and Dunbar.

These two sets of work may be best interpreted from an economic or sociological point of view. That is, they are the expressions of problems of work and human contact and organization, and those problems find their expression in this literature and in turn, this literature marks the progress of human culture both in the Negro group and in the surrounding groups.

47-1-64

The Negro and Organized Labor

Degradation

Rise

women + slavery

Feudalism

The City

Negro Slavery + Feudalism

Race

New Competition

Territory

Moral Emancipation

Negro workmen

The City guild

Division

The labor union

33-6-209

Proclamation a more liberal tone was adopted toward black men. On Aug. 19, 1866, the National Labor Union said in its declaration:

"In this hour of the dark distress of labor, we call upon all laborers of what ever nationality, creed or color, skilled or unskilled, trades unionist and those now out of union to join hands with us and each other to the end that poverty and all its attendant evils shall be abolished forever."†

On Aug. 19, 1867, the National Labor Congress met at Chicago, Illinois. There were present 200 delegates from the states of North Carolina, Kentucky, Maryland and Missouri. The president, Z. C. Whatley, in his report said among other things:

"The emancipation of the slaves has placed us in a new position, and the question now arises, What labor position shall they now occupy? They will begin to learn and to think for themselves, and they will soon resort to mechanical pursuits and thus come in contact with white labor. It is necessary that they should not undermine it, therefore the best thing that they can do is to form trades unions, and thus work in harmony with the whites."‡

The K of L.

The A. F. of L.

...colored members."

The attitude of the American Federation of Labor may be summed up as having passed through the following stages:

1. "*The working people must unite and organize irrespective of creed, color, sex, nationality or politics.*"

This was an early declaration but was not embodied in the constitution. It was reaffirmed in 1897, after opposition. Bodies confining membership to whites were barred from affiliation.

2. "*Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions composed exclusively of colored members.*"

This was adopted by the convention of 1902 and recognizes the legality of excluding Negroes from local unions, city central labor bodies, &c.

3. *A National Union which excludes Negroes expressly by constitutional provision may affiliate with the A. F. L.*

No official announcement of this change of policy has been made, but the fact is well known in the case of the Railway Trackmen, Telegraphers, and others.

4. *A National Union already affiliated with the A. F. L. may amend its laws so as to exclude Negroes.*

This was done by the Stationary Engineers† at their Boston convention in 1902, and an (unsuccessful?) attempt in the same line was made by the Molders at their convention the same year. The A. F. L. has taken no public action in these cases.‡

The fight

(Crisis) The Printer

~~The Public Printer~~

The Railroads

The Firemen

The Molders

Wallace

The result

STRIKES FROM JAN. 1, 1881, to DEC. 31, 1900

	Total
Against employing colored girls	1
" " " men	23
" " " " and for increased wages	1
" " " foreman	1
" working with Negroes	7
For discharge of Negro employees	16
" " of foreman and vs. colored laborers doing journeymen's work	1
Total	50

Miners—Welcome Negroes in nearly all casses.
Longshoremen—Welcome Negroes in nearly all cases.
Cigar-makers—Admit practically all applicants.
Barbers—Admit many, but restrain Negroes when possible.
Seamen—Admit many, but prefer whites.
Firemen—Admit many, but prefer whites.
Tobacco Workers—Admit many, but prefer whites.
Carriage and Wagon Workers—Admit some, but do not seek Negroes.
Brick-makers— " " " " " " "
Coopers— " " " " " " "
Broom-makers— " " " " " " "
Plasterers—Admit freely in South and a few in North.
Carpenters—Admit many in South, almost none in North.
Masons— " " " " " " "
Painters—Admit a few in South, almost none in North.

Trade Union	Negro Members	Total M'mb'rship*
Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders	"Not wanted."	7,078
International Brotherhood of Bookbinders	"No record."	3,730
International Association of Car Workers	"None."	
Chainmakers' National Union of the U. S. A.	"None."	465
Elastic Goring Weavers' Amalgamated Association	"None in trade."	250
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers	"Not allowed."	7,000
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union	"None in trade."	2,000
American Flint Glass Workers' Union	"Never had any."	
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association	"None in trade."	1,400
Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association	"No applications."	278
International Jewelry Workers' Union of A.	"None in trade."	1,000
Amalgamated Lace Curtain Operatives	"Quest'n undecided."	
United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods	"None."	3,402
International Association of Machinists	"Not admitted."	30,000
Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Composition Metal Workers' International Union	"None."	6,000
International Brotherhood of Oil and Gas Well Workers	"None."	670
United Brotherhood of Paper makers	"None."	1,000
Pattern-makers League of North America	"None."	2,403
Piano and Organ Workers International Union of America	"None in trade."	
United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Gasfitters, Steamfitters, and Steamfitters' Helpers	"None."	8,000
National Association of Operative Potters	"None."	2,450
International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union	"No record."	9,745
Order of Railway Telegraphers and Brotherhood of Commercial Telegraphers	Barred by constit't'n	8,000
Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen	" " "	4,500
National Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union	"None known."	700
International Stereotypers and Electrotypers Union	'Question not settled'	
Stove Mounters, Steel Range Workers, and Pattern Fitters and Filers International Union of North America	"No legislation."	1,269
United Textile Workers of America	"No applications."	3,435
Ceramic, Mozaic and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union	" "	357
Trunk & Bag Workers International Union	"None."	234
Upholsterers International Union of N. A.	"	1,400
The American Wire Weavers Protective Association	"Would not work with Negro."	226
International Wood-carvers' Association	"No applicants."	
Grand International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers	Barred by constitut'n	37,000
Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen	" " "	39,000
Brotherhood of Railway Car-men	" " "	
The Switchmen's Union of North America	" " "	15,000
Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen	Barred by constitut'n	15,000
Order of Railroad Conductors	Would not be ad'tted	25,800
The Stone Cutters Association	Don't admit Negroes	10,000
Special Order Clothing-makers Union	"None."	
D. A. 300, K. of L. (window glass workers)	"None."	
Custom Clothing Makers' Union	"None."	

*Based mainly on actual paid membership tax. Cf. Report Industrial Commission, Vol. 17.

working under colored foreman
working with colored men
" " " "
e of colored employees
loying colored men
of colored employees
loying colored men
in rules and for discharge of
d-waiter
e of colored employees
oyment of colored girls
" " " men

Steel workers
Carpenters

Present situation

Negro + Philanthropy

Divided America

Divided World

~~[illegible]~~.

Armies + Navies

- Negro labor

undated

The view of the philanthropist who for sentimental reason wants to see the uplift of manking, and the view of enlightened self interest. The philanthropist is allowed to insist upon certain efforts toward religious conversion and education. The advocates of enlightened self-interest, on the other hand, point out that less poverty, more intelligent knowledge of modern technique and a healthy manpower would be a better way of directing colonies and that greater profit and advantage to the countries which lead civilization would accompany such a policy. On the other hand, it is clear that if the economic well-being, intelligence and physical strength in the colonial countries, that is among a majority of mankind, were increased, it would certainly be but a short time before this majority of men would struggle and struggle successfully for their emancipation from the domination of present civilization. No sooner do we reach this impasse than there occurs to us the analogy of the relation between power and class in the past within those very nations which are today leading civilization.

38-13-135

It has not been so long ago since every great nation was built on the pattern, which we now see reflected in colonies. That is, in charge of the country, ruling its politics, absorbing the larger part of its wealth and monopolizing its knowledge and manners ruled a small aristocracy. The great mass of the people were contributing through labor and service to the support of this aristocracy and the situation was strongly defended on the ground that this organization of human kind was perfectly natural and the only way in which civilization could advance was by having the mass of the ignorant and stupid people of the nation support the civilized classes. To disturb this organization would mean the downfall and end of civilization. For the sake therefore of human culture, one must maintain the degradation of the majority of men. This was the attitude of civilization up to the time of and indeed after French Revolution.

It has been America which has most successfully challenged this dictum. America and its bath tubs; America and the fact that a majority of working

people in this country live upon the plane of decency, that is not parallelled else where in the world. We have come to defend this voluably; we look forward not even in Great Britain and in the countries of Durope, to a rising of the labor class to a place where they share not only the political power but the economic power and the culture of the rulers of the nation. We are beginning to conceive in these countries, a real democracy. There are of course those who doubt that this democracy will be realizable in our day, but pratically none deny that its advent can be prophesied.

On the other hand, we have come to be just as dogmatic concerning the depressed masses of the world as we were formerly concerning the depressed classes within the nation. We envision the rise of great countries including their laboring classes, all perched upon the bodies of a majority of men. We think of modern culture as largely the monopoly of these leading nations. They are the ones that dominate the science and marvelous technique of our day, and by means of a monopoly of materials, machines and money, they keep in bondage the mass of men. Right here lies perhaps our most important mistake and that is in our comparison of European culture and the cultures of other lands. We see no goal for other lands even if they do advance except along the lines of European culture. We conceive European culture as consisting not simply of science and the application of science to the satisfactions of the wants of men, but also as consisting of the monopoly of materials, machines and money. This instead of being the picture of European superiority, illustrates rather precisely the reasons for its downfall. As compared with other cultures, the culture of Europe has grown in its scientific knowledge and in the technical way in which that knowledge has put the physical power of the world at the command of human wants. On the other hand the organization of industry by means of the capitalist system has not made European civilization superior, it has

38-13-136

made it inferior and is causing and will cause its possible collapse. Because the capitalist system has not only ruined the ideals and the culture of Europe itself, surplanted its ethnics and commercialized its Arts, but in addition to that it has used its power to ruin those patterns of culture in other lands and among other peoples which if they had been allowed to survive and develop would have taught Europe and the world much of which the world is today ignorant. For instance there can be no doubt, but that the relation of the land to the community in accord with the African pattern was vastly superior to anything that we have developed in European culture, while land monopoly among us is a cause and a prime cause of poverty with the result and of ignorance and disease. The African pattern if had been allowed to continue and develop would have abolished poverty. The family as developed in Asia is a stronger and finer organization than anything that we can show in modern civilization; while our family is disintegrating, breaking up and we are showing no likelihood of a substitution that can do the social work that the family was designed to do. The Chinese family on the other hand has stood up against conquest and disaster, flood and famine; against ignorance and the despising of men. It has become so powerful and so efficient that it does not make any difference who rules China, the family still survives. The Chinese family has been by the pressure of Europe and America undoubtedly distorted and compelled to take up social duties for which it was not adapted, until today its very efficiency interfers with the efficiency of the state and the expression of Art. This shows again the way in which ignorance and selfish interference from abroad has spoiled a cultural pattern.

I need hardly refer to Aft. The beauty that was Greece, the intricate technique of Indian Art, the artistic life of China, the examples of art in Africa, rediscovered in our own day; all these things have been spoiled, cheapened, almost driven from the face of the earth by the greed and cruelty and ignorance of European

38-13-137

civilization. I need say nothing of ethics, it is a colony today, India, that leads the world in ethically concept. There are no ethical standards in Great Britain or America; by which I mean that there is nothing that is so wrong and despicable and illogical, that the British empire and the American republic cannot pursue doggedly for generations and centuries in the face of liberal self-criticism, so long as this denial of ethics and religion makes for their power and self-esteem. No nation, no continent could have deve oped a man like Gandhi; he is a matter of jokes or puzzled astonishment to all modern civilization because of the things that he represents; sacrifice, atonement, the endeavor to establish a kingdom of love upon earth, is utterly inexplicable to London, Paris and New York.

38-13-138

In those cities we have the anesthesia of luxurious, wealth, the suicide of the machine and world war

I do not for a moment deny that in the leading cultural lands of the present there is not now and has not been in the past desperate effort to recover balance and a decent point of view. But the conception or real spiritual democracy comes with great difficulty. Democracy has been conceived in the West as primarily defense against oppression. But that is only the beginning of democracy and no mass of people can defend itself against power merely with a vote. Power is modern democracy resides in the monopoly of the machine; but even here the conception of improving monopoly simply by putting monopoly into the hands of labor is by no means the broad conception for which civilization calls. We must look upon the masses of men as not valuable and sacred simply because they are a mass, but because within them lies human possibility as great or greater than the world has ever realized in ancient aristocracy or modern plutocracy. The aristocracy, the oligarcly depends for its development very largely upon chance. The cultivation of the abilities of mankind on a broad and generous scale has never been attempted. Think what we might have by way of genius and ability if we did not depend upon that which comes to the surface by accident or only when accompanied by impudence and cunning? Suppose the whole field of human possibilities were explored; suppose we conceivedof a

world community of intelligent men, of men who knew the past and understood the present; and from these could forcast the future; of men of character and ethical standards. It is the mass of people as holding possibility of that kind of humanity, which is the real idea of democracy.

Moreover, the freedom about which we talk so often when we discuss democracy, is a freedom which can only be developed and enjoyed in communities of intelligent and upright men. Then you can have real opportunity for individual development; for that anarchy of will which paints the beauty of a varied civilization, rather than a civilization standarized, cut-and-dried. All this of course cannot be developed quickly; the whole idea of increasing size and rapid growth which is the child of infantile capitalistic monopoly pattern and of of silly force, All that must go, we will then have a chance under this broader and greater democracy for the slow development and accomodation of human thought and emotion to the developing and expanding cultural patterns. We will develop patience; we will look upon the world as a slowly and beautifully unfolding throng rathern than as a mechanical, hurried mass.

38-13-139

From this point of view the colony in the future world, becomes the essential problem. Unless we go to work and go to work immediately to conceive of the colony not as the basis of luxury, wealth and power in a few imperial countries; unless we look upon the mass of people in the colonies as literaly the hope of the world and of decent living for all human beings, we miss the greatest problem of our day. Moreover most of the difficulties in the way of allowing the peoples of the world to develop to be rid of their poverty, their ignorance and their disease, exists in the imagination and suicidal greed of men. In the matter of work andincome, there is scarcely any part of the world today that does not furnish materials which the world needs; and there is no reason in logic nor decency why the materials in general demand which any colony raises should not pay the tings which that colony needs. The diamond and cooper, tin and oil of Africa ought to pay for decent food,

shelter, clothing and education for the natives of that land. Take for instance the tin mines of Nigeria; they are paying dividends of from 50 to 80 percent and yet the miners who are bringing that tin where the world can use it are working for a shilling a day. Even more is reputable is the thing that has taken place in the gold and diamond mines of South Africa; there in return for which the world considers the greatest wealth, the mass of people has been reduced to semi-slavery.

There is no reason in the world why the valuable and indespensiable material which the colonial people furnish to the world should not balance the kind of materials or the processed goods and food which would make the native laborer a modern man.

To this it may be answered that while this is theoratically possible and just, the world is too selfish and self-centered to allow anything like this to happen. In reply to this we must remember that the greatest organizations in the world are religious; that the reason that the world in turn is not dominated by ethical and religious motives is because these organizations are not doing the work for which they were organized. In Africa it has happened that the missionary effort , great and fine as it has been has been only able to give elementary schools to the natives; and instead of emancipating the natives from the control of capital it has actual made wage slavery more and more possible. But today when we begin to see where emancipation really lies and what democracy really means there is no reason why the organized desire of normal human beings to be decent and good and self-sacrificing, which is so wide-spread in the world, should not be put at the head of a movement which could compell the world robbers and gamblers to carry out a new conception of the relation of colonies to the world. The so-called labor movement could easily be dominated by these ideals instead of being so largely as it is today the representatives of the petit bourgeois,— the small capitalist, who instead of looking at labor as a life career looks upon it as a stepping-stone to slave mastery. Men of good will after this war have got to stand for a mandate backed by the con-

38-13-140

centered organized conscence of the world, which will say, poverty, ignorance, and disease are not the natural lot of the masses of men; the masses have to offer in cultural patterns quite as much as Europe has developed. They are ones through whom real democracy is to be developed and real humanity and thereform. At whatever cost this mandale of universal decency; universal control of the action of powerful men toward those who are temperally weak, must be established and must be made effective.

38-13-141

Carbons

Miss Rosner
% Chas. Emerson Cooke
730 Aeolian Hall
N.Y.C.

37-8-61

THE NEW NEGRO THEATRE

I do not suppose that any set of people ever tried seriously to make the world ugly, and yet from time to time many motives have urged people to fight beauty through prejudice or preconception or because certain ethical considerations seemed to urge them.

This has been the case with the Negro in America. The Negro race is peculiarly a race of artists, of people subtly susceptible to every call of beauty, in music, in color, in work. In the earliest times their art impulse has been felt. The remains of Negroid art in prehistoric Europe are well known. The influence of the Negro artist in industry and religion throughout the centuries of Egyptian history is undeniable, and no industrial workers have ever put more delightful sense of form into their product that the Negro iron workers of all ages. The catasthophe of world slavery has made ~~them~~ men not only forget this, but it has been so fashionable to deny all originality and sense of the beautiful to black folk that their message has come to the modern American world only after extraordinary effort.

Men like Henry Ward Beecher had to plead with the people of New York to listen to the songs of the slaves, and when the world heard their strange, new beauty, it discounted and criticized the discovery. They were pronounced "imitations" and slight in ~~value~~ form, curious, but of no value to the musical world. Yet today they are foundation and motif of a whole new ~~scale~~ school of music and if there is ~~in~~ any America music it is Negro American music.

The American world is not a white world in tint of flesh but white shading in to every beautiful color from cream and dark brown. Yet the painter has not dared, in most cases, to paint the scene before him

save in white. One could see a New Orleans Mardi Gras transferred to paper without a colored face. Of the beauty and variety which Negro blood has given to millions of American faces almost nothing appears except startling caricatures. Gradually today the artist is breaking through this artificial beauty But his work is still regarded with surprise and even suspicion, as in the case of Manigault's "Negress."

37-8-62

At last, the Negro has forced a small foothold on the stage of serious drama. It has been a long, wearisome fight. Given his opening a generation ago as a minstrel he pushed on into comedy and adding his own wonderful music displayed under the genius of Williams and Walker and Cole and Johnson, a new musical comedy which caught the world's ear. When, however, effort was made to push on past this and portray along lines of serious dramatic effort the wonderful spiritual wealth of the Negro soul, there was no chance. One young black pioneer was forced even to suicide because of the doors wantonly closed in his face. Before these days a great black tragedian had knocked vainly at the entrance to the Green Room, but only found his chance abroad where every European country eventually vied to do him honor, and he was named as equal to the great Rachel.

Lately, two or three events have shadowed a new forward movement toward Negro drama. Slowly, tentatively, the Negro has appeared in fiction as something more than an ape and a clown. The spirit whirling in his soul, the tremendous wealth of dramatic material has begun to be sensed by American artists. Three times great pageants of Negro history and aspiration have been given in New York, Washington and Philadelphia, where audiences of perhaps 30,000 saw thousands of colored actors do folk-drama with surprising aptness and simplicity. Then there came in Harlem and spread to other cities companies of

colored players in conventional Broadway plays who outside of certain obvious misfits of ~~blood~~ plot and circumstance rose to ~~heights~~ of real dramatic ability and drew large colored audiences. Finally Mrs. Emile Hapgood with ~~Mr.~~ Robert Jones as artist and Ridgeley Torrence as playwright has taken a decisive step and put on Broadway, New York, three little plays with Negro players.

37-8-63

The plays deal subtly with the deeper strivings of the Negro people. They have artistic setting and beautiful Negro music and they are the most striking departures in American drama seen for more than a decade. They are, of course, criticized. Whenever a submerged people seek self-expression there are always folk outside who know far better than they know just what they want and think. The artist who seeks to give them expression will always be accused of assuming for them thoughts they never had, of making a dreamer out of a ~~thief~~, a wild tragedy out of superstition and giving ~~a~~ possible awkward defender to Jesus Christ.

But time proves all things. If this step succeeds, and whether it succeeds or not, in the up-rushing force of oncoming years the present spiritual revolution in the souls of black folk is going to give to the American stage a drama that will lift it above silly songs and leg shows. There is not ~~an~~ in American life a more tremendous source for plot and feeling , and no onecan interpret it as can Negroes themselves.

Negro Evangelization. undated; not complete

32-12-158

Negro slaves arrived in America with a strong tendency to Nature worship and a belief in witchcraft common to all primitive peoples. Beside this some had more less vague ideas of a supreme being and higher religious ideas, while a few were Mohammedans, and fewer Christians. Some actual priests were transported and others assumed the functions of priests, and soon a form of African religion and witchcraft appeared in the West Indies, which was known as Obi, or sorcery. The French Creoles called it " Waldensian" (Vaudois), because of the witchcraft charged against the wretched followers of Peter Waldo, whence comes the dialect name of Voodoo or Hoodoo, used in the United States. At first the system was undoubtedly African and part of some more or less general riligious system. It often, however, degenerated into mere imposture. There would seem to have been some traces of blood sacrifice and worship of the Moon, but ~~fortunately~~ unfortunately those who have written on the subject have not been serious students of curious human phenomena, but rather persons apparently unable to understand why a transplanted slave should cling to heathen rites. The most obvious reason for the spread of witchcraft and persistence of heathen rites among Negro slaves was the fact that at first no effort was made by masters to offer them anything better. This was because of the widespread idea that it was contrary to law to hold Christians as slaves. One can realize the weight of this if we remember that the Diet of Worms and Sir John Hawkins' voyages were but a generation apart. From the time of the Crusades to the Lutheran revolt the feeling of Christian brotherhood had been growing, and it was pretty well established by the end of the sixteenth century that it was wrong for Christians to hold each other as slaves for life. This did not mean any widespread abhorrence of forced labor from serfs or apprentices and it was particularly linked with the idea that the enslavement of the heathen was meritorious, since it punished their blasphemy on theone hand and gave them a chance

for conversion on the other.

When, therefore, the slave-trade from Africa began it met only feeble opposition here and there. That opposition was in nearly all cases stilled when it was continually stated that the slave-trade was simply a method of converting the heathen to Christianity. The corrollary that the conscience of Europe immediately drew was that after conversion the Negro slave was to become in all essential respects like other servants and laborers, that is bound to toil, perhaps, under general regulations, but personally free with recognized rights and duties.

38-12-159

Most colonists believed that this was not only actually right, but according to English law. And while they early began to combat the idea they continually doubted the legality of their action in English courts.

The colonies early began therefore cautiously to declare that certain distinctions lay between "Christian" inhabitants and slaves, whether they were Christians or not. Maryland, for instance, proposed a law, in 1638, which failed of passage. It was:

"For the liberties of the people" and declared "all Christian inhabitants (slaves only excepted) to have and enjoy all such rights, liberties, immunities, privileges and free customs, within this province, as any natural born subject of England hath ot ought to have or enjoy in the realm of England, saving in such cases as the same are or be altered or changed by the laws and ordinances of this province."

The question arose in different form in Massachusetts when it was enacted that only church members could vote. If Negroes joined the church, would they become free voters of the commonwealth? It seemed hardly possible. Nevertheless up to 1660 or thereabouts it seemed accepted in most colonies and in ~~England~~ the English West Indies that baptism into a Christian church would free a Negro slave. Massachusetts first apparently attacked this idea by enacting in 1641 that slavery should be confined to captives in just wars, "and such strangers as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us,"

meaning by"strangers" apparently heathen,but saying nothing as to the effect of conversion. Connecticut adopted similar legislation in I650 and Virginia declared in I66I that Negroes " are in-capable of making satisfaction" for time lost in running away by lengthening their time of service,thus implying that they were slaves for life,and Maryland declared flatly in I663 that Negro slaves should serve " durante vita." In Barbadoes the Council presented ,in I663,an act to the Assembly recommending the christening of Negro children and the instruction of all adult Negroes to the several ministers of the place.

At the same time in the ready-made Duke of York's laws sent over to the new colony of New York in I664 the old idea seems to prevail:

"No Christian shall be kept in bondslavery,villenage,or captivity,except such who shall be judged thereunto by authority,or such as willingly have sold or shall sell themselves,in which case a record of such servitude shall be entered in the Cpurt of Sessions held for that jurisdiction where such masters shall inhabit,provided that nothing in the law contained shall be to the prejudice of master or dame who have or shall by any indenture or covenant take apprentices for term of years,or other servants for term of years or life"

It was not until I667 that Virginia finally plucked up courage to attack the issue squarely and declared by law:

" Baptisme doth not alter the condition of the persons as to his bondage or freedom,in order that diverse masters freed from this doubt may more carefully endeavor the propagation of Christianity."

Following this Virginia took three further decisive steps in I670,I682, and I705. First she declared that only slaves imported from Christian lands should be free. Next she excepted Negroes and mulattoes from even this restriction unless they were born of Christians and were Christians when taken in slavery. Finally only personal Christianity in Africa or actual freedom in a Christian country excepted a Virginia Negro slave from life -

long slavery.

This changing attitude of Christians toward Negroes was reflected in Locke's Fundamental Constitutions for Carolina in I670, one article of which said:

" Since charity obliges us to wish well to the souls of all men, and religion ought to alter nothing in any man's civil estate or right, it shall be lawful for slaves as well as others to enter themselves and to be what church and profession any of them shall think best, and thereof be as fully members as any freeman. But yet no slave shall hereby be exempted from the civil dominion his master hath over him, but be in all things in the same state and condition he was in before."

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So much did this please the Carolinas that it was one of the few articles re-enacted in the Constitution of I698. In I67I Maryland was moved to pass "An act for the Encouraging of the Importation of Negroes and Slaves." This act declared that conversion or the holy sacrament of baptism should not be taken to give manumission in any way to slaves or their issue who had become Christians or had been or should be baptized either before or after their importation to Maryland," any opinion to the contrary notwithstanding."

It was explained that this law was passed because "several of the good people of this province have been discouraged from the importing or purchasing therein any Negroes or other slaves; and such have imported or purchased any there have neglected- to the great displeasure of Almighty God and the prejudice of the souls of those poor people - to instruct them in the Christian faith, and to permit them to receive the holy sacrament of baptism for the remission of their sin, under the mistaken and undergrounded apprehension that their slaves by becoming Christians would thereby be freed." This law was re-enacted in I692 and I7I5.

It is clear from these citations that in the seventeenth century not only was there little missionary effort to convert Negro Slaves, but that there

Was on the contrary positive refusal to let slaves be converted, and th that this refusal was one incentive to explicit statements of the doctrine of perpetual slavery for Negroes. The French Code Noir of I685 made baptism and religious instruction of Negroes obligatory. We find no such legislation in English colonies. On the contrary, the principal Secretary of State is informed in I670 that in Jamaica the number of tippling houses has greatly increased, and many planters are ruined by drink. " So interests decrease, Negroes and slaves increase. There is much cruelty, oppression, rape, whoredoms, and adulteries."

In Massachusetts John Eliot and Cotton Mather both are much concerned that " so little care was taken of their [the Negroes] precious and immortal souls," which were left to "a destroying ignorance merely for fear of thereby losing the benefit of their vassalage."

So through out the colonies it is reported in I678 that masters," out of covetousness, "are refusing to allow their slaves to be baptized; and in I700 there is an earnest plea in Massachusetts for religious instruction of Negroes since it is " notorious" that masters discourage the "poor creatures" from baptism. In I709 a Carolina clergyman writes to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in England that only a few of 200 or more Negroes in his community were taught Christianity, but were not allowed to be baptized. Another minister writes, a little later, that he prevailed upon a master after much importuning to allow three Negroes to be baptized. In North Carolina in I709 a clergyman of the Established Church complains that masters will not allow their slaves to be baptized for fear that a Christian slave is by law free. A few were instructed in religion, but not baptized. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel combated this notion vigorously. Later, in I732, Bishop Berkeley reports that few Negroes have been received into the church.

This state of affairs led to further laws, and the instructions to some of the royal Governors contain a clause ordering them to "find out the best

means to facilitate and encourage the conversion of Negroes and Indians to the Christian religion." New York hastened to join the States which sought to reassure masters, declaring in I706:

" Whereas, Divers of her Majesty's good subjects, inhabitants of this colony, now are, and have been willing that such Negroes, Indian and Mulatto slaves, who belong to them, and desire the same, should be baptized, but are deterred and hindered therefrom by reason of a groundless opinion that hath spread itself in this colony, that by the baptizing of such Negro, Indian or Mulatto slaves, they would become free, and ought to be set at liberty. In order, therefore, to put an end to all such doubts and scruples as have, or hereafter any time may arise about the same:

"Be it enacted, etc., That the baptizing of a Negro, Indian, or Mulatto slave shall not be any cause or reason for the setting them, or any of them, at liberty .

"And be it, etc.; That all and every Negro, Indian , or Mulatto and Mestee bastard child and children, who is, are, and shall be boen of any Negro, Indian or Mestee, shall follow the state and condition of the mother and be esteemed, reputed, taken and adjudged a slave and slaves to all intents and purposes whatsoever."

In I729 an appeal from several colonies was made to England on the subject in order to increase the conversion of blacks. The Crown Attorney and Solicitor General replied that baptism in no way changed the slave's status.

Occasional baptisms of Negroes into Christian churches began early. It is said that " In the year I624, a few years after the arrival of the first slave ship at Jamestown, Va., a Negro child was baptized and called William, and from that time on in almost all, if not all, the oldest churches in the South, the names of the Negroes baptized into the church of God can be found upon the rigisters."

It was easy to make such cases an argument for more slaves. James Habersham, the Georgia companion of the Methodist Whitefield, said about I730:

" I once thought it was unlawful to keep Negro slaves, but I am now induced to think God may have a higher end in permitting them to be brought to this Christian country, than merely to support their masters. Many of the poor slaves in America have already been made freemen of the heavenly Jerusalem and possibly a time may come when many thousands may embrace the gospel, and thereby be brought into the glorious liberty of the children of God. These, and other considerations, appear to plead strongly for a limited use of Negroes; for, while we can buy provisions in Carolina cheaper than we can here, no one will be induced to plant much."

38-12-164

In other cases there were curious attempts to blend religion and expediency, as for instance, in 1710, when a Massachusetts clergyman evolved a marriage ceremony for Negroes in which the bride solemnly promised to cleave to her husband " so long as God in his Providence" and the slave-trade let them live together?

The gradual increase of these Negro Christians, however, brought peculiar problems. Clergymen, despite the law, were reproached for taking Negroes into the church and still allowing them to be held as slaves. On the other hand it was not easy to know how to deal with the black church member after he was admitted. He must be either be made a subordinate member of a white church or a member of a Negro church under the general supervision of whites. As the efforts of missionaries, like Dr, Bray, slowly increased the number of converts, both these systems were adopted. But the black congregations here and there soon aroused the suppicion and fear of the masters, and as early as 1715 North Carolina passed an act which declared:

"That if any master or owner of Negroes or slaves, or any other person or persons whatsoever on the government, shall permit or suffer any Negro or Negroes to build on their , or either of their, lands, or any part thereof, and house under pretense of a meeting-house upon account of worship, or upon any pretense whatsoever, and shall not suppress and hinder them, he, she, or they so offending, shall, for every default. forfeit and pay fifty xxxxxxxx

pounds, one-half toward defraying the contingent charges of government, the other to him or them that shall sue for the same."

This made Negro members of a white church a necessity in this colony, and there was the same tendency in other colonies. " Maryland passed a law in I723 to suppress tumultuous meetings of slaves on Sabbath and other holy days," a measure primarily for good order, but also tending to curb independent religious meetings among Negroes. In I800 complaints of Negro meetings were heard. Georgia in I770 forbade slaves "to assemble on pretense of feasting," etc., and "any constable", on directions of a justice, is commanded to disperse any assembly or meeting od slaves " which may disturb the peace and endanger the safety of his Majesty's subjects; and every slave which may be found at such meeting, as aforesaid, shall and may, by order of justice, immediately be corrected, without trial, by receiving on the rare back twenty-five stripes, with a whip, switch, or cowskin," etc. In I792 in a Georgia act " to protect religious societies in the exercise of their religious duties," punishment was provided for persons disturbing white congregations, but " no congregations or company of Negroes shall upon pretense of divine worship assemble themselves" contrary to the act of I770. Whether or not such acts tended -to curb the really religious meetings of the slaves or not it is not easy to know. Probably they did, although at the same time there was probably much disorder and turmoil among the slaves, which sought to cloak itself under the name of the church. This was natural, for such assemblies were the only surviving African organizations, and they epitomized all there was in slave life outside of forced toil.

It gradually became true, as Brackett says, that " any privileges of church -going which slaves might enjoy depended much, as with children, on the disposition of the masters." In some colonies, like North Carolina, masters continued indifferent throughout the larger part of the eighteenth century. In New Hanover county of that state out of a thousand whites and two house and slaves, 307 masters were baptized in I742, but only nine slaves. The English are told of continued indifference in Massachusetts, the Connecticut

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General Assembly is asked in I738 if masters ought not to promise to train slaves as Christians, and instructions are repeatedly given to Governors on the matter, with but small results.

"The Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," was incorporated under William III, on the I6th day of June, I70I, and the first meeting of the society under its charter was the 27th of June of the same year. Thomas Laud, Bishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of all England, was appointed by his majesty the first president.

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This society was formed with the view, primarily, of supplying the destitution of religious institutions and privileges among the inhabitants of the North American colonies, members of the established church of England; and, secondarily, of extending the gospel to Indians and Negroes. The society entered upon its duties with zeal, being patronized by the king and all the dignataries of the Church of England.

They instituted inquiries into the religious condition of all the colonies, responded to" by the governors and persons of the best note," (with special reference to Episcopacy), and they perceived that their work "consisted of three great branches: the care and instruction of our people settled in the colonies; the conversion of the Indian savages, and the conversion of the Negroes." Before appointing missionaries they sent out a travelling preacher, the Rev. George Keith(an itinerant missionary), who associated with himself the Rev. John Talbot. Mr. Keith preached between North Carolina and Piscataqua river in New England, a tract above eight hundred miles in length, and completed his mision in two years, and returned and reported his labors to the society.

The annual meetings of this society were regularly held from I702 to I8I and II8 sermons preached before it by bishops of the Church of England, a large number of them distinguished for piety, learning and zeal."

In I702 some work was done among the Negroes of Carolina and in I704 a Negro school was established in New York.

Mr. Elias Neau, a French protestant, was appointed Catechist and he baptized many Negro children. This school survived the bad feeling engendered by the Negro Plot of 1712 and is the lineal progenitor of the work of Trinity parish among Negroes.

The history of the society goes on to say: "It is a matter of commendation due to the clergy that they have done thus much in so great and difficult a work. But, alas! what is the instruction of a few hundreds in several years with respect to the many thousands uninstructed, unconverted, living, dying, utter pagans. It must be confessed what hath been done is as nothing with regard to what a true Christian would hope to see effected." After stating several difficulties in respect to the religious instruction of the Negroes, it is said: "But the greatest obstruction is the masters themselves do not consider enough obligation which lies upon them to have their slaves instructed." And in another place the society, "the society have always been sensible the most effectual way to convert the Negroes was by engaging their masters to countenance and promote their conversion."

From 1711 to 1785 thousands of sermons and leaflets advocating the conversion of slaves were distributed in America.

In the year 1783, and the following, soon after the separation of our colonies from the mother country, the society's operations ceased, leaving in all the colonies forty-three missionaries, two of whom were in the Southern States- one in the North and one in South Carolina. The affectionate valediction of the society to them was issued in 1785. "Thus terminated the connection of this noble society with our country, which, from the foregoing notices of its efforts, must have accomplished a great deal for the religious instruction of the Negro population."

The Moravians or United Brethren were the first who formally attempted the establishment of missions exclusively to the Negroes. Account of their several efforts, down to the year 1790, says:

In 1737 Count Zinsendorf paid a visit to London and formed an acquaintance with General Oglethrope and the Trustees of Georgia, with whom he conferred

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38-8-78

LEO TOLSTOI

by W. E. B. Du Bois

It is a little difficult to assess the impact of Tolstoi's work on the United States. That it has been great there is no question, yet it is in some ways contradictory. We looked on it at first actually as a great protest and revolt against the tyranny of the Czars. Then in later years Tolstoi became to our minds a Russian writer and Russia meant Socialism and Communism. Nevertheless we clung to his WAR AND PEACE because for so long we tried to count ourselves as a peaceful country. Gradually we became the leading country of the world advocating war and it was difficult for our thinkers and writers to hold with the great Russian advocate of peace and at the same time spend fabulous sums of money for war, hate and destruction.

I am not sure just where today Tolstoi stands in our university classrooms. I would not be surprised to know that more attention is given to some of his Fascist relatives than to the great champion of the downtrodden Russian peasant. In selected lists of books recommended for our youth I doubt if Tolstoi today would hold a high place. Yet his popularity has never wholly faded and it will grow and increase as Socialism spreads, as war and preparation for war disappears and as we begin to get in America a true picture of the tremendous Revolution which began with the attempt to abolish serfdom and is still progressing with the effort to abolish war.

MORE MATTERS FOR SOCIALISTS TO PONDER

Should Crime be punished or rewarded?

Who has the right to promise that a criminal shall not be punished?

Does Nagy's execution prove that his trial was unfair?

~~Does the execution of the Rosenbergs prove that their trial was unfair?~~

If Hungary believed that Nagy committed a crime, did she not have a right and a duty to punish him?

Who is "Hungary" anyhow? Those whom Ike likes? Those whom the Catholics favor? The landlords and capitalists? The white collar workers? Or the overwhelming mass of peasants and workers oppressed and exploited for centuries?

Is there any doubt that Nagy and his co-workers tried to overthrow Socialism in Hungary and deliver the state to Western capital and ~~Hungarian reactionaries~~ dispossed investors?

If American money, Cardinal Mindszenty and the Habsburg dynasty had triumphed in Hungary, would not Clemenceau's "Cordon Sanitaire" have tried next to overthrow Russian Communism by force?

How long after the fall of the Soviet Union, would China last and Chiang kai Chek and Singman Rhee rule Asia?

Why did the Congress of the United States vote a ~~million~~ hundred million dollars for stirring up revolt in Hungary and east Europe and spread the "Voice of America" over earth and sky, if it was not to promote the anti-socialist revolution which died with Nagy?

Is it not possible to oppose capital punishment and still maintain that Hungary has as much right to use it as England or New York?

W. E. B Du Bois

(COMMONERS) posing as "Commoners"

98-9-82

40-1-27

RENAISSANCE IN AFRICA

In these days when Africa is news, there is available no accuratee and compact history of this continent and its peoples. This is due in part to the variety of names under which this continent has played its role in history: Carthage, Ethiopia, Egypt, Sudan, Africa referring to the region where black people and their relatives and descendents have lived. To the Greeks t is Lnd of the Blacks compreh hended norteast Africa and Arabia; and there they said Civilization began among the finest people of the earth. To the Romans Afric a was Carthage and its hinterland from the Mediterranean to the desert and later the valley of the Nile. In years of the Fall of Rome and the rise of a new Europe, Africa loomed as a variety of nations and cultures, from Egypt and Ethiopia; Ghana, the Mellestine and the Songhai;the Haussa, Bornu-Kanem and Kitwara; the Fulani, Mossi and Benin; the Bushongo, Congo, Zeng and Monopotapa. In these centers flourished a varieties of cultures; with art and commerce, intricate developments of governments; vast family organizations; manufactures in cloth materials and foods; buildings and instruments. This variety of human invention reached all over the world until the Middle Ages said "Always something New out of Africa

When Rome had sunk into barbarism and was rescued by a new Church from annih liation, a rebirth of human thinking and effort rescued Greek civilation from the East. ARenaissance of civilization began; schools started; art flourished and science began to inquire. Arabian thought pushed west into Africa and Europe explored the world. By way of the West Coast, Europe came down around Africa and across the desert Africa came up to Europe. This intercourse encouraged that transfer of human labor which had long flourished from Germany to Rome , from Europe to Asia, Asia to Africa and Africa to Europe and Asia, increased in exent and variety because in I492 a new continent was added to the world. On that America new, cheap food and clot ing came, toge her with ornament and luxuries. Labor in unprecedented numbers was in demand and human ingenuity lear ed to process Sugar and cotton. Workers were taken f om feudal agriculture in Europe and settled in towns and from agriculture in Afr ca and herded into me

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the most lawless people in the modern world of civilization. From the mother who takes her seven or eight year old child into the street car and lies about his age to the corporation magnate who hires great lawyers to tell him how to defeat the law. We find the spirit of lawlessness everywhere, and I believe it is true, to a certain extent, at least, that in the crime of lynching we have one of the most acute and terrible forms of this lawlessness. But while that is true in a certain measure, it falls short of explaining the situation by which we are confronted.

We are told also that the crime of lynching is one way in which the American people show their contempt for the courts of the United States. There seems to have crept into the minds of the great mass of men and women at the present time the supposition that the courts of our land can no longer be trusted to see that justice is done surely and done at once. They have lost confidence in those who have to do with the dispensing of justice. That, I believe, is one reason which enters into this subject of lynching. Here is one cause, like the spirit of lawlessness of the American people, which has something to do with the case.

But these two causes taken together, important and significant as they really are, do not begin to explain the real situation. The trouble is, my friends, that today exactly as sixty or seventy years ago, the American people and mainly the people of the South, refuse to believe that the black man is to be regarded and treated as a man. The fact is that the spirit which made the institution of slavery possible still remains in the minds of thousands and thousands of white men and women of the North as well as of the South. We still believe that the black man is an inferior sort of man, but we refuse

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to dignify him with the name of man at all, and that being the case lynching is as inevitable as the shooting of a dog running along the street when the cry of "Mad dog" is lifted through the air.

Take the Oklahoma lynching. The only thing that I could think of as I glanced at this picture was a photograph I had seen of huntsmen returning with the animal which had been shot, proud of the achievement of their marksmenship. I believe that the same spirit which makes possible the photograph of the men gathered around the moose or the deer which has been shot makes possible the photograph of the Negro shot to death in Oklahoma. In both cases the huntsmen are proud that they have shot an animal, and therefore they stand before the camera in order that the evidence of the story may be sure. In other words, this is another expression of the lawlessness of the American people.

In this same period which is disgraced by this evil crime, we find that laws have been passed refusing the ballot to the black man. We find Jim Crow cars; We find laws prohibiting Negro men and women entering public libraries, museums, parks and theatres. We find the denial to the black man and woman of the right of education . We find in this same period the spirit of antagonism everywhere, and lynching is only one of the half-dozen or dozen symptoms of the old disease which well nigh destroyed our Republic in the days before the War.

Now, that being a diagnosis of the case - lynching, burning and Jim Crow cars being but an expression of the conviction of many of our so-called civilized fellow citizens that the Negro is not even a man - that being a diagnosis of the case, the remedy is perfectly simple. The remedy, to my mind, is not the remedy of teaching the

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American people to be a law-abiding peaople, although that may contribute to the result. It is not restoring in the minds of the American people a sense of justice. The only remedy which will really work the cure, the only thing which will really restore the black man to his place of equality and privilege with his white brethren is the renewal in the same spirit of the same battle that was fought successfully fifty years ago for the freedom of the black man from the chains of slavery. In other words, I believe that the time has come when that great battle must be begun again, that the hour has struck when the North must do its duty. The time has come when we must once again go up and down the length and breadth of this great Republic and preach to the four winds of heaven and to the souls of all who will listen and to those who will not listen, that the Negro is a man, a child of God, dowered with all the rights, powers, capacities and abilities of any man upon the earth; that he is entitled to everything that God has given the sons of earth, and tc all the privileges that are showered by this Republic upon the great body of its citizenship. The time has come once again in these northern states when the brave, silent and lonely man must work by day and sleep by night in his little printing office turning out day after day the pages of "The Liberator" to be scattered over the country. The time has come when up and down the land there must go, like Wendell Phillips, the silver-tongued orator who would speak in behalf of justice, liberty and truth, and pour out the vials of his perfect and divine wrath upon the heads of all who refuse to give justice to their fellows. The time has come when the American pulpit must be sanctified by the holy presence of such a man as Theodore Parker. Parker said that the pulpit of his church could be consecratedt to no higher thing than the liberation of the black man.

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We must proclaim to our southern brothers that we propose some day or other that the advantages we lost shall be redeemed, that puhlic institutions shall be opened to all who are men; that we shall declare, upon the amendments that now stand in our Constitution, that the right of ballot shall be exercised by every man be he black or white,; that we shall declare that all men are free and equal, black or white, rich or poor, high or low , of whatever race or class or nation of men; tha we are all brothers and shall be treated alike.

This whole crime of lynching, to my mind , can never be solved by half-way measures. Men must have strength and courage. Poet: must sing. Prophets must speak. An Emancipation Proclamation must be written. Chains and fetters must be broken asunder. Again, as so many many times before, the battle for liberty must be fought over and over and over until the promised vision of the poet shall indeed be seen, and men of all colors, of all classes, of all conditions, shall come from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south, and they shall all sit down together arcund the one board as members and brothers of the one great kingdom of the living God.

[p. 1-2 missing]

Beginning with Massachusetts, in 1855, these separate schools have been abloished in nearly all Northern States.

The history of schools for Negroes in the South falls also in five main epochs

I. The Ante-Bellum Schools.

2. The Army Schools.

3. The schools of the Freedmen's Bureau.

4. The Missionary Schools.

5. The Public Schools.

Some few schools for Negroes existed here and there in the South before the war. In the District of Columbia, as already mentioned, no less than fifteen different schools were conducted here mainly at the expense of the colored people between 1800 and 1861. In Maryland, St. Frances Academy, for colored girls, was founded by the Roman Catholics in 1829. In North Carolina there were before 1835 several schools maintained by the free Negroes. They had usually white teachers. After 1835 the few clandestine schools were taught by Negroes. In Charleston, S.C., there was a school for Negroes opend in 1744, which lasted some ten years. It was taught by a Ngero and was for free Negroes only, although some slaves who hired their time managed to send their children there. Free Negroes in Georgia used to send children to Charleston for eduation. They returned and opened clandestine schools in Georgia. In Savannah a French Negro, Julian Froumontaine, from San Domingo, conducted a free Negro school openly from 1819 to 1829, and secretly for sometime after. Schools were stopped nearly everywhere after 1830 and as slavery became more and more a commercial venture all attempts at Negro education were given up.

During the war the first complication that confronted the armies was the continual arrival of fugitive slaves within the Union lines. At first the commands were rigid against receiving them. " Hereafter," wrote Halleck early in the war," "no slaves should be allowed to come within your lines at all." Other generals, however, thought differently. Some argued that confiscating slaves would weaken the South, others were imbued with abolition sentiment for right's sake. Twice attempts were made to free the slaves of certain localities by proclamation,

32-8-42

but these orders were counter-manddd by the President. Still the fugitives poured into the lines and gradually were used as laborers and helpers. Immediately teaching began and schools sprang up. When at last the Emancipation Proclamation was issued and Negro soldiers called for, it was necessary to provide more systematically for Negroes. Various systems and experiments grew up here and there. The Freedmen were massed in large numbers at Fortress Monroe, Va., Washington, D. C., Beaufort and Port Royal, S.C., New Orleans, La., Vicksburg and Corinth, Miss., Columbus, Ky., Cairo, Ill., and elsewhere. In such places schools immediately sprang up under the army officers and chaplains. The most elaborate system, perhaps, was that under General Banks in Louisiana. It was established in 1863 and soon had a regular Board of Education, which laid and collected taxes and supported eventually nearly a hundred schools with ten thousand pupils, under 162 teachers. At Port Royal, S.C., were gathered Edward L. Pierce's "Ten thousand Clients." Mr. Pierce began the organization of relief societies in the North and established an economic system with schools. Eventually they passed under the oversight of General RufusSaxon, who sold forfeited estates, leased plantations, received the camp followers of Sherman's March to the Sea, and encouraged schools. In the West, General Grant appointed Colonel John Eaton, afterwards United States Commissioner of Education, to be superintendent of Freedmen in 1862. He sought to consolidate and regulate the schools already established, and succeeded in organizing a large system.

The Freedmen's Bureau was especially active in the establishment of schools for Negroes. In General Howard's first Freedmen's Bureau report, he says: "Schools were taken in charge by the Bureau, and in some states carried on wholly -in connection with local efforts -by use of a refugees' and freedmen's funds which had been collected from various sources. Teachers came under the general direction of the assistant commissioners, and protection through the department commanders was given to all engaged in the work."

The increase of Negro education, 1866-1870 is thus reported by the Freedmen's Bureau:

32-8-43

Date	Schools	No.of Teachers	Pupils
I866	975	I,405	90,778
I867	I,839	2,087	III,442
I868	I,83I	2,295	I04,327
I869	3,II8	2,455	II4,522
I870	3,677	3,300	I49,58I

Expenditures for Schools

Year	Expended By Freedmen's Bureau	Benevolent Associations	The Freedmen	Total
I866	I23,655.39	$82,200.00	$I8,500.00	$224,359.39
I867	53I,345.48	65,087.0I	I7,200.00	6I3,632.49
I868	965,806.67	700,000.00	360,000.00	2,025,896.67
I869	924,I82.I6	365,000.00	I90,000.00	I,479,I82I 6
[illegible]	976,853.29	360,000.00	200,000.00	I,536,853.29
Total			$785,700.00	$5,879,924.00

The chief benevolent society was the American Missionary Association and next in importance came the various Freedmen's Union Commissions, the Freedmen's Aid Soicety of the M. E. Church, the Baptist Home Mission Society and Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church. Beside these the Episcopals, Catholics and Friends did some work. The work of the American Missionary Association, representing the Congregational Church still maintains three high schools and colleges, one theological school, twenty-six high and Industrial schools, and seven graded schools; these schools have about four hundred and fifty instructors and I4,000 students.

32-8-44

The work of Northern Baptist among Negroes is carried on by the American Baptist Home Mission Society. This society in the last forty years has spent about $4,000,000 in educational work, and is spending now $140,000 a year in educational and mission work. It maintains and aids thirty-two schools in all of which thirteen are high schools and eight with additional college departments. In these schools there are 342 teachers, and 7,746 students (these are statistics of 1907); the value of school property $1,576,450, the students pay $42,000 a year in tutition and Negro churches and individuals $27,000 a year.

The workof the Presbyterian for Negro education is carried on through the Board of Missions for Freedmen, which represents work begun as early as 1864. The church property used and owned by the Board is worth $670,000 besides $122,000 invested in funds. There are the following schools: one college preparatory school, five girl schools, thirteen boarding schools, and ninety-five graded schools or in all 114 schools. 13,776 pupils attend these schools. The patrons of the schools paid in $72,000 in addition to $72,229 contributed by the Board.

The work of the Methodist Episcopal Church among Negroes is done through the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Educational Society, which was organized in August, 1866. This society had in 1904-05, twenty-four institutions; including one theological school, three medical schools, ten schools with college and preparatory departments, and eleven academies. These institutions had 409 teachers, 7,924 students and property valued at $1,352,258. Between August 1866 and June 30, 1905 the society had expended for educational work in the South chiefly among Negroes, but partially among whites $7,800,000. Students pay about $90,000 a year in tuition at present; 200,000 pupils have been instructed in all, of whom 3,000 entered the ministry, 12,000 have become teachers, 800 have become physicians, pharmacists and dentists.

Negro churches also support schools: the African Methodists spend $70,000 a year on twnety-five schools with 3,700 pupils. They have $500,000 in school property. The Colored Methodists have five schools, and the Zion Methodists

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nine schools. The latter collect $17,000 a year for their schools and have $134,950 in school property.

The Negro Baptist have one hundred and seven school, with property valued at $737,377, and expenditures in 1906 amounting to $148,883.50. They have 16, 664 students enrolled.

The most prominent Negro Schools are five colleges, with preparatory and other departments:

Howard University
Fisk University
Atlanta University
Wilberforce University
Virginia Union University.

Nine High and Industrial schools, with higher work:

Talladega, Alabama
Tuskegee, Alabama
Brick , North Carolina
Lincoln, Pennsylvania.
Straight, Louisiana
Biddle, North Carolina
Hampton, Virginia
Claflin, South Carolina

Three high and Industrial schools for girls:

Spellman, Georgia
Scotia, North Carolina
Hartshorn, Virginia

Four Professional schools:

Howard University (Medicine, Law and Pharmacy)
Gammon (Theology)
Meharry (Medicine and Pharmacy)

Gammon, Brick, Meharry, Tuskegee and Hampton are well endowed, Howard and Talladega have some endowment. The rest have small funds.

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I. The Peabody fund of $2,000,000 given in I867 and I869. The income of this fund has gone principly to the education of the whites, but a small part has provided teachers, institutes and schools for Negroes.

2. The John F. Slater fund of $I,000,000 given in I882. The income of this fund has been given exclusively to Negro schools and more especially to Industrial schools.

3. The Danile Hand fund of $I,500,894.25, given to the American Missionary Association in I888 for educating needy Negro students.

4. The Jeanes Fund of I,000,000 was given by Miss Anna T. Jeanes and the income goes to Negro rural education.

There now remain the following one hundred and twenty-seven private institutions for Negroes, including certain State aided schools:

States	Schools	Teachers	Students
Alabama	I3	297	5,52I
Arkansas	5	57	I,706
Delaware	2	30	2I3
Dist. Columbia	2	97	I,008
Florida	5	57	I,42I
Georgia	I4	239	5,462
Kentucky	5	42	773
Louisiana	8	I46	4,4I0
Maryland	5	49	594
Mississippi	I0	I20	2,726
Missiouri	2	29	5I3
New Jersey			
North Carolina	I7	I69	4,250
Ohio	I	7	63
Oklahoma	I	8	3I9
Pennsylvania	2	23	2I9
South Carolina	I0	I55	4,087
Tennesee	6	I63	2,958
Texas	7	II8	2,574
Virginia	I0	225	5,34I
West Virginia	2	36	342
Total	I27	2,057	42,500

32-8-47

Besides the private schools there is in the South a separate Negro public scool system. The governments of the Southern States which survived the war made few attempts to establish publicschoolsystems, particularly so far as Negroes were concerned. The especially feared idleness and social revolution on the part of the blacks, and sought to keep them in serfdom. Alabama, for instance, declared " stubborn or refractory servants" or those "who "loiter away their time" to be vagrants, who could be hired out at compulsory service by law, while all Negro minors, far from being sent to school, were to be "apprenticed," preferably to their father's former " masters and mistresses."

The enfranchisement of the Negro changed this: The so-called "carpet-bag" governments, which under the sway of the army and the Freddmen's Bureau succeeded the State governments at war time, have undoubtedly many sins to answer for. Supported by ignorant and unlettered Negroes, and led in many cases by unscrupulous Northerners and Southerners, they were extravagant and funny. And yet we must give them credit for what they did well, and certainly, as Albion W. Tourgee says: " They instituted a public school system in a region where public schools had been unknown."

There have been enrolled in the Negro publicschools in the South the following children:

I865-66	90,778
I869-70	I49,58I
I876-77	57I,506
I877-78	675,I50
I878-79	685,942
I879-80	784,709
I880-8I	802,374
I88I-82	802,982
I882-83	8I8,240
I883-84	I,002,3I3
I884-85	I,030,463
I885-66	I,048,659

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I886-87	I,II8,556
I887-88	I,I40,405
I888-89	I,2I3,092
I889-90	I,296,959
I890-9I	I,329,549
I89I-92	I,354,3I6
I892-93	I,367,5I5
I893-94	I,432,I98
I884-95	I,423,593
I895-96	I,449,325
I896-97	I,460,084
I897-98	I,540,749
I898-99	I,509,275
I899-I900-	I,560,070
I900-0I	I,594,308
I90I-02	I,575,659
I902-03 a	I,578,632
I903-04 a	I,577,385
I904-05 a	I,620,I94
I905-06 a	I,6I7,998

a- Subject to correction.

In I905-06, 55.77% of the Negroes five to eighteen years of age were enrolled in school, and of these 60.98% were in daily attendance. There were I29 public high schools(53 of thes being in Texas and Missouri)with 89I teachers and 45,037 students. To these may be added I27 private schools and State schools with 2,057 teachers and 42,500 students. Of these students less than 3,000 are in college courses,736 were studying theology, I25 law,870medicine,I06 denistry, 98 pharmacy, and I86 nurse training.

These public schools, save in the case of a few city systems, have not been paid for by the white tax payers. It has been estimated that in the years I870

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to I899 the Negro school systems of the former slave states have not cost the white tax-payers a cent, except possibly in a few city systems.

Cost of Negro Schools, I870-I899	$69,968,67I.48
Estimated total direct taxes paid by Negroes, I870-I899,	$25,000,000.00
Indirect taxes and pro rata share of endowments	45,000,000.00
Approximate total, I870-I899	$70,000,000.00

Of the cost of their private schools also the Negroes bear a large share. The cost of seventy-four leading schools for the last nine years has been a little under $I2,000,000. Of this the Negroes paid 3½ millions in cash and over two millions more in work or about 45% of the total cost.

The result of this education on the illiteracy of the Negro has been as follows:

Negroes ten years of age and over	
	% of Illiteracy.
I870	79.9%
I880	70.0 %
I890	57.I %
I900	44.5 %

At present probably two thirds of the Negro Americans can read and write. Further results can be seen in the occupations of Negroes, the spread of organized effort, the publication of books and newspapers, and the appearance of men and women of distinction.

The above information has been gathered chiefly from the reports of Missionary societies, the reports of the United States Bureau of Education, the reports of the Freedmen's Bureau, and Atlanta University publication No.6, and numbers8 and I2.

~~Adam Rankin Trap the Negro~~ Encyclopedia

~~Scharff Henry Encyclopedia~~.

32-8-52

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLE FRAGMENTS

in fine, rich and poor. How did it all come about? Is it simply the reward of merit, the Good and Thrifty gwowing rich and the Wicked and Lazy growing poor? Not quite.

The measurable equality of wealth in 1815 existed side by side with other and important inequalities of which the greatest was that between House Servant and Field Hand. The colored House Servant had some education by contact, some ready money, some saleable skill, some powerful friends, and very often enough white blood to make him look like something different from the Negro problem even if he wasn't. He quickly began to transform himself.

30-27-9

By becoming a public instead of a private servant - a caterer, a hotel waiter, a dressmaker, the Negro began to receive regular wages as his field brother of the South had for some time; as an artisan he hired his own time instead of his master's, and as a city going laborer he got money instead of rations. The field hand remained a slave or ran away to the city or rose slightly as a share-cropper.

The first definite step was toward real property, the buying of a little city home - or reaching back to the country from the city to buy a forty acre farm from bankrupt whites. The Negro bought shanties in the city slums and outskirts and poor land in the country, but he bought both rapidly; but there appeared checks. The Negro farmer owning his land was a menace to the serf system and he met opposition in the shape of lawless aggression, intimidation, difficulty in getting markets. He kept on buying land but more from helpless habit than from far-seeing investment. He owns perhaps million acres today, but his great economic development is not in agriculture. There are large black farmers with tenants and hired hands, with farms of a thousand or more acres - but they are exceptional - they are not typical. The mass of rural Negroes rest on three levels - the countless serfs who

note of sharp warning, it is in the face of the present situation in the rural South.

In the midst of a whirling rush of economic development for the last twenty (20) years, which is astonishing even according to American standards, any student of economics knows that the South of today is committing nearly every economic heresy which the whole history of modern industrial development warns nations to avoid and warns them forcibly, and even passionately.

What are the things that modern industry has learned to insist upon? They are, I take it, (1) The personal freedom of the laborer; (2) The education of the masses; (3) The equality of employer and employee before the law; (4) The impartiality of the courts, and (5) The right of the governed to share in their own government.

In the South, and particularly in the rural South every one of these fundamental postulates is being violated, and not only violated, but on those violations there is being built a philosophy of industry and life which is self contradictory and fatal to the development of the broad principles of industrial democracy. I have great sympathy with those amiable souls who, knowing this to be true, believe that present policy demands silence or even glossing over the plain facts. I say I have sympathy with such folk but I am compelled to remember that in the great past the inexorable decrees of truth have held as strongly against the flaterer and the so-called optimist as against the pessimist and the liar.

Everyone is, of course, aware that the reason that the South is building industry so largely on compulsory labor, ignorance, discrimination in the courts, lack of organized justice and

disfranchisement is because these weapons are excused by the Negro problem. Permit me to remind the supporters of this argument of two things: First, if they are relying on these ancient and mediaeval weapons to keep all Negroes down, the figures presented here show how futile their efforts are. Second, if they think that the black man is the only sufferer under this policy, they are destined to add to the future an industrial error far greater than that of the past.

To illustrate this, let me point out that the practice of peonage in the rural South where not less than a quarter of a million black laborers are held to service on plantations by force in direct defiance of laws and wise industrial policy, has been buttressed by a system of statutes and administration which applies to all rural labor, black and white, and which makes a body of legislation positively astonishing in its reactionary and mediaeval aspect. The contract labor laws, the vagrancy laws, the permissible debt manipulation by book accounts, the discredited "company stores system", make a body of law which carries force and fraud on its very face, and yet which covers a large part of the rural South. Where else in a modern industrial land could a girl of fourteen (14) accused by the landlord's bookkeeping of receiving an advance wage of $7.00 and refusing to carry out farther her contract to pick cotton, be fined $75.00 or twelve months in the chain gang? Yet this is precisely the case that is today before the courts of Georgia, and this is the kind of victim that is being educated in crime all over the South. In every modern industrial system either the laborer has his unfinished product to dispose of, or if the capitalist retains it, the laborer is given a quit claim in wages, which money is absolutely his. Yet in the rural South such wages are characterized as money "advanced" to the laborer,

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ignorance, intimidation, and a legal contract worse than any allowed elsewhere in the civilized world - a contract which binds the laborer, his wife and his children, hand and foot; which makes them criminals if they stop work; which makes the landlord the judge of the value of the work, and puts the sale and handling of the crop into his hands; and which renders the landlord not only landlord, but practically judge, sheriff, executioner, owner, and storekeeper. Wages are not paid, food and clothes are doled out and charged for at advances of from 25 to 75 per cent over cost; no written accounts are kept and no accounts are rendered, and once a year the tenant is given a bald statement of his balance.

The result is migration to the small towns, widespread arrest for "vagrancy" and breaking of contracts, and great bitterness and discouragement. The region becomes a center of mob rule--- two-fifths of the Negroes lynched in the United States for thirty years, have been killed in or near this region. The Arkansas riot was only a recent variation of this lawlessness, following an attempt to bring the landlords into court. Those who go to the small towns drive out the better placed workers to the cities. From the cities, the colored men have poured and are still pouring into the North, where they tend to become a docile mass of strike-breakers.

Thus, the Black Belt and its peonage is a source of unrest which will never allow the labor problem in the United States to be settled on a basis of justice and fair wage. Moreover, the political power of the Black Belt makes and unmakes Presidents, and rules the United States Congress.

Today the Negro is a recognized part of the American government; he holds 9,000 offices in the executive service of the Nation, besides furnishing four regiments in the army and a large number of sailors. In the State and municipal civil service he holds at least 10,000 other offices, and he furnishes 100,000 of the 900,000 votes which rule the great States of the North and West .

In these nament ye ars the Negro has re-learned the lost art of organization. Slavery was the absolute denial of initiative and responsibility. Today Negroes have 35,000 chur ch edifices worth $56,000,000, and controlling nearly 4,000,000 members. They raise themselves $7,500,000 a year for these churches.

There are 200 private schools and colleges managed and almost entirely supported by Negroes, and other public and private Negro schools have received in forty years $45,000,000 of Negro money in taxes and donations. Five millions a year are raised by Negro secret and beneficial societies, which hold at least $6,000,000 in real estate. Negroes support wholly or in part over 60 old folks' homes and orphanages, 30 hospitals, and 500 cemeteries. Their organized commercial life is extending rapidly, and includes all branches of the smaller retail businesses and forty banks.

Above and beyond this material growth has gone the spiritual uplift of a great human race. From contempt and amusement they have passed to the pity and perplexity of their neighbors, while within their own souls they have arisen from apathy and timid complaint to open protest and more and more manly self-assertion. Where nine-tenthd of them could not read or write in 1859, today two-thirds can; they have 200 papers and periodicals, and their voice and expression are compelling attention.

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II. What the Negro has got to demand today, is not so much recognition of exceptional talent, as recognition of the Negro masses as part of of the mass population of the land, with the right to demand protection from low wages, unemployment, sickness and old age insecurity, not simply as a boon to himself but as a help to the nation.

I2. How now does present Negro leadership see and recognize this new orientiation of aim? This brings us to the crux of the present Negro problem:

I4. There emerges a new search for leadership in the various Negro groups, which endangers the ~~el~~ leadership of property and education, and the aristocracy of ~~the~~ successful. ~~It~~ many seeks to install ~~a new~~ leadership, which would try to ignore the color bar, and cutting across race lines, unite the black and white, poor and disfranchised, in a common labor movement toward a new industrial democracy. This seems so natural and logical to ~~the new leadership, black and white,~~ them now that they have nothing but contempt and suspicion for those who cannot see the color bar thus easily ~~abolished~~ ignored. Every Negro of any prominence or profession who does not rush into the new alliance is accused of selling out to Capital or sacrificing his people to his own ease or ambition.

I5. The trained thoughtful, educated natural leaders of black folk, ~~are~~ are thus gradually being forced into ~~two~~ three groups: one group clings to the ideal of the past and still sees salvation for the Negro in America in accumulating wealth and saving, in business enterprise, and the training of talented men. They withdraw physically & mentally as far as possible from the poor & criminal and seek whenever opportunity offers, alliance & confidence with white middle class voters. They do not see believe in the threatened collapse of capitalism and the difficulty if not impossibility of black men being accorded a fair field in industry, and above all of the possibility of giving a fair chance to ability of any color under present industrial organization.

I6. ~~The other~~ A second group of Negro leaders is rushing into the labor movement ~~or the communist agitation~~, only to find themselves faced by the color bar in a new guise: white labor in America has been nurtured on the color line. One of the main objects of the A.F.of L. has always been and still is to monopolize skill, by excluding any group of workers who might compete. Negroes were almost universally liable to this discrimination. Even

in the new I.C.U. the ~~laborers~~ union members also have been trained in color prejudice, and for the most part receive Negroes only in self-defense (and with ill-concealed dislike which is shown by discrimination in union ranks). This calls for inner organization and vigilance among Negroes to protect themselves after they are in the union-- i.e. a new black labor leadership (fairly when their blight becomes impossible). The ~~Communistic~~ Communists have met the labor attitude by boldly throwing down the color bar. They have suffered by this tactic, and part of the insane fury often displayed against Communism in the United States, is because it challenges not one but two deep-seated beliefs of America: Capitalism and the inferiority of the Negro. This makes clear-sighted ~~black~~ judgment of the program of communism by Negroes doubly difficult. Even ~~capitalist-~~ black conservatives with capitulatory leanings must often stand dumb, in the face of the communistic attack on the color bar. The result is that many exellent Negro organizations, like the Negro Congress, is hog-tied when it essays to consider any program for the Negro, by the communistic dogma, that there is but one program for all: the Revolution.

I7. ~~If~~ Nevertheless a third type of Negro leadership is painfully emerging: it declared that the older plan of Negro salvation was defective in its endeavor to follow the path of American capitalism in order to achieve the economic emancipation of the Negro race in America and the world. ~~They~~ He go further and asserts that education-- the training of a talented tenth for leadership, is not in itself sufficient, unless that training ~~is free to~~ inculcates a new economic orientation such as ~~which which~~ is today arising in the most advanced culture lands; and ~~is designed to~~ That this must furnish the Negro, a new plan of economic and cultural emancipation, adapted to his peculiar situation.

I8. This new leadership, while cordially recognitizing ~~all that~~ what Russia undoubtedly has done to fight race prejudice; and ~~all that~~ what Communism in America, has done to obliterate the color bar in group action; asserts that nevertheless, the plight of the Negro is too desperate for him to accept without ~~measurment or~~ most careful examinatio, any ready-made and mechanical social formula as a panacea for his ills. As a prime and continuous victim of force, war and revolution, the Negro ~~will not~~ refuse to assume without proof that further and deliberate upheaval will automatically cure the world's ills, or are always inevitably necessary for the beginnings of fundamental reform ~~and~~ this new Negro leadership siicks to this truth, dispite the patent fact that those who applaud ~~him for~~ it are mainly interested in using ~~his~~ black pacificism for reaction.

38-14-40

19. These thinkers cannot fail to recognize that much of the Negro's educational and other opportunities have come from capitalists and investors. Their motives may have been often profit through encouraging labor competition-- but for this the laborers have their submission to prejudice to thank. Onthe other hand these leaders refuse to let either their obligation to philanthropy ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ or their resentment at the past attitude of union labor cloud or prejudice their clear vision of the future aims of the Negro as a predominating labor group.

24. This group wishes to unite with forward thinking groups the world over in a new frank program of race relations. This program asserts the right of black folk to survive and progress, not in rivalry nor opposition to the balance of mankind, but in alliance and conjunction and cooperation with all men. It declares that the basic problem of mankind is not one of equality of all men or absolute likeness or uniformity of body or soul. So long as Negroes were regarded as sub-human and not entitled to human treatment. it was necessary vehemently and passionately to assert the essential equality of all men. Today science acknowledges one human family, with wide differences, between groups and between individuals in groups. What men must contend for today is the right to be different, and build on this difference, a wide human culture, ignoring minor questions comparative value of trait.

25. This group insists that their is no inconsistency in a ~~group~~ minority and ~~mankind~~ mankind both wishing the best and highest, and pursuing it together by common effort and mutual respect. Only the assumption thatthe highest good of most men depends on the degradion of others is absolutely inadmissable. The criminal, the sick, the sub-normal need special social treatment, but that for their uplft an developement, not their degradation or use by others for ~~my~~ private advantage or profit

~~26. There comes now the practical question as to how far~~

30-14-41

our jobs and our reputations, and looking over our shoulders for spies. It would be interesting to know how many of us here tonight are noted in the files of the FBI as persons who will bear watching. Above all we know that the world today is in sight of the most horrible of three horrible wars, even nine out of ten of the world's peoples are passionately against war.

A parellel situation may be seen in the Thirty Years War which ruined Europe for a generation and set back the clock of civilization for centuries. Then people fought over religion, over the ultimate interpretation of the universe, of which they necessarily knew nothing, and yet for that very reason they murdered and destroyed the more vindictively. As children they had imbibed dogma rather than science, so that as men they fought and did not know what they were fighting about. So with us: for three centuries we have given our thoughg, ingenuity and energy to technical conquest of the physical universe. Our sucess has been miraculous and driven us mad with pride of power. But since the beginning of our era; since the Industrial Revolution, based on American Negro slavery, has made white Europe arbiter of the destiny of the World wise men have warned that wealth woud choke civilization, unless we rationalized and controlled its production and distribution. This wisdom has been deliberately ignored. It has not been taught in our schools save by exception nor mentioned often in our pulpits. Those men today who are swearing before God that they never advocated changing our industrial system from its present contradictions and injustice to something better, should remember that in that case they are the only men of sense and insight inthe last 300 years who have not advocated revolution even reform in our industrial system. The passionate cry for reform did not begin with Karl Marx, nor will it end with Joseph Stalin. It cannot in the long run be murdered by war nor scared to death by witch hunts. It will endure as long as civilization endures because it is founded on science and justice

In that town where I was born, we did not mention in the schools the fundamental facts concerning wealth and property, income and wage. We left our children to grope for ways of earning a living and guess at economic justice. The best of the growing generation were forced to go away to find careers, so that the continuity of the towns life was broken. We thought of this beautiful and rich valley as provincial and offering no balance and believed that only in New York and Chicago did men really live. We surrendered farm and hill to city summer visitors and made money fleecing them in a valley where civilization, the simple life, with science and art might have flourished; and where above all men could have taught men that life was more than meat and the body more than raiment. But

42-1-D-3.

could get healthy and rich

But mention of such an ideal ~~xxxxx~~ on Main Street, today would set all the lo loafers, rich and poor, into gale~~s~~ of laughter. They are ~~s-t-r~~ with us to put Russia in its place; to refute Lenin and Karl Marx ~~xxx~~ of whom they know nothing, in their places. They ~~wa-n-t~~ with Genreal Eisenhower ~~to~~ "lick the world" and ~~and~~ with Barney Baruch, the great manipulator of Copper, to raise and army by forced draft, not only to re-conquer China, but to put down civil war in New York, started by advocates of Peace and fomented by the entire monopolized press of the nation.

For this town and for the nation and world, there is but one cure the Truth, taught in our schools, learned by the lost art of reading and spread by men who dare think and think again.

42-6-4

To root out Communism, whatever else may be

Black America is beginning to be a thing worth reckoning with.

But it is in knowledge and comprehension of the meaning of life and the technique of modern life that the most momentous change has come. For the first time in the modern world there stands a great group of black people who are thinking and acting in modern ways and demanding more and more articulately treatment of modern men. Despite every effort to ignore and oppress them, they are daily counting for more in the nation. It is impossible to-day for America to think or work or write, make music or dream dreams without taking into serious account 10,000,000 descendants of men freed by the Emancipation Proclamation.

Some folk assume that the very fact that this question of the place and treatment of black folk will not dawn is proof of the failure of the essential ideal back of emancipation. Not so. If the Negro, incapable of modern freedom, had sunk to the place where it was freely and confidently predicted he would fall, there would have been peace and quiet where there is now turmoil and friction. Friction means motion. It is the steady upward movement of millions that makes segregation ordinances, effort to force Negroes out of execlusive resdential sections, fear and fury ofer the power of the ballot, wrath over political planks and wild rantings on inter-marriage.

It is the fact that Negroes are rising and the absence of any general retrogression that forces the question to the fore: What place must be accorded colored men in the world of to-morrow? Yesterday colored men were given partial Emancipation. To-morrow they will take complete Freedom. Shall their second emancipation of the dark majority of men be in accordance with the enlightened ideals of Peace and Good Will or must men in the future as in the past claw and scratch and murder in order that the human spirit may be free.

West today, 2,000,000 ore more Negroes, while the Negro population of the Sout has increased but little, remaining at about 9,000,000.

The proportion of Negroes in the various states varies greatly. There is not a single state in which Negroes do not live, although there are very few in states like New Hampshire and North and South Dakota.

On the other hand, they formed in 1920 a majority of the population of South Carolina and Mississippi, and from 25 to 50 per cent of the population of the District of Columbia, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Arkansas, and Louisiana. Other states with from 10 to 25 per cent, were Delaware, Maryland, Tennessee and Texas. In the South Atlantic and South Central states the Negroes formed from between 20 and 30 per cent of the population and from 2 to 3 per cent in the Middle Atlantic and North Central states.

The recent migration has been chiefly to cities; and New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Indianapolis, Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis and Kansas City have received a large influx.

known and yet I doubt not
reasons will bear repetition.
Americans must now and
be reminded that in spite
our bigness we are not
the centre of the civilized
rld. The centre of the world's
ture today as it was 2000
s ago, and ~~it certainly~~ to Europe
~~was~~ the angel Gabriel
ll hardly make his gloomy
announcements in New York
arbor. The small crooked
rt of land which we call
Europe has had a great roman-
tic history. It was by no means
the cradle of the world's culture
r in Egypt race ~~is~~ is clearly as
a ~~and~~ ~~...~~ or less
that

41-15B-1

The supreme question is whether Russia is constructively or destructively minded.

35-7-36

45-7-144

before he formulated the logical reasons behind it, because it was emotional rather than reasoned. This makes the logic of this speech so labored and unconvincing and so evidently contradictory to the past record of Henry Wallace

being Missouri, Maryland, Kentucky, West Virginia, New York, Virginia, Illinois, Ohio and Delaware; second, those next most profitable for cultivation, which states are New Jersey, Indiana, Massachusetts, Connecticutt, Rhode Island, Tennessee and North Carolina; third, those desirable of cultivation but where efforts seem likely to affect the total vote less than in the preceding groups, these states including Pennsylvania, Michigan, Kansas, Colorado, and California.

NEGRO VOTERS IN PIVOTAL STATES URBAN DWELLERS

The Negro population in practically every one of the states listed above is concentrated in one or more cities of each state and, more, in specific areas of each city as a general rule. This circumstance will enable reaching these voters with a minimum expenditure of effort and money and with a much smaller number of workers and of meetings that would be the case with any other racial group.

31-9-18

For example, in New York State, the majority of the Negro vote is concentrated in New York City and most of that in Harlem. In Illinois there are 180,000 Negro voters and of that number 129,460 are resident in Chicago, most of them in three wards on the South Side of Chicago. In Missouri approximately seventy-five per cent of the 125,000 Negro voters of the state are located in St. Louis and Kansas City. Baltimore holds within its boundaries not only the vast bulk of the Negro voters of Maryland but is as well the center of Negro thought and influence in that state. In West Virginia 7,000 of the 45,000 Negro voters of the state live in Charleston; in that city are most of the colored men and women who set the pace in thought and action among Negroes of the state. In Ohio Cleveland and Columbus, cultivated insensively, will influence not only those cities but whatever is done there will radiate to Negroes throughout the state. In Virginia, Richmond Negroes will swing both in

Discrimination

of the State of Maryland is to provide separate schools for the white and the colored. Johns Hopkins University is in receipt of a considerable appropriation from the State and it seems to us on this account we would not be authorized to depart from the general policy of the State."

Prof. Spingarn commenting on this, says that until the State contributes substantially to some colored university (does it?) Johns Hopkins ought to admit some colored men even assuming its obligation to abide by the educational policy of the State from which it gets its funds.

30-10-1

Miss Nerney is referring the matter to Prof. Pickens, Dean of Morgan College, for advice and if it seems wise may place it in the hands of the Baltimore Branch.

Cicero Groves claimed discrimination in the matter of marks by the De Witt Clinton High School, New York. The matter was adjusted satisfactorily after considerable correspondence.

HOSPITALS:

See Giles case above.

Dr. Isabella Vandervall vs. The Syracuse Hospital for Women and Children. (OVER)

SALOON CASES:

Gibbs vs. Arras. The Association has contributed $100 toward this case.

Several other saloon cases have been referred to the Association. Correspondents have been advised that in the future the Association would handle no more of these cases.

This case has been placed in the hands of Mr. W. H. Harding of Syracuse, who, we understand, has filed a suit for damages for Dr. Vanderveer.

As a result of these hospital cases the Legal Committee has decided to try to introduce a bill into the State Legislature which will provide that hospitals and institutions discriminating against colored people as patients or interns shall not be exempt from taxation.

P. Hill Hall 1925(?)

lic school facilities.

The fact is, the Southerner has given, given until it hurts, for education; given liberally, according to his lights. But his lights are rather dim. He thinks that he is generous for providing what education he does for the Negro, who pays no taxes, quite overlooking the fact that ten million Negroes do not live in a void nor exist on air alone. The landlord gets his tax money from the rent; the retailer does not pay taxes from his private income, but figures it in ih the cost of what he sells. The ultimate consumer pays - and the Negro is an ultimate consumer.

The Negro is also a worker - and not always an efficient one. I have often wondered whether the fact that the richer states have better school facilities is altogether a relation of - cause - riches, effect, schools; whether or not the mere fact that the people of the state are better educated does not to some extent make them more efficient at raising the per capita wealth. The Negro who, when asked if he wished to earn a quarter, replied "No suh, I has a quattuh," was unspoiled. His wants were few and simple. Therefore, he did not work much, nor did he buy much. The story neglects to state whether he had the advantage of an education.

In fact, the Southern farmer often neglects to fertilize his fields. The outlay is too much, a waste of money. The result is, that his crop is less. He neglects to fertilize the minds of the workers, white or black; the result is cheaper labor, but less efficient. When the South realizes that education is not a work of charity, but a necessity to the well being of the state, they will find that it is not a question of how much they can afford to pay for schools, but how much it will cost to be without them. Public schools, high schools, colleges, and public libraries are a necessity to a civilized state; these facilities for <u>all</u> are a necessity. When the country was in physical danger in <u>war</u>, no price was too great to pay for defense. But ignorance, and its train of allies, inefficiency, ill health, and lawlessness, are as great a menace as any foreign foe. The Negro question, the menace of the colored race, is in reality, the question of the education of the Negro, the menace of the <u>ignorant</u> Negro. And it is a question of color because the Negro is, as a rule, less educated than the white. The uneducated white man is also a menace to the peace and integrity of the nation.

In stating the necessity of schools of higher learning for the colored race, it must not be overlooked that the need is not for college INSTEAD of schools of other kinds, but for colleges AND other schools. The college is dependent upon the lower schools Without adequate primary schools, high schools and grammer schools, a college cannot exist. However, it must not be overlooked that if the colleges need the other schools, the other schools need the colleges no less. The training of teachers is one of the most necessary functions of the college. The high schools, without college trained teachers, are inefficient at the best.

Many writers have agreed that the Negro needs, not college but industrial and agricultural schools, similar in type to Tuskegee and Hampton. This is akin to arguing that a field, to pro-

duce a good crop, needs cultivation, instead of water and fertilizer. Tuskegee, without its college trained teachers, could not exist. It is doubtful if it would have been founded, had Booker T. Washington had no education above secondary grade. Among the schools it is strictly true that the good of one is the good of all. The lower schools, whose necessity is unquestioned, could not exist without colleges, and degenerate where the colleges are not up to standard.

37-3-23

This independence is not confined solely to schools. The South is sadly lacking in what is found in practically every Northern and Western hamlet, public libraries. The schools are not able to inculcate all the necessary habits which students must possess. Mere "book-learning" may be under a cloud, but it is not only true that an illiterate is not able to do college work; it is true that a student who cannot read with ease and facility is a poor student. This facility comes only with practice; the schools teach the method, but the practice is obtained only by a person who finds reading interesting and is able to obtain books. Without the habit of reading widely, the student lacks that intellectual background which is essential for the best results. For many students are severely handicapped in the race for education by that lack.

To be sure, people get along before there were public libraries some even rose to great intellectual heights. We can find an occasional plant thriving excellently in poorly tilled ground, but the farmer who substitutes for the plow the forked stick of his ancestors is due to be disappointed in his crop.

The public library is essential for the proper functioning of the college, as well as for all other schools. It is through the increase of education that the conscious demand for libraries will arise.

But even if a child has before him all the advantages of modern schools and libraries, he will still be handicapped if his home, the strongest influence of his life, has an atmosphere inimical to intellectual ideals. Most of our criminals come from homes where moral training is neglected, and most of our illiterates from homes where culture is lacking. Occasionally brilliant students have arisen from rude and lowly surroundings, but the great majority receive their primary stimulus to learn in a home where the parents also feel that desire. At present, alas, too many of our colored students are advancing in spite of that handicap; we may rest assured that the second generation will, on the whole, surpass the first.

But the cultured family does not evolve from a void. We find most of them, not where schools are lacking, but where they are best. So all the things on which the best functioning of the college and university depend, depend in their turn upon the vigourous development of the college and university. It is a circle, though far from a vicious circle. We may depend on it that anything which aids the lower schools, the public libraries, or the family, will have a good effect on the college. However, assisting the college is the surest way to promote the growth and welfare of these other institutions.

It may seem mockery to ask that the South promote schools, colleges, and public libraries at a cost of double or triple what

it now contributes. But it is a necessity. "All that a man hath he will give for his life," and the LIFE of the South is at stake. No price is too dear to pay for justice.

It is true that nations have existed in the past, and perhaps exist at the present, without education. But those of the past are dead, as dead as the dinosaur and diploducus, which possessed size, but a negligible brain. If any such exist at present, they are uncivilized. Perhaps cheap labor promotes the national wealth, allowing the wherewithal for the erection of road houses, jazz resorts, the maintenance of bootleggers and first class burlesque shows. But something more is needed, if life be not mere savagery, however gilded. That something more is the higher life, is education.

32-3-24

The reasons for the building and maintenance of schools are not PRIMARILY material, but in the final analysis, the mere physical existence of the nation depends upon the institutions of learning. Not training for work, to enable the workers to produce more money for the nation, to allow it to obtain more trained workers; But the higher life, the knowledge of the world, the vision which is necessary for a real existence. "Where there is no vision, the people perish."

Wherever a person, be he black or white, is restrained from the free development of his abilities and powers, especially where that development contributes not alone to his own personal well-being but to the good of all, that place is, insofar, uncivilized.

The Negro is, for good or ill, a part of the nation. He may be a menace to the rest of the nation, but if so, the remedy is not in the denial of opportunities to him. His removal from the country, his assimilation by inter-breeding with whites, have been discarded as remedies, and would nowhere be seriously proposed. Even more absurd is the method of denying him any opportunity to advance. If the Negro be a menace, it is not because of his black skin, nor of any innate qualities, but because he HAS been denied, and is being denied, those opportunities. It is not the college trained Negro who is a menace. Education is not a menace, either to the Negro or to anyone else.

development among whites. Thus, Mr. Washington's program formed but a labor complement to the new and vast industrial organization of white capitalists. Foreseeing an increasingly industrial South, these carefully sought to provide there a closed reservoir of docile, satisfied common labor, with a skilled and semi-skilled group of black artisans, who wouldbe outside the labor unions, and able and willing to restrain union demands. This program met only partial success, chiefly because a politically disfranchised labor class, with meager education, could not compete with the rising political power, self-assertion and ambition of the poor-white South, as it developed after the Civil War.

When the Booker T. Washington experiment was at its height, there came among us who represented at the time the youth movement, a revolt which made demands for higher education and for the recognition and training of a Talented Tenth. Far from this being a mistake or a program of reaction, it was, as we foresaw, our only salvation. We did not oppose the preparation of the Negro for industry. But we asked who would lead Negro labor? Could we depend helplessly on white capital and capitalistic philanthropy? Where in our own group was the trained and educated leaders being prepared for the future? We opposed the placing of the leadership for our development in the hands of white capitalists and the refusal to train black men in modern culture, who, when the time came, could lead the Negro people out of the difficulties which we knew would come.

40-8P-1

Today, our program has been partially fulfilled. We have the educated men; but its complete fulfillment will only come when this educated group sees that its duty is not simply to be cultured, but to supply the very leadership for economic and spiritual emancipation which the present crisis demands. The urge to do this, is today hindered by the absurd Negro philosophy of Scatter, Suppress, Wait, Escape. That is, our educated young leaders think that because the Negro problem is not in evidence where there are few or no Negroes present, this indicates a way out! They think that the problem of race can be settled by ignoring it and suppressing all refererence to it. They think that we have only silently to wait for the white people to settle the problem for us; and finally and predominantly, they think that the problem of twelve million Negro people, mostly poor, ignorant workers, isgoing to be settled by having their more educated and wealthy classes gradually and continually escape from their race into the mass of the American people, leaving the dregs to sink, suffer and die.

(Insert) MISCEGENATION

The Editor, E. A. Hooten, says: "I cannot see that these data afford any comfort to those who contend that miscegenation between Negroes and whites produces anthropologically inferior types."

37-10-136

(Insert) MISCEGENATION

There were some efforts to distinguish between degrees of white blood but usually these were based crudely on mere skin color. In the new psychological tests, results are equally indeterminate. Strong, Philipps, Yerkes and Brigham, are sure that intelligent tests prove the inferiority of the Negro race, while Herskovits, Reuter, and Bagley disagree. Much depends on how the tests are given and by whom. Also, there has been some suppression of results. Louisville, Kentucky has never published the results of the intelligent tests for whites and colored children. The charge comes from responsible circles that the results did not "come out right." One may fairly conclude with M. S. Viteles of the University of Pennsylvania:

"From among these varied conclusions it is possible for anyone interested in the problem of Negro-white differences to choose one which best suits his particular bias. The varied character of the findings themselves and the difficulties of interpretation suggest extreme caution in generalizing on differences between the Negro and the white." (p. 175. The American Negro.)

With regard to the educational achievements of Negro and mulatto children, Charles H. Thompson of Howard University concludes:

"That the doctrine of an inherent mental inferiority of the Negro is a myth unfounded by the most logical interpretation of the scientific facts on the subject produced to date." (p. 208. The American Negro.)

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in a rural community in West Virginia, Herskovits concludes that:

Class	Number of Individuals	Percent of Total
Unmixed Negro	342	22.0%
Negro and Indian	97	6.3%
Negro and White	798	50.8%
Negro, White and Indian	314	20.9%

"When, therefore, we speak of American Negroes, we speak of an amalgan and not of Negro in its biological sense. The American Negro is forming a definite physical type with a vary ability as low as that of the populations from which it has been derived, and perhaps lower. They are a homogeneous population despite the fact that they are greatly mixed." (M. J. Herskovits, "The American Negro".)

37-10-138

The census estimate of 85% pure Negro is not correct. There is a large infiltration of Indian blood in the Negro race, amounting, perhaps, to 29%. (M. J. Herskovits, Anthropometry of the American Negro, p. 279.)

No other careful studies of mulatto physique have been made, although Atlanta University (Publications No. 11.) brought together much interesting data. Most American students have the curious habit of studying Negroes in America indiscriminately without reference to their blood mixture and calling the result a study of the Negro race. This method invalidatesmuch of the anthropological and psychological data collected during the World War.

There were some efforts to distinguish between degrees of white blood but usually these were based crudely on mere skin color. Assuming, then, that most recent measurements and tests of American Negroes are for the most part studies mainly of mulattoes with a minority of full-bloods, we have these results: the measurements of physique have been summarized by W. M. Cobb in his "Physical Constitution of the American Negro". He declares that the American Negro "is forming a type intermediate between the parent Negro, white and Indian stocks in those superficial traits which are differential race characters....

"In fundamental bodily characters and developmental patterns, the American Negro is identical with other types of modern man." (W. M. Cobb, "The Physical Constitution of the American Negro".)

In the psychological tests, results are equally indeterminate. Strong, Philipps, Yerkes and Brigham, are sure that intelligence tests prove the inferiority of the Negro race, while Herskovits, Reuter, and Bagley disagree. Much depends on how the tests are given and by whom. Also, there has been some suppression of results. Louisville, Kentucky has never published her results of the intelligence tests for white and colored children. The charge comes from responsible circles that the results did not "come out right." One may fairly conclude with M. S. Viteles of the University of Pennsylvania:

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There long persisted a legend born of slave propaganda that people of mixed blood were less fertile than the parent stocks. Davenport and others declare that there isno support for this notion. There is no lack of fecundity in Negro-white crosses nor deficit viability. It isnot generally true that hybrids between whites and blacks are relatively infertile. Some such hybrids show an especially high fecundity.

So much for our knowledge of the extent of race mixture in the United States, and of its physical results. Its social results are in violent dispute. As a matter

in the body politic have expressed their wishes and sufferings. The result has been a smaller or greater balancing of their conflicting interests. The appearance off new interests and complaints means disarrangement and confusion to the older equilibrian. But this is not in itself evil. — it is the inevitable preliminary step to that larger equilibrium in which the interests of no human soul will be neglected. They will not, surely, be all fully realized but they will be recognized and given as full weight as the conflicting interests of others will allow. The problem of government thereafter will be to reduce this necessary conflict of human interests to the minimum.

From such a point of view one easily sees the strength of the demand for the ballot on the part of certain disfranchised classes. When women ask for the ballot they are asking not a privilege but a necessity. You may not see the necessity; you may easily argue that women do not need to vote. Indeed the women themselves in considerable number may feel the same. Nevertheless they do need the ballot. They need it to right the balance of a world sadly awry because of its brutal neglect of the rights of women and children. With the best will and knowledge no man can know womens' wants as well as women themselves. To disfranchise them is deliberately to turn from knowledge and grope in ignorance.

So too with American Negroes: The South continually insists that a benevolent guardianship of whites over blacks is the ideal thing. They assume that white people not only know better what Negroes need than Negroes themselves, but are anxious to supply those needs. As a result instead of knowledge they grope in ignorance and helplessness. They cannot "understand" the Negro, they cannot protect him from cheating and lynching and in general instead of loving guardianship, we see anarchy and exploitation. If the Negro could speak for himself in the South instead of being spoken for. If he could defend himself instead of having to depend on the chance sympathy of white citizens, how much healthier growth of democracy the South would have.

It is not for a moment to be assumed that enfranchising women would not cost something. It would for many years confine our politics. It would change the composition of parentage and sound life. It would admit to the ballot thousands of

41-9-282

Copy

Ex two world the dark races of the ~~the~~ world. No Federation of the world – no true International Can exclude the ~~Negroes~~ Black & brown and Yellow races. They must equally & accordingly & remember act and be heard at the world's council

To this definitely pessimistic interpretation of Negro thought there is one equally optimistic note to be added. The ~~con~~ in- clusion of the two aspects is illogical and inexplicable, and yet it is true that the Negro race in America is optimistic and ~~even~~ has not the slightest doubt that in the end it is going to triumph in each one of its demands. No writer, no speaker, no leader, ever suggests that the Negro is going to be submerged and ~~kept~~ held permanently in a caste position. The most pessimistic of Negro thinkers always concludes with his audience that in the end the cause of a universal democracy, which includes black men, must triumph. It is hard to say whence this optimism arises. Certainly, the current facts do not support it. It is only a vague generalization to say that such thinking is the racial characteristic of an exuberant group. This may be a true statement but it is no explanation. I presume that the real cause of Negro optimism is the tremendous strides by which in their own experience or the experience of fathers and grandfathers whom they have known, they have accomplished such extraordinary things. For this reason, probably no accomplishment seems too extraordinary in the reasonable future. At the same time, there creeps in continually today a new element. The faint foretaste of a willingness to hopeless sacrifice, ~~an o x plight~~ a wild call for the ordeal of blood in the very face of the impossible; all of the world-old dreams of imolation, hari-kari, and the "voice without reply." This is not yet articulate but one feels it as a groundswell. One senses flames ready to burst and ~~air~~burn

31-1-1

sight of Seers, the opinion of the majority and the traditions of the past.

Here then is a group of people in which every one of these great sources of inspiration is partially crippled: the family group is struggling to recover from the debaucheries of slavery; the number of the enlightened leaders must necessarily be small; the surrounding and more civilized white majority is cut off from its natural influence by the color line, and the traditions of the past are either lost or largely traditions of evil and wrong.

Anyone looking the problem squarely in the face might conclude that it was unjust to expect progress or the signs of progress until many generations had gone by. ~~And yet already there are among Southern Negroes signs of awaking which no honest man can ignore.~~ Indeed, we must not forget that those people who claimed to know the Negro best, freely and confidently predicted during the abolition controversy:

1. That free Negroes would not and could not work effectively.
2. That the freedman who did work, would not save.
3. That it was impossible to educate Negroes.
4. That no members of the race gave signs of ability and leadership.
5. That the race was morally degenerate. ~~And yet Today The Negro~~

Not only was this said - it was sincerely and passionately believed by honorable men who had lived with the Negro three hundred years. And yet today ~~stripped of wealth and reputation what has~~ the Negro [redacted] in one generation: [redacted] forms the chief laboring force of the most rapidly developing part of the land.

forms:

1. Among a people deprived of guiding traditions, they may be furnished trained guidance in matters of civilization and ideals of living.

2. A people whose family life is not strongly established must have put before them brought home to them the morals of sane and sanitary living.

3. The mass of Negro children must have the keys of knowledge put into their hands by good elementary schools.

4. The Negro youth must have the opportunity to learn the techinal skill of modern industry.

All these forms of help are important. No one of them can be neglected without danger of increasing complications as time flies and each one of them are lines of endeavor in which the Negro cannot be reasonably expected to help himself without aid from others. For instance, it cannot be seriously expected that a race of freedmen would have the skill necessary for modern industry. They cannot teach themselves what they themselves do not know and consequently a legitimate and crying need of the south is the establishment of industrial schools. The public school system is one of the dfoundation stones of free republican government. Negro children as well as other children have right to ask of the nation knowledge of reading, writing and the rules of number together with some conception of the world in time and space. Not one Negro child in three is today receiving any such training or has any chance to receive it and a decent public school system in the south aided

by the National government is something that must come in the near future if you expect the race problem to be settled.

Here then are two great needs: public schools and industrial schools. How are schools of any sort established? By furnishing teachers. Given properly equipped teachers and your schools are a foregone success: without them I care not how much you spend on buildings and equipment, the schools are a failure. It is here that Negro colleges like Atlanta University show their fundamental usefulness ~~bases her appeal for aid in her work.~~ Nearly 2/3 of our graduates teach. They are manning the higher grades of the public schools of the south from Carolina to Texas and it is our contention that the teachers of an untaught people need especially rigorous training. That no public school system can be maintained that does not rest upon the Normal school and the college for the training of teachers and teachers of teachers. If this is true in the public schools it is just as true in the industrial schools. The graduates of Atlanta University are today teaching in over 20 industrial schools for such schools need something more than skilled workmen as teachers, they need trained intellects as well as hands and if the college-bred teachers were withdrawn from the Negro industrial schools today nearly every one of them would close their doors.

Atlanta University stands then for the training of teachers and if men expect to have schools in the south they must have taechers to teach them. It is worse than thoughtlessness for a nation to give all its countenance and support to common and industrial schools and neglect the institutions which make the-

30-1-144

existence of t he lower schools. possible.

But in my list of ways in which the Negro may legitimately be helped to help himself, I named two other avenues of aid and I named them first because to my mind they are even of more importance than popular education. I mean the moral uplift of a people. Now moral uplift comes not primarily from schools but from strong home life and high social ideals. I have spoken of the Negroes' deficiency in these lines and the reason of that deficiency; Here then is a chance for help - but how? Not by direct teaching because that is often ineffective and it is precluded in the South by the color line. It can be done to my mind only by group leadership: by planting in every community of Negroes black men with ideals of life and thrift and civiliza-tion such as must in time filter through the masses and set examples of moral living and correct thinking to the great masses of Negroes who spend but little of their life in schools. After all the education of men comes but in small degree from sch ools - it comes mostly f rom the fireside, from companionships, from your social set, from the opinion of each indivi little world. This is even more true of the Negro. His world is small He is shut in to himself by prejudice, he has by reason of his poverty little time for school - if then he is to learn he must learn from his group leaders - his daily companions, his social surroundings, his own dark world of striving, longing and dreaming. Here then you must plant the seed of civilization. Here you must place men educated not merely in the technique

And this brings us to the crux of the matter. It is the shame of civilization that the value and respect which races and classes have for each other ~~may~~ should be measured by the amount of profit which one may derive from the other. To maintain ignorance in order to ~~suspect~~ keep the individual in subjection, to uproot without pity religion and custom and to build on suffering the prestige of the favored few, - such alas seems the order of the day.

One would say that Science, Religion and Philanthropy have become the slaves of World Trade and of World Industry. The bodies, the minds, the souls of the natives of the Fiji Islands or of the Congo, no longer are considered but by one gauge, ~~the~~ one estimate of value, that of the Bourse.

The time for such world organization is over. And no matter what precedent in its favor may be drawn from bygone days, the 20th century must consider men other than machines and beasts of burden.

This problem which civilized folk have treated up to this point as an exclusively domestic problem should, always supposing that a solution is actually to receive a favorable encouragement,

Britain. Blacks ~~were~~ were decided. Finally "We are not enlisting Negroes" They said. We tried to volunteer in Canada. "No Niggers" was the answer. We waited. The conflagration reached our own land. We volunteered. Negro volunteers could be accepted only in the 4 Negro regiments & they were full. As we started & indeed the draft ~~was~~ was foreshadowed & it was designed to exclude us. Orders were included & was as "separate" units & no Negro officers were selected. We at last got a Army Canada & a thousand officers medal of 6 thousand are quite; but we at went. We did literally & fight for a chance to fight.

It was then & as I also in ~~the exclusion from~~ ~~modern civilization~~ to the time or less conscious determination of the whites & made The current effort of modern culture & deny us the chance & work in war a peace is well known & us

41-9-320

Brute toil at the lowest wage and under the worst conditions is free to us. If we recede from this we meet not only the sneer of the unfeeling employer but the alarm of the white union laborer. If we insist that we can do better & better paid work we get a sermon on "social equality" from one side and a strike against "cheap labor" on the other. If turning from this we choose the rock. Do you see to what we are faced with lack of capital & experience. Most grievously are able to use the power law to make us for. Our deficiency but we are largely disfranchised by our

economic cowhelpless. Experience as managers, clerks, salesmen, apprentices & even as students is largely denied us & we are denied credit even by the permanent institutions in which we invest our savings. The daily routine of life is annoying but it becomes intolerable when divided & the difference which educated skilful & aspiring Negroes have in earning a living & in the adding of wealth & power is what makes the Negro problem dangerous

41-9-322

Could new railways, cotton mills and department stores by themselves vote? The answer is clear: no, it has not and the reason has been lack of interest in politics and the tyranny of the Majority. Politics has not touched the matters of daily life which are nearest the interests of the people — namely work and wages — or if they have, they have touched it obscurely & indirectly. When voting touches the vital every day interests of all, elections or nominations & elections will call for more intelligent activity.

30-11-59

There still remains however the problem of the Majority.

Consider too the vast unused and misused powers of public servants to obtain ability and genius for the service of the State. If millionaires can buy Science and Art, command the services of State and hold them not only for money but by merit the vast ideal of the Commonweal.

30-1-56

We have for now more than ten years tendered the palm branch & the American people. We have offered to forget wrongs that are unforgetable; we have offered to give up, without complaint, rights without which few people have ever maintained their self respect; we have been silent under ridicule outrage & injustice when the silence hurt more than the wrong. All that we have asked is opportunity — the opportunity to go just as high as we deserve to go & not a step further — we have asked to have black criminals treated as criminals & not as dogs, black men treated as men and not as outcasts & black women treated as women & not as things ~~[illegible]~~: we have hoped & see the growth in this nation north & south of such a spirit of justice & humanity that the Negro problem would reduce itself to a simple matter of individu[illegible] & decent.

And what answer have you & the

saving remnant down into one morass of immorality and crime. There must be no compromise, no trifling - the circles in which you move and in which your children are reared must be above reproach.

Rescue the perishing, guard your family from evil associates, teach your children to work, give them an education and bring them up in honest clean and well-disciplined homes - these are the ways in which we can prevent crime among our people ~~not only in Philadelphia but~~ in the whole land. And if we can thus take hold with our own social problems and conquer our own vices, our future is secure. ~~Let us then men and women of Philadelphia strive with him who~~

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois.

Bursts his birth's invidious bar
And grasps the skirts of happy chance
And ~~breasts~~ the blows of circumstance
And grapples with his evil star.

31-9-87

the French in 1908 made similar claims on the opposite side and both countries refused to settle matters until the other one had been satisfied. In 1907 a treaty was submitted by the French by which Liberia was deprived of some of her richest and most prosperous inland districts. She appealed to America but America turned a deaf ear and she had to sign on the dotted line. The English seized the district of Kanre-Lahun by armed force and in the case of both countries there still remain questions of final delimitation of boundary. All this action was, of course, simply the result as felt in Africa, of the partition of Africa as determined on by Europe.

37-7-55a

France took the whole of the Liberian hinterland in the Sudan while Great Britain pushed down from the west as far as her shadowy claims could possibly let her and is in a position today to claim still more. And the whole of this drama was based in reality upon the claim that Liberia could not rule or affectively occupy the territory which she in reality owned and that on the other hand, the manifest destiny of Africa was to be ruled by white Europe and that this ruling was a matter of profit and power. To this, practically all the white world assented. But Liberia protested bitterly.

(copy-6-)

We must envisage a steady march to the point where, within a defi
time, Britain will be able to sit back in West Africa and leave Africans to
manage their own affairs, and international communication, with full

42/GC/A

have done a better job than Europe has done for it. Nevertheless that is mere theory. The question now is what of the future? Two recent students asked in THE NEW REPUBLIC what British colonialism has to offer (paste 56)

George Padmore thinks that the Socialists Party has lost a great opportunity. Dr. Hadden ~~Ghist~~ Guest advocates some such movement(58)

The wide difference of opinion on the matter of the future of Africa has cropped out recently in parliamentary debates(58)

On the other hand, Creech-Jones insists that much has been done (59)

George Padmore critizes colonial conditions in detail . He takes up tha land problem (60)

He examines the power of the Governor (61-62)

He aattacks indirect rule--(63)

And Margery Pellam agrees with him --(64)

American students of the same problem (65)

They also argue (66)

Little matters of race discrimination come up (67)

There is some ~~ax~~ anxiety as to the type of public servant they are going to get to head the colonial empire in these days, but although the demand has been large and the number needed over drawn still some of the officials think that they are going to get a good type of man especially if they offer enough in returns. Everyone realizes ~~khax~~ the fact that the Africans themselves have got more and more to be taken into consideration. Dr. Haddon Ghist says (paste 68-69)

An African writes in West Africa (paste 70)

And then as usual comes the fact that the African intelligensia is looking at Russia as an example of a country without a color line (71-72

prospect of ~~thus~~ producing will be a part of the Middle East ~~oil~~ - oil problem. In April there arrived in Ethiopia from the United States a consignment of 330 ~~capitol~~ cattle, 60 sheep, and 120 ~~head~~ hens selected carefully for improving Ethiopian breeds. Waizeru Senedu Gabru has prouced a ~~drama~~ play in Ethiopia called "In Graziani Days", which dramatizes the resistance to Italian Conquest. Her own brother was murdered by the Italians and she was a part of the patriot resistance. The Ethiopians were deeply stirred when the play ~~was~~ opened ~~in April~~ at the Empress Menen School for Girls, Addis Ababa. On Empire day, the King of Great Britian sent a message to the colonies declaring that the great ideal of "brotherhood was the foundation of the empire, and that all were members of one family, brothers and sisters of each other"; at the same time it was brought out in Parliament that admission to the army and navy of Great Britian is confined to British Subjects "Of pure European descent"; ~~In the Navy non Europeans may be used for local service~~, in the Royal Air Force alone is membership open to all British Subjects without discrimination of race or color. Cocoa is still disturbing the British Parliament; a member complained in May that "We in Britain are having to pay a needlessly high price for our cocoa, while the West African native grower is getting an extreemly low price." It was explained that while government-controled cocoa is sold at the ~~high~~ New York price, no concession is made to the British consumer and none to the African grower. General De Galle has unveiled a ~~placket~~ plaque at Bordeaux on the house where the late Governor Eboué lived ~~for~~ during the first four years of the ~~20th~~ century. British East and Central African dependencies have held a conference at Nairobi on control and preservation of game. ~~were among the subjects~~ The lion, ~~the~~ leopard and ~~the~~ cheetah were considered for protection. Nothing was said about Negroes. Black Sudanese object to the proposed protocol between Egypt and Great Britain because it

42-86-102

recognizes for the first time Egyptian ~~Sovereignty~~ Sovereignty over the Sudan . This was not recognized neither in the 1899 agreement or in the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty.

42-86-103

42-86-104

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42-8-6-105

The great Congo Valley with its riotous fertility and slow moving oceans of water was long been a center of human culture of no low order. More than one thousand years ago, perhaps two thousand, the black invaders of the Congo settled in village and plain, absorbed such indigenous inhabitants as they found or drove them deeper into the forest, and immediately began to develop industry and political organization. They became skilled agriculturists, raising in some localities a profusion of cereals, fruit, and vegetables such as manioc, maize, yams, sweet potatoes, ground nuts, sorghum, gourds, beans, peas, bananas, and plantains. Everywhere they showed skill in mining and the welding of iron, copper, and other metals. They made weapons, wire and ingots, cloth, and pottery, and a widespread system of trade arose. Some tribes extracted rubber from the talamba root; others had remarkable breeds of fowl and cattle, and still others divided their people by crafts into farmers, smiths, boat builders, warriors, cabinet makers, armorers, and speakers. Women here and there took part in public assemblies and were rulers in some cases. Large towns were built, some of which required hours to traverse from end to end.

Many tribes developed intelligence of a high order. Wissmann called the Ba Luba "a nation of thinkers." Bateman found them "thoroughly and unimpeachably honest, brave to foolhardiness, and faithful to each other and to their superiors." One of their kings, Calemba, "a really princely prince," Bateman says would "amongst any people be a remarkable and indeed in many respects a magnificant man."

Here it was that in the fifteenth century Portugal came and introduced Christianity, ordained a Bishop and sent black men to Europe to be trained as priests, and hitheragain in the nineteenth century came Henry M. Stanley sent by Leopold of Belgium.

"I am charged, " said Stanley in 1878, "to open and keep open, if possible, all such districts and countries as I may explore, for the benefit of the commercial world. The mission is supported by a philanthropic society which numbers nobleminded men of several nations. It is not a religious society, but my instructions are entirely

of that spirit. No violence must be used, and wherever rejected, the mission must withdraw to seek another field." (The Congo, I, Chapter III.)

What was the result? Harris declares that King Leopold's regime meant the death of twelve million natives. "Europe was staggered at the Leopoldian atrocities, and they were terrible indeed; but what we, who were behind the scenes felt most keenly was the fact that the real catastrophe in the Congo was desolation and murder in the larger sense. The invasion of family life, the ruthless destruction of every social barrier, the shattering of every tribal law, the introduction of criminal practices which struck the chiefs of the people dumb with horror--in a word, a veritable avalanche of filth and immorality overwhelmed the Congo tribes."

37-11-28

To this may be added similar stories from the Portuguese colonies, from French Guinea, from the Valley of the Amazon, from the West Indian sugar fields.

The second blow to the theory of colonial enterprise came from unexpected direction. Men thought that retribution might come from a great war between the oppressed and the oppressors of a black and white race struggle. But no; something nearer and more dangerous was the result. After all, colonial theory kept the natives unarmed, or encouraged such jealousies as armed them only against each other, just as today black men hired by Italians are fighting black Abyssinians. But the unexpected crisis came because the profit which arose from black labor was monopolized by certain great colonial powers, like France and England, while Germany and Italy had less or almost none. The jealousy, therefore, over the distribution of colonies and raw material and exploitable colored labor was one of the prime causes that led to the world war and almost overthrew European civilization. Moreover, Europe cannot today escape a second and more terrible threat of a recurrence of the same international greed and jealousy for the same causes. The Treaty of Versailles took colonies from Germany and denied Italy any increase of her barren colonial empire. These two countries, therefore, are determined at every risk to conquer or regain the privilege of exploiting black labor and monopolizing raw material.

Meantime, there is little thought and scarcely a word concerning the exploited laborers themselves. The great labor groups of the world are saying nothing on the matter except in the case of the Russian communists.

And even Russia's frank and open arraignment of colonial exploitation is nullified by the fact that she has no colonies and that in self-defense she must ally herself with colonial powers who propose to maintain colonial imperialism. The great statesmen see nothing but the vague possibility of one step such as was tentatively proposed by Sir Samuel Hoare, namely, [redacted], that possibly the national monopolies of labor and material might be broken down so far as to allow more hogs to get to the trough. But of the world swill that is in the trough, of the many millions of dark workers to whom almost nothing of modern protection for labor and uplift for the laboring classes has been applied, of the future of these folk, no modern statesman has said a single word. The church is dumb, both Catholic and Protestant, philanthropy is dumb, science, physical and social, is voiceless.

There is one path of hope for the colonial peoples. If the mandates of the League of Nations should become real and not a pious farce; that is, if the the League of Nations should take under its active and internal direction, not simply the colonies taken from Germany, but also all colonies and countries where the mass of people are ruled by aliens without voice in their own government and where education, health and social uplift is made distinctly and openly subordinate to private profit, if all such colonies were taken under the protection of a League of Nations, which included the United States and Germany, as well as other leading nations, then a program of peace and decency might be worked out for the glory of the thing now mis-called civilisation. The first step toward any such development should come from the colored people themselves. It should come from a Pan-African and Pan-Asiatic movement, from a great up-surging of the colored world crying, "It is [redacted]" We have followed the path of murder and theft and international jealousy as far as it can be followed without disaster that staggers the imagination. We must begin organised work to rescue the colored races from a situation where they are looked upon as a source of private profit and not human beings capable of contributing to human culture. This is the larger socialism. This is a program of communism that far out-strides anything that even Russia has attempted. This is a program of religion which will make or break the so-called followers of Christ.

We may perhaps more carefully approach this problem, if we consider certain colonies, or so-called colonies as they exist today. We may begin with India, characterized by a vast population, intrically differenciated by race and color, with over 90 percent of illiteracy; ignorance of modern science and technique is wide spread; divided among diverse religions and languages, and with varying degrees of cultural status. Disease is widespread, there is a vast death rate among children and unrest and dissatisfaction concerning the social condition and the political relation both to the British Empire and to the Indian Princes whom the Empire supports. There is no vaster nor more poignant problem which faced the First World War;which developed between the two world wars and which is going to be a major world problem after this war. Does the civilization of Great Britain depend upon the continuance with only slow and gradual change of present conditions in India.

32-264

We may turn to a second country: China, which from some points of view might be called an independent country, but which as a matter of fact because of the influence which the West have had for centuries upon the Chinese economy is practically in the colonial status. Here again we have poverty coupled with incessant toil. There are no harder workers in the world than Chinese coolies and yet the wages from their hard labor gives them scarcely enought to eat and to wear; their whole life is hard and unlimited toil. Despite an ancient and valuable culture, their ignorance of the advance of science in the last three centuries is so dismal that their industrial organizations is almost entirely dependent upon Western exploitation; their wide-spread victims of disease. What is said of China and India may be repeated of Indonesia. There to be sure, as in other parts of the Eastern World, Western exploitation is coupled with the exploitation of the Chinese merchant. Here is a vast change of islands with ancient culture, ignorance of modern science, illiterarcy and hard work. The toil of the people is chiefly concentered upon things which they themselves do not use but which are transported abroad, and the kind and aim of their industry is determined by the investments of the Dutch, the British and the Americans. There is some effort at education but among the 80,000,000 Indo-

nesians there are not as many children in school as among the 13 million American Negroes. The revenue from these countries, just as the revenue to Great Britain from India is immense, but the wage paid are so low that poverty is the lot of the average native. Africa tells a similar tale within a difference only in the degree to which the native workers have been pitched into European machine. The African worker has been only partially absorbed into modern industry. He mines gold, diamonds, cooper and tin. He raises vegetable oil and fibers, but still to a degree he lives under his ancient tribal conditions and his broken culture is dominated by the interest of present and future industrial development in the West. The African laborer is consequently poor, illiterate and diseased. He is part of that mass of labor upon whose bent back the civilization of Europe largely rests. The Caribbean area approximates more or less the colonial status. The political domination varies; it is apparently absent in independent countries like the Domenican Republic and Haiti; it is modified in British colonies like Jamaica and Bermuda . Nevertheless the economic organization in Europe, the civilization of the Western World depend upon the work and personal service of West Indians, and the West Indians again are poor with low wage, with inadequate clothing and housing and with wide spread illiteracy. In Central and South America the pattern varies by the fact that home-born elements exploits and rule natives of the land and are the ones who carry on the government and who share in the spoils of exploitation based on European and American investment. The results however upon the Indian, Negro and Latin workers and the mixture of the three, is the same. There is the great mass of desperately poor illiterate and diseased workers whose conditions are the corner stone upon which prosperity and civilization both for South America and Western Europe is built. In the Middle East and the Balkans is something of the same situation. Which means that the majority of mankind are today in poverty,ignorance and disease because the domination of their work and their wage is in the hands of the Europeans or of those who are

32-26-2

their own countryman, but share home with foreign spoilers. The interest of those dominated empires, nations and classes are regarded as necessarily involving the degradation of the colonial mass. There is no counteract to this two points of view.

32-26-13

To Europeans the attitude is baffling and easily misleading. China seems inert, ridden with graft and dishonesty, without national spirit and incapable of thoroughgoing reform. The eternal element in China is easily overlooked: the family. The Chinese ancestor-revering, closed and wavering but still unbroken group presents to the outsider an almost impenetrable resistence. Sale of Women, child-labor, inter-marriage, disease, misgovernment, and theft, may disturb but never overthrows this most immortal of human group organizations. It strength lies in the unbreakable grip between parent and child, which insures unity in physical home, in work and defense, communism in property, and in cooperation of every kind. It resists annihilation as grimly as it slows down innovation and reform. It is the long considered child and defense mechanism of a people who have fought tyranny and theft for a thousand years. No reform in China can ignore it and every permanent reform must envisage the family as the chief instrument and immediate object. Up from the family as its extension and instrument for broader efficiency, has grown the guild; the organization of united family and village cooperation for industry, defense and training on a broader scale than is possible for the single family. The two institutions are China. As long as they live she lives. Reform begins with them or it begins not at all.

Comes now the revolution, swinging now toward Communism, now toward a new capitalistic reform. The story of the attempt of Russian communism to spread into the East and to face Europe with a communistic Asia is one of the great sagas of modern times. My friends saw the Chinese University in Moscow in 1928, a marvel of determination and dream amid almost insuperable difficulties: difficulties of language and textbooks, of poverty and the securing of students; and yet a triumph of human education. It was a tremendous undertaking, and opened vistas beyond the far vision of Lenin himself. Not merely capitalistic Europe loomed as the future realm of the Worker, but the Ancient of Days, Asia and Africa, the

32-31-11

India PC

Regarding British India, I shall quote here from "The White Sahibs in India" by Reginald Reynolds, published by Secker and Warburg in 1937. Reynolds gives documentary evidence for all he says, and this is what he says of British justice in India: "The Rowlatt Acts (India 1919) provided for arrests without warrant and indefinite detention without trial. Where trials took place they could be held in secret and their proceedings were not to be made public. The accused could be kept in ignorance of the names of his accusers and of witnesses against him, with whom he was not to be confronted. No counsel was allowed to the accused if tried under these Acts" . . . . "It would be difficult", Reynolds continues "to find any legislation in Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy to compare with this detailed denial of every accepted principle of justice. The provisions of the Rowlatt Acts show the closest similarity to the proceedings of the Court of the Star Chamber, regarded in seventeenth century England as the epitome of tyranny".

8-19-39

General Dyer admitted before the Hunter Commission that there was no question of his men being attacked. "I had made up my mind," he said, "that I would do all the men to death if they were going to continue the meeting." Asked whether he redirected his fire from time to time where the crowd was thickest, he admitted that he had done so. He had committed this "horrible act", he said, because he "thought it would be doing a jolly lot of good, and they would realize they were not to be wicked." The Hunter Commission estimated 379 persons were killed and 1,200 wounded, though these figures are universally considered in India to be an underestimate. The Hunter Commission was appointed largely because of the investigations already in process by a National Congress Committee, and the necessity of issuing an official statement to counteract the effect of this independent enquiry. Actually the Hunter Report, although its findings were sufficiently damning, has always been regarded in India as "whitewash" . . . The Congress report, issued after that of the Hunter Commission criticized its findings with devastating arguments based upon a mass of evidence which the Government Commissioners had conveniently neglected.

documents which were furnished were raproduced in facsimile in the world.

The second Pan-African Congress met in England, Belgium and France with 115 delegates, representing 26 different groups of Negroes and 1000 visitors.

38-12-104

ideal, Haiti has not gone as far as Venezuela or Guatemala, but it is well started.

Of what other people have done, what China and India and Northern Viet Nam are doing to solve such problems, Haiti does not know. And if the Import- Export Bank has its way it will never learn. We have given Haiti some hurricane relief and induced her to match American investment in irrigation. For this we maintain in Haiti a growing group of Americans, civil and military, on good salaries.

Practically every cent the United States gives Haiti is either a loan to be repaid with good interest or a concealed American investment to return huge profit which will be shared with those Haitians who help manipulate the deal. Once we have helped build an economy like this belting the world and based on such principles, the whole structure is bound eventually to sag and fall. This will not be the result of "creeping socialism" or "Communist agression" but ~~from~~ of the failure of Capitalism as we try to practice it.

31-9-1

But Peace in Korea, in Malaya, in Indo-China and many other parts of Asia, Africa and America, does not mean that powerful nations can force their ideologies on weaker peoples. The United States has erected in Southern Korea a state ruled by great land-holders wo with American advice have openly threatened to over-run all Korea. The United Nations without investigating the facts has declared North Korea the aggressor when civil war broke out and delivered her to the military forces of the United States. We want peace in Korea, but we do not want the sort of peace which the United States seeks to impose on black and yellow peoples and we solemly protest to the world against this latest attempt to enslave the dark peoples of the world.

35-7-113

Ever since the first world war, the United States has been eager to rule Asia and Africa as Britain once ruled. It has replaced political rule in the Phillipines by economic and industrial slavery and called this freedom; it has invested billions of capital in the Middle East, Africa and South America, and by industrial and commercial control, [redacted] reduced millions of people to colonial status in all but name.

Whenever we and others have protested and inveighed against this policy, when we have asked full freedom for black Americans and have invoked the trusteeship clauses of the Charter of the United Nations, and called on implementation of promises of independence and autonomy for

Discipline and a limited supply of consumers goods; but it leads to long range projects for public welfare and broad social legislation which in time will abolish poverty, ignorance and disease.

The truth of this theory and the validity of the present experimentation depends on peace & freedom

That is what makes our present repression of opinion and expression together with a vast program of world conquest and control, not only unwise but impossible of accomplishment

We cannot conquer and controll Russia and the Balkans, China and Asia

35-7-114

We can with Peace, conference, consultation and good-will work out the best economic programm for the world, which may include much more of American thinking than the Soviets believe possible and much more of Soviet thought than America admits

The Soviets fear war and prepare for war, because in the last generation they have been invaded and attacked by every European and North American nation

We want war because out of war we have gained wealth and power and think by further war we can rule the earth

Once we can assure the Soviets and the Balkans that they need fear no aggression so long as they wish peacefully to work out their theory of social reforms

Once we can assure Americans that they need fear no attempt to compell them to adopt any economic system which their intelligent experiment does not lead them to adopt, then we can have Peace

Then Civilization and economic reform can begin

ON THE NEGRO OR ETHIOPIAN ELEMENT IN EGYPTIAN HISTORY
(Continued)

During the Hyksos invasion and occupancy of Egypt, i.e. in the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th Dynasties, many of the royal Egyptian families, according to the testimony of the veteran Egyptologist, Sir Flinders Petrie, migrated to Ethiopia and there allied themselves through inter-marriage with the noble and ruling houses of Ethiopia. Later the members of one of these Egypto-Ethiopian families, ruling as vassals of the Hyksos at Thebes, raised the standard of revolt against their Asiatic overlords, and through the aid of Ethiopian soldiers, as the recently discovered Kames Papyrus reveals, expelled the invaders and established the great Eighteenth Dynasty. The recently discovered mummies and the features presented in the statues of some of the principal leaders--Sequenenra, Kamos, Nefertari--in these activities and undertakings show them to have had marked traces of Negro blood. The same is true of subsequent sovereigns of the same line.

B

34-1-60

DuBois - Return

When this world council assembles I shall lay before it as primary agenda, the following basic principles

The principal of racial equality as proposed by Japan for the covenant of the League of Nations, supported by eleven out of Thirteen votes , but opposed by the United States and Great Britain, and declared defaated by President Woodrow Wilson

The principle of universal eduvation of all human beings, based on the best scientific principles and designed in the shortest possible time to eliminate illiteracy from the world, attain the maximum of human intelligence and eliminate the crime and error due to ignorance

The principle of the abolition of poverty by a immediate and revolutionaty use of known technique to produce goods and make services available so that all men may live decently and all shall labor to the extent of their ability to this end

Africa is always the unexpected. Thus Pedro da Cintra, sailing along the low West African coast in 1462, suddenly saw the Lion Mountain leap and roar to the silver sea. He called these fifty miles of singing headland Sierra Leone, and one sees today that couchant Lion from the ocean, the great twin-humped mountain that comes down close to the waters so contrary to one's preconceived notions of the African coast. All along here, and particularly at Sharbro Island, which lies low, yonder to the right, the slave trade flourished in the eighteenth century until the campaign of Clarkson and Wilberforce, and then in 1787 there began an experiment.

31-11-19

I sense unrest in Freetown. This city of forty thousand people has evidently had waves of prosperity and adversity. Curious chapters of economic history could be dug up here, I am sure; for first the colony was a philanthropy, then a trading company, then since 1808 a Crown colony. Today it falls into two parts, and thereby hangs a long and curved tale.

It all began with the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century, and England's far-sighted vision of coming changes in industrial organization.

For a century

it over-ran and held Egypt, then it withdrew into itself, warded off the power of Persia, Greece and Rome and maintained itself until conquered by blacks from the South east. some five hundred years after Christ.

AFRICA & CULTURE

It is the misfortune of black Africa that its modern contact with the world was with Nordics rather than with Asiatics, especially Chinese & Indiasns The cause of this was the African slave trade to America which eventually gave rise to modern private capitalism, based on exploitation of labor and monopoly of land. Modern "Pan-Africa" will revolutionize this

39-12-46

41-158-3

with the Arabs. The age of the great Zymbabwe, Randall-Maciver thinks cannot possibly go back beyond the Eleventh Century. Here there centered what is known in history as the Empire of the Monomotapa, as the rulers were called, which came to European knowledge through the development of Sofala.

If the first World war was a war between investors, the second World War was a war between this concept of controlling labor and different ideals of its control. And no sooner had it come than it became a war insensibly between East and West and then a war between colored and white. And into this war which was a war of technique even then more than into the first World War came colored troops taking part.

Considering these facts we face a struggle of racial and cultural groups for equality or autonomy and we must either plan between these groups a future of peace and development or of war and struggle.

I am presenting a plan: autonomy for China, India, Japan and some other colored countries. Then benevolent and scientific guardianship for other colored groups; such guardianship being carefully limited against motives of private profit by equitable distribution of the land, by education, control of all investment by democratic methods. This will involve the restraint of Europe and white America. It will involve for all men freedom of art.

30-31-9

Ten years later, after five months in Germany, I began with a day in Moscow coming from Warsaw, and then for ten days crossed Russia by Kasan, Sverdlovsk, Omsk, Novosibir[illegible] Irkutsk, Lake Baikal and Chita to Manchuria, 5000 miles through the heart of the soviet republics

31-2-14

31-2-14

Yugoslavia is communist; it is being treated well by the West.

Then capitalism & communism can get on

But is that not because of the might of Russia?

If the Russian communist bloc can be broken, is communism th then safe?

How was Tito and Communism treated in the past.

The chain store often treats the little competitor fairly but once let it get in its power and the chain smashes it.

Russia in its desperate fight with the world may not treate ed all its satellites fairly, but it preserved them Federation is sacrifice. R. did not have goods to furnish h herself, much less Yugoslavia, but she was ans is build ing mighty possibilities

When she let satellite states like Finland , Latvia and Lith uania, not to mention Poland go their way, they became to tools to crush Russia

35-4-227

Some many impressions seem to exist present conditions and in Liberia. I take this opportunity of making the situation clear to our many American friends. Liberia has been an independent country since 1847 and naturally it has never considered the surrender of its sovereignty to any nation or organization. On the other hand Liberia has always regarded itself as the natural refuge and center for persons of Negro descent the world over. As a country whose greatest development is just beginning we are not of course, in condition to receive large and miscellaneous numbers of immigrants. Our present need is especially for strong young men trained as artisans engineers and merchants who can bring with them some capital for investment. To such immigrants and their families we offer a vast and rich country waiting for the application of hard work and brains and money. It goes without saying that in this development Liberia respects the integrity of the territory of her neighbors in the same way that they must respect hers. Under no circumstances will she allow her territory to be made a center of aggression or conspiracy against other sovereign states. She proposes to develop Liberia for the Liberians and to live at peace with the rest of the world.

46-25-21

Our alliance with reaction and tyranny through tht world is not deductive theory; by that we would uphold freedom, democratic control and even revolution to emancipate pauperized labor; rather is it our inductive logic that makes us seek first markets for our goods to be found in east Europe, the Middle East and Asisa; and necessary goods to buy cheap like the oil of Iran and the from the Belian Congo IT is then that the "we" who earn wage, bow without question to the ones who own our economy and in exchange for high wage and uninterrupted employment, a national programme which surrenders Greece to corrupt exploitation; finances Iran and tries to buy Chinese coolie labor by giving six billions to Chiang kai Chek.

49-27-4

NIGERIS 2

Fulani, 9.6%

N. connected with ancient Ghana & Songhay

Protectorates under volonial office; I9I4, colony of Lagos & Protectorate of Nigeria.

After First World War, Southern Provinces & Lagos ruled by Governor & official council

I9I9 unrest & demands; I922, elected members to Council, Clifford const. Northern Nigeria still under Governor

Nigerians in World War II; Tribal Unions

The new press: Daily Times, I926 I948 Dailey Mirror

Azikiwe: West African Pilto Nov. I937; four in Zik group

Gov. press

Depression, Trade Unions, Labor gov.

I943, 80 unions, strikes

House of Chiefs; chiefs & local gov.

39-9-1

301 189

4. 3,9,210,296

310

GHANA

Amerixxxx The United States is a rich and charitable country. But u its offers of help must be carefully scrutinized by its proposed benefic iaries for under the guise of help often masquerades the attempts of individuals to make money at the expense of poor and undeveloped peop ples. The Marshall plan to help Europe after the First World War was in reality to invest American capital in European entrrprise and keep European labor in control. Much missionary enterprize in Asia and Africa conceived eith the highest motives, has in the past been subverted to providing cheap labor for industry and trade and needlessly disrupting ancient customs adapted to native life.

Today in America a singularly large number of African agencies have arisen and the number of persons interested in Africa has suddenlly growmn in number

41-11F-20

1651
250
1901

Exploitation & Greed
Trade System
Factor
Exploitation abroad
Case W Indians
Africa + America
Transplanted Labor
Revolt
in Africa
" N. A. — Capital - Sugar
" Haiti U.S. — Cotton
Plantation Culture
Peasant Culture
Economic Culture
by exploitation
" Chiefs
" Some Capitalists { White — S Afr, Rhodesia
Black — Ghana
Congo
F WA
B WA

Governors
Explorers
W. Indians
U.S.A

Bill Dean Theses
Africa revolt — USA war — Negro Capital
The doctrine of Exploitation & Labor
Emphases in Africa
geography — Product — Labor
Flight of B, Tom
Fear of Russia
The 5 Methods — Slave Trade
Spheres of influences
control by Whites
Chiefs (indirect rule)
native Capitalists

Study
of U.
Tours

Land
Revolt — revolt — Easter Wall
Ashanti
Khartoum - Mahdi
Uganda

2 - White rule
3 Enslaved rule
4 Home Rule
Economic — B.W.A

U of S Africa, Rhodesia
French, Belgian, Portuguese

Plows — USA — U.S.S. Negroes — Chaos
United — U.S.S.R

Africa

TRANSPORTATION & SLAVERY

CONQUEST & SLAVERY

LAND MONOPOLY, TAX & DISFRANCHISEMENT , CASTE

LABOR CONTROL LIMITED LAND POLITICAL DISFRANCHISEMENT

LAND INDIRECT RULE CASTE

LAND OUTSIDE CONTROL

POLITICAL PARTICPATION DISCRIMINATION FOREIGN INVESTMENT

INDEPENDENCE CONTROL BY FOREIGN CAPITAL

40-8P-5

~~1950, Chicago~~

~~At the annual meeting of the Progressive Party,~~ Dr. Du Bois presented a proposed platform for the Party, which was in part as follows:

"The American people want Peace. They want neither to conquer the world nor police it. They have no desire to meddle in other peoples affairs, or censor their thought or control their industry. They want to spend the billions now wasting in war on human education and uplift for all men.

"We ask the United Nations to remember that their main object and reason for being is Peace and to this end, we need wider co-operation, greater faith in each other, mutual Disarmament and effort to achieve World Government with Freedom, autonomy and abundance for all peoples.

"We are threatened by no nation. There is no disagreement between us and the Soviet Union which Force can settle or which conference cannot resolve.

"Not by might nor by power; by far-flung armies, navies and aircraft; can we help the world; but by sacrifice and example. We gain little by boasting of a democracy which we do not practice or of riches and comfort which at least a third of our own population do not share. We are ruled today by corporate wealth; and blessed as we are in natural resources, never before have so few owned so much at the expense of so many. Public welfare must replace private profit, and planned economy must bring order and justice out of the anarchy of Free Enterprise and Private Initiative. No pauper is free, no public service can be private, and the sick and ignorant cannot initiate enterprise.

"We demand immediate suppression of attempts at thought control by "Un-American" committees, secret police methods as

~~1950, New York~~ 45-4-132

~~As candidate for United States senator from the state of New York, Dr. Du Bois said:~~

"The most sinister evil of this day is the wide spread conviction that war is inevitable and that there is no time left for discussion. It is doubtful if the mass of Americans who accept this judgment realize just what its implications are. War is physical force exercised by men and machines on other men so as to compel submission to the will of the victors. Unquestionably in primitive times there were repeated occasions when such recourse to force was the only path to social progress. But as civilization has progressed and included larger and larger masses of men and portions of the earth, two things have become increasingly clear: one, that the costs of war have become too great for any nation to pay no matter what the alternative; and two: that in war as now carried on, there can be no victorious party. In modern world war all contestants lose and not only lose the immediate causes of strife, but cripple the fundamental bases of human culture.

used by the FBI, and witch-hunting by officials and the press. Communists, Catholics and Pacificists have the same right to think, vote and act, within the law, as other Americans; and injustice in the courts must not be used to punish freedom of belief and legal defense of accused persons.

"We have come out of war a scared, suspicious, money-mad people, without love, faith or hope and with our charity married to profit. We must cease to make science the prisoner of Big Business, government the slave of the army and education the plaything of propaganda. We need desperately a free press."

35-4-325

45-4-134

I began in Paris in 1919 a series of Pan-African Congresses designed to bring the peoles of African descent into consultation for mutual plans and assistance. Such Congresses met in 1919, 1921, 1923 and 1927, in London, Paris, Brusells, Lisbon and NewYork. I tried to a fifth congress in Tunis but was refused permission. I then gave up on account of the depression, the imperialist opposition and the lack of interest among American Negroes. The Africans kept the idea alive and formed National African Congresses in nearly every province. The African trade unionists, meeting in Paris in 1945 revived the idea of a Fifth Pan-African Congress.

28-7-36

1920

material from Albert Kahn, "The Great Conspiracy," and from the records of the trials of the Torgprom in the Soviet Union, also from various Russian histories and from the Soviet Yearbook and from the USSR Encyclopedia.

961-42-24

The Torgprom was organized in [illegible] in the Soviet Union. It was made up of former Czarist bankers, industrialists, and financiers. The name means (in abbreviated form) Russian Trade, Financial, and Industrial Committee. (Torg is an abbreviation for the word for trade; Prom is an abbreviation for the word for industry.)
The Torgprom had British, American French, and German backing. It financed and directed the setting up of the Industrial Party in the Soviet Union (the so-called Ramzin group, of which Ramzin was the leader). Torgprom financed the setting up of the Industrial Party in the Soviet Union underground.

This grouping [illegible] met regularly and set the date of attack on the Soviet Union for 1929, which didn't come off. Poland, Finland, Rumania were to furnish most of the invading troops.

[illegible]
The date was then set forward to 1930. Besides the crisis, another reason given for putting the date forward was French unpreparedness.

The Soviet Union in 1930 began to ferret out the groups responsible inside the S U. It had a trial in 1930, where all this information came out. It had another trial in 1931 against the Menshevik group which was involved. It had still another in 1933 against the Vickers group. This showed the British and Dutch-Shell tie-up with Torgprom.

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961-42-24

on war losses:

The only official Soviet estimate was in Stalin's speech of March 12, 1946, in answering Churchill's Fulton speech. He said 7 million Soviet citizens were killed, including both military and civilian losses. This did not include the Far East front, but since the S U was at war there only a few days, the losses must have been small.

Guillaume, the French writer, , writing in 1949, said there were 7 million military deaths, 10 million civilian deaths. Maurice Hindus said 16 to 25 million were killed, counting military and civilian deaths.

on wounded: Stalin gives no figures. Guillaume gives 11,500,000 wounded.

Everyone seems agreed that Stalin's figures on killed are too low.

On property damage: according to the statement of the extraordinary State Commission of 1945 on material damage during W W II, it amounted in rubles to 679.000.000 damage to state property and to individual property of residents.

The list is even more extensive and goes on for many pages. I can copy it out if this is not enough.

961-42-24

47-1-78

The unescapable conclusion derived is, that Dr. McKenzie is an autocrat, a man with no vision, a fossil, who treats grown men whom he has educated as though they are children in knickerbockers. He is domineering, overbearing, unsympathetic and would better be a driver of cattle than an educator of Negro youths of this generation. If he had heard the analysis of the situation of young Simmons, one of his students, he might, perhaps, get an idea into his cranium to the effect that he is no longer dealing with slaves, nor the descendents of slaves, but with freemen who are possessed of every instinct and ambition, conception and vision that any other set of young Americans possess. To educate men and women as Fisk University does, and then to attempt to make puppets of them, bespeaks a narrowness, folly, yea, ignorance of human nature that actually unfits the man who attempts it to teach in such a school much less to be its president. Every sensible man knows, that the president of a university is supposed to incarnate the intellectual ideals, and also to carry the tender and fatherly feelings of love which actuated the founders to establish such a school. The statement of the troubles in the press by the president are the silliest, most puerile efforts to becloud the clear issue of facts.

47-1-77

The daily papers seem to be his agents in the persistent way in which they state his side and hide the real facts. The dailies knew, or could have known, that the officers, last Wednesday night, beat up several of the students, cursing them with vile names without cause, yet not a word of this has been published. It is the same old custom of publishing one side of a contention and then asking for a verdict.

47-1-76

Even the student paper of white Vanderbilt University, Nashville commends this statement in its issue of February 26.

The National Baptist Voice says February 14:

And besides, there are other uglier facts yet unpublished which we do not wish to be called upon to publish nor wish to be compelled to publish, but we have them.

The calm and dispassionate way the large assembly of the most intelligent of Nashville's colored citizenry acted last night, reflects credit upon them in every way. Only one or two efforts were made to defeat the object of the meeting by a misguided dentist, Dr. Napier, and a doctor, Dr. Sumlin. They both deserve the pity and charity of their race for being so dull as not to have been able to perceive the seriousness of the situation and hence unable to function in any other way but as traitors to the loyalty of the Fisk young Negroes to the ideals of real manhood. The only comfort that we can give the Fisk young heroes in this case is that they must remember that Caeser had his Brutus and Jesus Christ his Judas, so they must expect to have their Napier and their Sumlin.

97-1-79

National Baptist Voice

In Columbia, Tennessee, last year, a clerk in a store slapped a colored woman. Her son knocked him through a plate glass window. Mother and son were arrested and released on bail. The police raided the Negro section and four of them were wounded. A mob looted andpartly distroyed the section and 28 Negroes were arrested, charged with "conspiracy to murder". The NAACP moved in with $I5,000 furnished by Negroes all over the land. All of the Negroes have been aquitted but one; three cases are pending

32-8-6

The Crisis

1. To end the brutal exploitation of Negro workers in contract camps on the Federal-financed Mississippi Flood Control Project.

2. To get a proportionate share of jobs for Negro citizens on construction and relief projects financed by federal, state, county and municipal funds, for which Negroes are taxed at the same rate as other citizens.

3. To block the rising tide of legal lynchings and court injustice against Negroes during this period of crisis.

4. To counteract propaganda and activities of secret organizations trying to displace the Negro from employment.

5. To procure the full use of the ballot as a weapon of freedom.

6. To weld the Negro masses and white friends into a powerful phalanx for justice and opportunity.

42-6-306

Crisis

VII

In the field of the organization of Negro labor, we face special difficulties. Nevertheless, unless this mass of unskilled and semi-skilled labor is organized, the labor movement of America cannot achieve success. Efforts in the past, like that of the Pullman Porters, have been only partially successful. The reason for this is clear. First, white unions have not welcomed Negroes, and secondly, Negroes themselves are ignorant of the meaning of the labor movement.

32-15-3

The Negro does not see clearly a successful economic development of his group, except as he follows the advice and footsteps of the capitalists who have gained his friendship through charity. Effective organization of the Negro must be based on his own conviction and on a carefully prepared groundwork of economic knowledge and social ideal. He must be torn loose from ideals of philanthropy, charity and religious mysticism and fatalism, and be firmly rooted in a new belief in salvation by economic reform.

To accomplish this publicity, explanation and exhortation among Negroes is needed and on a widerscalethan ever before. This propaganda must with restraint but clearly and insistently preach the doctrines of organized labor, of socially owned and controlled capital, and of a rational distribution of wealth.

Such an organ we already have in The Crisis, the official organ of the N. A. A. C.P. For twenty years The Crisis has maintained itself and for three-fourths of that time it has been self-supporting. But it is handicapped by the very necessity of its hand to mouth existence from month to month. To enable it to push forward and carry the burden of a propaganda which is not understood and even unpopular among Negroes themselves,

The Crisis must have capital. If a substantial sum was put behind The Crisis at this time, we could easily triple its circulation and carry a vigorous new message of economic development to the American Negro. Such an organ could, at the same time, encourage and hearten the fighting spirit of black folk by showing, giving full and detailed publicity to what was being successfully done in the other lines of work already outlined.

33-15-4

'15-49

TP Dr. M. Wharton Young received the Dumas Prize of $100 given to the student maintaining the highest scholarship during the entire four years in the Howard University College of Medicine.

10.8.42

The Hon. Casely Hayford, M.B.E., M.L.C., Barrister-at-Law of the Gold Coast, British West Africa, died August 11, 1930 at Accra, was the son of the Rev J. de Graft Hayford, who was the nephew of the Omanhin, that is the Paramount Chief, Kweku Attah of Cape Coast, his grandfather was ~~the son of~~ James Hayford at one time Government Resident at Coomassie, Ashanti. ~~His~~ Casely Hayford's mother was a daughter of the late Hon. S.C. Brew by his wife Christiana Plange of Accra.

He was trained at the Wesleyan High School, Cape Coast, then at Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone, and finally at Cambridge. Univ. Engl. He was a member of the Inner Temple, London, and was called to the Bar in 1896. Soon after he returned to the Gold Coast to practise.

During his career as a Barrister he has proved of invaluable assistance to Judges in helping to elucidate problems relating to Gold Coast Customary Laws and Institutions. He was the Leader of the Gold Coast Western Province Bar, and was the author of the following well-known books, some of which are authorities upon the subjects of which they treat: "Gold Coast Native Institutions," ~~London, Messrs Sweet and Maxwell Ltd.~~ 1903; "Ethiopia Unbound," "Studies in Rac Emancipation, 1911 and "The Truth about the West Africa Land Question", ~~London, A.M. Phillips~~, 1913. He wrote many Also ~~the following~~ Pamphlets: Gold Coast Land Tenure and Forest Bill, 1911; Gold Coast Land Tenure and the Forest Bill (second Notice), 1912. William Waddy Harris: The Man and His Message, 1915; and UNITED WEST AFRICA, 1919, all by the ~~last~~ named publisher.

He was a member of the Deputation to the British Colonial Office on the Forest Bill in June, 1912, and was appointed a member of the Legislative Council of the Gold Coast in September, 1916, and was made an M.B.E. in June 1919 on the occasion of his decoration

(C.B.E. Gr. Cr.)

by His Excellency Brigadier General Sir F.G. Guggisburg, K.C.M.G., D.S.O., R. E., the Governor used these words:

> " It is not only an honour to me to present this decoration to Mr. Casely Hayford, but it is a personal pleasure for me to do so as he is an old friend of mine and personally well-known to me. I know that besides being a fine Barrister and a brilliant Author, he is a man who takes the deepest interest in his own country, and is always willing to bring to the notice of the Government any matter for discontent that may arise and come to his notice. I don't say that the Government has not had in the past, and possibly in the future will not have, some passage of arms with Mr. Casely Hayford, but I think that he realises - and I think that all the Native Members of this Council realise - that the Government is making every effort really and truly to represent the people of this Country".

Mr. Hayford was instrumental, in conjunction with his friend Dr. Akinwade Savage, M.B., C.B., of Nigeria, in promoting the conference of Africans of British West Africa, which has now become the National Congress of British West Africa, ~~of which the Hon. T. Hutton Mills, Barrister-at-Law, is the President and he is the Vice-President.~~

38-15-102

Liberia

Those who have studied Liberia usually have taken no account of the economic background on which her tragedy was played. This is characteristic of our attitude toward racial problems. As soon as a problem of economics or of education or of health is assumed to be racial, immediately all facts that bear on work and wages, on human intelligence and on sickness and death are either ignored or given a peculiar and unreal valuation.

37-6-159

From 1848 until 1924 every effort has been made to deprive Liberia of her territory. The first difficulties arose on account of the slave trade. Between 1849 and 1856 by treaty with England and with the help of English anti-slavery philanthropists, Liberia had settled the boundary between herself and the British colony of Sierra Leone by buying land as far as the Sherbro Islands at a cost of about $100,000. Hardly had the transaction been finished however, than a change began to come over the British attitude. Not only did a trade in natural products of the west coast of Africa begin, especially in palm oil, but the illicit slave trade to America attracted English capital.

An English slave trader named Harris, established himself on this recently acquired Liberian property and defied Liberia's authority. Liberia seized two of his vessels which were clearly within Liberian territory. Nevertheless, the vessels were forcibly re-captured by a British gun boat.

Pressed by the commercial interests in the British colony, the government of Great Britain began to dispute the boundary line. Local chiefs continued to harrass traders and traders continued to engage in the slave trade and to violate Liberian laws. Harris organized inter-

tribal wars which Liberia tried to put down. Thereupon claims for damage to English property arose. The matter was referred to an American admiral as arbitrator but still England refused to accept the settlement. Finally English gun boats appeared again before Liberia and demanded immediate payment of the so-called claims. Liberia's answer was perfect in logic:

"If the contested territory was British, why did the British Government claim from Liberia an indemnity for acts of violence amongst the natives which had taken place thereon? If, however, Liberia acknowledged her responsibility, as she had done, and agreed to pay an indemnity, why should she be in addition deprived of territories for the law and order of which she was held responsible and which were hers by acts of purchase admitted by the British Government?"

37-6-160

To all this there could, of course, be but one answer and in 1885, one hundred miles of Liberian coast was cut off; the Mano River was made the boundary line; and of the $100,000 which Liberia paid for the territory, a little less than $24,000 was returned.

No sooner had this happened than the French at the Southern end of Liberia made claims. There was no doubt but that Liberian territory extended to the San Pedro River, sixty miles east of its present boundary. The French, however, not only claimed this territory but claimed the whole Liberian coast on the basis of certain shadowy "treaties" with native chiefs, dating back to the 18th century. France refused to arbitrate and in 1892 compelled Liberia to give up territory as far as the Cavalla River and in these treaties both Great Britain and France drew the boundary line not in the middle of the rivers but on the bank nearest Liberia.

(Annual Meeting)
Crisis, Feb., 1920)

By Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Minister of the Community Church in New York City said:

"The Negro question in this day is problem of labor. I feel more and more that the Negro problem, like various phases of the white problem, is moving into that field. The Negro problem first came into prominence in this country in a day when we could say that the workers were to be divided into two classes. On the one hand, were the free workers of the North --- white workers, men who in that pioneer day were to be regarded as free workers. South of the Mason and Dixon Line, was a very different kind of working population --- a population bound to the land and doing its work for its master.

"We had, therefore, in the very clearest possible way, the distinction between the slave labor of the South, which was black, and the free labor of the North, which was white. All during the years we have discussed the problem --- and it is still true in our day --- and the burden of our discussion was to raise the black man to the level of the white man. That problem is not only with us today, but it is going to be with us tomorrow, and the long, long, battle for the rights of man, the black man as well as the white man, is going to be with us, to be settled only when men love one another upon a basis of justice and good will.

23-24-27

13

The thing that the black man has got to learn, is that the time has gone by for you black men to think that your problem is wholly your own. It is not your own problem any longer. More and more, it is getting to be the problem of the white man; and just as the oppressed white worker is reaching out his hand to the oppressed black worker, so the oppressed black worker, South or North, has got to reach out his hand to the oppressed white worker. And that means for you, my Negro brethren --- that means for you who live in New York City, who live in these Northern States and who have, therefore, the opportunity of grappling with this problem as it should be grappled with in this country --- namely, the political opportunity, which gives you the opportunity to stand shoulder to shoulder with the white worker in the political field --- to fight and struggle and battle for your own interests, and through those interests for the emancipation of America, white and black. That means, it is time to give up voting a Republican ticket; it is time to give up voting the Democratic ticket; it is time to recognize that new organizations and new forces are being fashioned in this country; and when the great Presidential election of 1920 is held, I venture to prophesy there will be a great universal party in the field, to bring all the workers, black and white, together..."

23-24-26

Nowhere is the work of Coleridge Taylor appreciated more than in the United States, and this is true both of white and black Americans. First came his music and it thrilled and captivated the nation. Then came Mr. Taylor himself. We, who are colored, watched the experiment with some interest and excitement because we wondered if there was enough of artistic feeling in the United States to receive a man of Negro descent as a great artist in a country where the color line is so decidedly drawn. We were gratified at Mr. Coleridge-Taylor's reception. His fine disposition and lovely character impressed itself on everybody. Again we were especially pleased to have him come to us and learn what American Negroes were doing with his music. He left in America, as elsewhere in the world, a beautiful memory.

30-23-20

The known lynchings in the United States are as follows:

1885	78
1886	71
1887	80
1888	95
1889	95
1890	90
1891	121
1892	155
1893	154
1894	134
1895	112
1896	80
1897	122
1898	102
1899	84
1900	107
1901	107
1902	86
1903	86
1904	83
1905	61
1906	64
1907	60
1908	93
1909	73
1910	65
1911	63
1912	63
1913	79
1914	69
1915	80
1916	55
1917	44
1918	64
1919	77
1920	60
1921	64
1922	60
1923	28
1924	16
Total	3,280

42-5-893

salary of not less than three nor more than five thousand dollars, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior. He shall annually make full reports of all matters connected with schools in his jurisdiction to the Secretary of the Interior, and particular reports when called upon by the Secretary, and especially of all details in the administration of this act. In addition to his other duties he shall devote himself to the promotion of the general interests of public education in the State or Territory for which he is appointed.

30-27-40

Sec. 10. That any State, in which the number of persons ten years of age and upward who can not read is not over 5 per cent of the whole population, signifying its desire that the amount allotted to it under the provisions of this act shall be appropriated in any other way for the promotion of common-school education, in its own borders or elsewhere, its allotment shall be paid to such State to be thus appropriated: Provided, That its Legislature shall have first considered the question of its appropriation to the general fund for use under the provisions of this act in States and Territories where the proportion of illiterate persons is more than 5 per cent of the whole [illegible] population.

Sec. 11. That any State whose illiterate is greater than 5 per cent of its whole population failing to accept the provisions of this act and to comply with its provisions, so as to be entitled to its allotment from year to year, the sum

30-27-39

Sec. 8. That no part of the money herein provided for shall be used for the erection of school-houses or school-buildings of any description, nor for rent of the same: Provided, however, That whenever it shall appear to the Secretary that otherwise any given locality will remain wholly without reasonable common-school advantages, he may, in his discretion, from the general fund allotted to the State or Territory, provide schools and for their temporary accommodations, by rent or otherwise, in the most economical manner possible: And provided further, That in no case shall more than 5 per cent of such allotment be set apart for or be expended under the provisions of this section.

Sec. 9. That there shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, a commissioner of common schools in each State and Territory, who shall be a citizen thereof and shall reside therein, and shall perform all such duties as may be assigned to him by the Secretary of the Interior, and who shall be specially charged with all the details of the execution of this act within his jurisdiction, and in co-operation with the State authorities. In the Territories he shall also be charged with the general supervision and control of public education, and shall possess all the powers now vested in Territorial superintendents and boards of education, or by whatever Territorial officers the same may have been hitherto exercised. He shall be paid a

allotted to such State, subject to the discretionary action of the Secretary of the Interior under the sixth and seventh sections of this act, shall become a part of the fund to be distributed among the States which shall be entitled to their respective allotments, and to the Territories. Ang any State not accepting the provisions of this act, nor acquiring the right to dispose of its allotment as provided in the preceding section, the same shall become a part of the general fund for like distribution.

30-27-41

Sec. 12. That the District of Columbia shall be entitled to the privileges of a Territory under the provisions of this act, but there shall be no commissioner of common schools appointed for said District, nor shall its existing laws and school authorities be interfered with. The Commissioner of Education shall be charged with the duty of superintending the distribution of its allotment, and shall make full report of his doings to the Secretary of the Interior.

Sec. 13. That the Secretary of the Interior shall be charged with the practical administration of this law through the Bureau of Education, and all moneys paid under its provisions shall be made by Treasury warrant to the individual performing the service to whom indebtedness shall be due, and who shall be personally entitled to receive the money, or to his agent, duly authorized by him, upon vouchers approved by the State authorities, when under the provisions of this act

their approval is necessary, and by the commissioner of common schools for the State or Territory wherein the expenditure shall be made, and by the Secretary of the Interior.

30-27-42

This Bill appears to have slumbered in the committee until June 1882, when Senator Blair opened his remarkable campaign extending through ten years, five Congresses, of which it has been said: "no similar discussion is on record in history." The first speech delivered June first, 1882, may be said to have contained the most complete presentation of the actual condition of education in the country hitherto made to the Congress of the United States. The reprinting of these statistical tables is absolutely necessary to the correct understanding of this movement, which, from the first, has been studiously disparaged, not only by every division of the army still in the field in force, of opponents to the American common school, but further confused before the general public by the partisan political issues which finally defeated it in 1890 by carrying over several of its more influential supporters to the opposition. The tables were first suggested and in many cases actually constructed in detail by Senator Blair. But it may here be said that not the least of the value of this great debate in the Senate, to the South especially, was the presentation of this body of valuable statistics prepared at the suggestion of the Senator by the Bureau of Education and literally flung in the face of the country by the indefatigable industry of the leader of the movement. It can truly be said that the first reliable information spread before the educational public of the Union concerning the actual condition of the country in this respect was found in this mass of figures which did not "lie", and the explanation of which formed

30-27-43

the substance of the major part of the elaborate speeches of the author of the Bill. Here was a benefit to the cause of American education in general that, in itself, amply compensated for all the time and public agitation devoted to the subject; often disparaged by public men and the press as it may have been.

30-27-44

The first of these tables contains a general statement of the educational facilities of the country with valuable accompanying information, prepared under the direction of Hon. John Eaton, U. S. Commissioner of Education in 1880.

expend for the maintenance of common schools at least one-third of the sum which shall be allotted to it under the provisions hereof, and during the second five years of its operation a sum at least equal to the whole amount it shall be entitled to receive under this act.

30-27-45

Sec. 9. That a part of the money apportioned to each State or Territory not exceeding one-tenth thereof, may yearly be applied to the education of teachers for the common schools therein, which sum may be expended in maintaining institutes or temporary training schools, or in extending opportunities for normal or other instruction to competent and suitable persons of any color who are without necessary means to qualify themselves for teaching, and who shall agree in writing to devote themselves exclusively, for at least one year after leaving such training schools, to teach in the common schools, for such compensation as may be paid other teachers therein.

Sec. 10. That no part of the educational fund alloted to any State or Territory or the District of Columbia shall be used for the erection of school-houses or school buildings of any description, nor for rent of the same.

Sec. 11. That the moneys distributed under the provisions of this act shall be used in the school districts of the several States and Territories in such way as to provide, as near as may be, for the equalization of school privileges to all the children of the school age prescribed by the law of the State or Territory wherein the expenditure shall be made, thereby giving to each child an opportunity for common school and, so far as may be, of industrial

education, and to this end existing public schools, not sectarian in character, may be aided, and new ones may be established, as may be deemed best, in the several localities.

Sec. 12. That any State in which the number of persons 10 years of age and upward who can not read and write is not over 5 per cent of the whole population thereof shall have the right to receive its allotment and to apply the same for the promotion of common school and industrial education, or the education of teachers therein, in such a way as the Legislature of such State shall provide.

30-27-46

Sec. 13. That the Secretary of the Interior shall receive from the governor of each State and Territory a report, to be made by or through such governor on or before the 30th day of June of each year, giving a detailed account of the payments or disbursements made of the school fund apportioned to his State or Territory and received by the State or Territorial treasurer or officer under Section 4 of this act, and of the balance in the hands of such treasurer or officer withheld, unclaimed, or for any cause unpaid or unexpended, and also the amount expended in such State or Territory as required by section 8 of this act, and also of the number of public, common and industrial schools, the number of teachers employed, the total number of children taught during the year and in what branches instructed, the average daily attendance, and the relative number of white and colored children, and the number of months in each year schools have been maintained in each school district, and such other information in relation to the use of the school fund and the condition of common school education as the Secretary of the Interior

may require. And if any State or Territory shall misapply or allow to be misapplied, or in any manner appropriated or used other than for the purposes herein required, the funds, or any part thereof, received under the provisions of this act, or shall fail to comply with the conditions herein prescribed, or to report as herein provided, through its proper officers, the disposition thereof, such State or Territory shall forfeit its right to any subsequent apportionment by virtue hereof until the full amount misapplied, lost, or misappropriated shall have been replaced by such State or Territory and applied as herein required, and until such report shall have been made: Provided, That if the public schools in any State admit pupils not within the ages herein specified it shall not be deemed a failure to comply with the conditions herein.

30-7-47

Sec. 14. That on or before the 1st day of September of each year the Secretary of the Interior shall report to the President of the United States whether any State or Territory or the District of Columbia has forfeited its right to receive its apportionment under this act, and how forfeited, and whether he has withheld such allotment on account of such forfeiture; and each State and Territory and the District of Columbia from which such apportionment shall be withheld shall have the right to appeal from such decision of the Secretary of the Interior to Congress; and if the next Congress shall not direct such share to be paid, it shall be added to the general educational fund for distribution among the other States and the Territories and District of Columbia which shall be entitled to the benefit of the provisions of this act.

Section 15. That the Secretary of the Interior shall be charged with the practical administration of this act in the Territories and the District of Columbia, through the Commissioner of Education, who shall report annually to Congress its practical operation, and briefly the condition of common and industrial education as affected thereby throughout the country, which report shall be transmitted to Congress by the Secretary of the Interior, accompanying the report of his Department.

3-27-48

The explanation of the republication of these tables of educational statistics followed by the Bill reintroduced in the following Congress--1884--is that the tables were all prepared expressly to set forth the condition of education in the South and only by a careful study and consideration of them can a correct opinion be formed concerning the persistent contention of the Senator from New Hampshire that these ten years, from 1880 to 1890, were the critical period of the public school system in the South and that the failure even by indirection, in passing the National Aid Bill was due partly to imperfect information among the southern people, in confounding the American Common School with the old time tuition school, free only to the poverty-stricken class that had existed in several of these states. But even from this point of view, the failure to pass the Bill would be even more disastrous in its reaction upon the North than upon the South and to the cause of the American Common School everywhere. It was evident that then was "the accepted time" for the inauguration of that gradual reconstruction of American public opinion through a frank acknowledgment from the North of its equal historical responsibility for the

Civil War, through the toleration of the extension of the system of negro slavery through seventy-five years of the National existence followed by a hearty cooperation with the progressive educational public of the South in the effort to extirpate the illiteracy that was eating out the vitals of the higher American civilization. And in this connection, it may be added that, in his opening speeches of 1882 and 1884 and others germaine thereto, the Senator from New Hampshire placed before the Senate a report of great value on "Education and Labor" in which he outlines with almost prophetic foresight the inevitable result of this condition of illiteracy among the working classes especially of the Southern states, in placing in the hands of the capitalist of that region a labor-system crowded with ignorant workmen, by which through the aid of lower wages and child and woman-operative work the manufacturers of the North would be brought to face a competition far more ruinous to their interest than the foreign rivalship against which a high protective tariff has been built up as a defense. Universal education alone, he always contended, by increasing the intelligence and character of the laboring masses, will arrest this peril, develop a true independence and patriotism among them and make them competent to rise above the jealousy and sense of wrong inherited from their inherited recollections.

Another reason for pushing this measure was to further the progress of reconciliation between the sections and prevent the dreaded result, that the most dangerous foes to the effort for the educational uplift of the South would be found "to be of its own household." A Senator of New England, in his endeavor to take the

20-27-49

subject from the floor, remarked: "I wish the Senator would wait and let me hear how much will remain of all this after the session has expired at twelve o'clock on the fourth of March." The Senator that added to this jeer a vote against the National Aid Bill in its final defeat before the expiration of his then official term had become aware that, up to date, the condition of industrial affairs predicted in those speeches had cost the Southern States and the Nation not only seventy millions of dollars in ten, but in one year. If there was a political party in the Union from 1880 to 1890 that regarded itself as the special representative of the American system of common schools so nobly set forth by President Ulysses S. Grant in his great address at St. Paul, Minn., and his first Presidential deliverance to Congress, it may now contemplate the results of its defeat of the Bill for National Aid to Education in the condition of political and industrial affairs in all the states then regarded as having the chief concern with its passage.

Happily for the Southern people and the cause of education through the vast and vacant spaces of this boundless domain, the cause of the children and youth of all classes and both races was never in this country more completely upheld in public debate than by the seventeen United States Senators from the ex-Confederate commonwealths who rose to the occasion in the first memorable discussion of the Bill of 1884, lasting through several weeks. Indeed, up to 1881 there had never been a debate in the Congress of the United States on the general subject of National Education that had attracted more than a passing notice. It had been assumed

by the Confederation before there was a Nation and endorsed as soon as the Republic was on its feet that the United States of America had the power and was bound by the obligation to aid the people in that education of every new generation without which a democracy would only be a "glittering generality", ending in a collapse into anarchy, closed by the chronic remedy of public disorder, a permanent despotism more intolerable than that against which the fathers rose in rebellion in 1776.

It was to prevent this dire emergency that the whole question of the first establishment of the people's common school was in peril through sixteen states that every agency of opposition to the American system then came together, with that portion of the people who with good intentions, had an imperfect view of the condition and left the South to find itself indeed out of Egypt, but entering on another forty years of wandering in the wilderness towards the promised land. Against all these hostile agencies,- personal, social, political and religious, this brave column of seventeen stood up and discussed this mighty question with a weight of legal equipment, a grasp of national affairs and a far-reaching conception of the true interest of their own people, that placed them in the highest position of American statesmanship. It was evident that the chief honors in his high argument should be won by them. Senator Blair certainly in quantity and clearly in quality could be said to have borne the brunt of the discussion on the side of the North. It was very properly felt by its warmest friends that it was better that the Bill should be pressed by the representatives of the Southern States most in need of aid than upon

36 - 27 - 51

them by the North and the Nation, against an indifference to the most vital interest of Southern society. It was indeed inspiring to see the Senators of Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana and South Carolina--the states from which came the first great revolt in 1860 in favor of state rights, now arguing in behalf of the children the constitutionality of the Blair Bill, gravely asserting the power and duty of the Nation to cooperate in the establishment and support of the common school in these sixteen states. The reader is referred to the Congressional Record of 1880-90 for this, by far the ablest, and the two subsequent discussions on this proposed law. Nothing indeed, today, would more distinctly advance the cause of popular education in the whole Union than the republication of this entire mass of congressional literature, with historical "note and comment", for its adaptation to popular reading. The noble utterances of Senator, afterward Secretary of the Interior and Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, Lamar of Mississippi, fairly represent the claim of this devoted body of advocates of the higher interest of the Southern States. The following extracts from the speeches of several of the foremost defenders of the Bill may be read today with profit.

X X X X

30-27-52

(Evidently meant for extracts from Garfield Lamar George & several others in my pamphlet of 1887 of which Mrs. Mayo had a copy + These should be inserted here

First, read this history of the bill this month. — H. W. Blair

July 18, 1909.

These high and broad demonstrations are only brief extracts from the speeches of the group of Southern and Northern Senators, several from the North of southern birth, who in this great national movement displayed a power of solid and cogent reasoning, large information, appreciation of the fundamental principles of republican government, a lofty patriotic spirit and, above all, a growing sentiment and aspiration for nationality among the more eminent public men involved in the issues of the Civil War, unrivaled in the history of the American government. This action of a body of men justly held to be the greatest, willing to prove their superiority by becoming the most helpful servants of their people, revealed the on-coming tide of approval from the best representatives of almost every great organization of an educational character in the land. Elsewhere will be noted the unanimity of these appeals, that largely secured the passage of the Bill by the Senate in 1884.

30-27-53

The Bill as passed by the Senate, April 7, 1884, reads as follows:

Text of the bill (S. 308) as it passed the Senate, April 7, 1884, by a vote of yeas 33, nays 11.

An act to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for eight years next after the passage of this act there shall be annually appropriated from the money in the Treasury the following sums, to wit: The first year, the sum of $7,000,000; the second year, the

sum of $10,000,000; the third year, the sum of $15,000,000; the fourth year, the sum of $13,000,000; the fifth year, the sum of $11,000,000; the sixth year, the sum of $9,000,000; the seventh year, the sum of $7,000,000; the year the Secretary of the Interior shall report to the President of the United States whether any State or Territory or the District of Columbia has forfeited its right to receive its apportionment under this act, and how forfeited, and whether he has withheld such allotment on account of such forfeiture; and each State and Territory and the District of Columbia from which such apportionment shall be withheld, shall have the right to appeal from such decision of the Secretary of the Interior to Congress; and if the next Congress shall not direct such share to be paid, it shall be added to the general educational fund for distribution among the other States and the Territories and District of Columbia eighth year, the sum of $5,000,000; which several sums shall be expended to secure the benefits of common school education to all the children of the school age mentioned hereafter living in the United States.

30-27-54

Sec. 2. That such money shall annually be divided among and paid out in the several States and Territories in that proportion which the whole number of persons in each who, being of the age of 10 years and over, cannot write, bears to the whole number of such persons in the United States; such computation shall be made according to the census of 1880.

Sec. 3. That no State or Territory shall receive any of the benefits of this act until the governor thereof shall file with the Secretary of the Interior a statement, certified by him, showing

the character of the common school system in force in such State or Territory; the amount of money expended therein during the last preceding school year in the support of common schools, not including expenditures for the rent, repair, or erection of schoolhouses; whether any discrimination is made in the raising or distributing of the common school revenues or in the common school facilities afforded between the white and colored children therein, and so far as is practicable, the sources from which such revenues were derived; the manner in which the same were apportioned to the use of the common schools; the number of white and the number of colored common schools; the average attendance in each class and the length of the school term. No money shall be paid out under this act to any State or Territory that shall not have provided by law a system of free common schools for all of its children of school age, without distinction of race or color, either in the raising or distributing of school revenues or in the school facilities afforded: Provided, That separate schools for white and colored children shall not be considered a violation of this condition. The Secretary of the Interior shall thereupon certify to the Secretary of the Treasury the names of the States and Territories which he finds to be entitled to share in the benefits of this act, and also the amount due to each

Sec. 4. That the amount so apportioned to each State and Territory shall be drawn from the Treasury by warrant of the Secretary of the Treasury, upon the monthly estimates and requisitions of the Secretary of the Interior, as the same may be needed, and shall be paid over to such officers as shall be authorized by the laws of the respective States and Territories to receive the same

34-27-55

Sec. 5. That the instruction in the common schools wherein these moneys shall be expended shall include the art of reading, writing, and speaking the English language, arithmetic, geography, history of the United States and such other branches of useful knowledge as may be taught under local laws.

Sec. 6. The money appropriated and apportioned under the provisions of this act to the use of any Territory, shall be applied to the use of the common and industrial schools therein by the Secretary of the Interior.

30-27-56

Sec. 7. That the design of this act not being to establish an independent system of schools, but rather to aid for the time being in the development and maintenance of the school system established by local government, and which must eventually be wholly maintained by the States and Territories wherein they exist, it is hereby provided that no greater part of the money appropriated under this act shall be paid out to any State or Territory in any one year than the sum expended out of its own revenues or out of moneys raised under its authority in the preceding year for the maintenance of common schools, not including the sums expended in the erection of school buildings.

Sec. 8. That a part of the money apportioned to each State or Territory, not exceeding one-tenth thereof, may yearly be applied to the education of teachers for the common schools therein, which sum may be expended in maintaining institutes or temporary training schools or in extending opportunities for normal or other instruction to competent and suitable persons, of any color, who are without necessary means to qualify themselves for teaching

and who shall agree in writing to devote themselves exclusively, for at least one year after leaving such training schools, to teach in the common schools for such compensation as may be paid other teachers therein.

Sec. 9. That no part of the educational fund allotted to any State or Territory shall be used for the erection of school-houses or school buildings of any description, nor for rent of the same.

30-27-57

Sec. 10. That the money distributed under the provisions of this act shall be used only for common schools, not sectarian in character, in the school districts of the several States and Territories, in such way as to provide, as near as may be, for the equalization of school privileges to all the children of the school age prescribed by the law of the State or Territory wherein the expenditure shall be made, thereby giving to each child, without distinction of race or color, an equal opportunity for education. This term "school district" shall include all cities, towns, parishes, and other territorial subdivisions for school purposes, and all corporations clothed by law with the power of maintaining common schools.

Sec. 11. That no second or subsequent allotment shall be made under this act to any State or Territory unless the governor of such State or Territory shall first file with the Secretary of the Interior, a statement, certified by him, giving a detailed account of the payments or disbursements made of the school fund apportioned to his State or Territory and received by the State and Terrirorial

treasurer or officer under this act, and of the balance in the hands of such treasurer or officer withheld, unclaimed, or for any cause unpaid or unexpended, and also the amount expended in such State or Territory as required by section 8 of this act, and also of the number of teachers employed, the total number of children taught during the year, and in what branches instructed, the average daily attendance, and the relative number of white and colored children, and the number of months in each year schools have been maintained in each school district. And if any State or Territory shall misapply or allow to be misapplied, or in any manner appropriated or used other than for the purposes herein required, the funds, or any part thereof, received under the provisions of this act, or shall fail to comply with the conditions herein prescribed, or to report as herein provided, through its proper officers, the disposition thereof, and the other matters herein prescribed to be so reported, such State or Territory shall forfeit its right to any subsequent apportionment by virtue hereof until the full amount so misapplied, lost, or misappropriated shall have been replaced by such State or Territory and applied as herein required, and until such report shall have been made: Provided, That if the public schools in any State shall admit pupils not within the ages herein specified, it shall not be deemed a failure to comply with the conditions herein. If it shall appear to the Secretary of the Interior that the funds received under this act for the preceding year by the State or Territory have been faithfully applied to the purposes contemplated by this act, and that the conditions thereof have been observed, then

30-37-58

the Middle West today is politically helpless because in order to deprive black Americans of the right to vote, they allowed the South to cast two votes--the vote of the white man and of the disfranchised Negro. The double political power of these rotten boroughs of the South makes democratic government in the United States almost a farce.

36-27-88

We decry lawlessness. Where do we get the lawlessness of Chicago and of the United States? We began it when as a nation we disregarded the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments and then are vastly surprised when we cannot enforce the 18th. We have organized our life so as not to carry out the laws which ourselves made and we have the heritage of lawlessness to pay for it.

We have created here in the United States, which today pretends to the moral leadership of the world, a situation where ~~on the last night of the old year~~ we can ~~slowly and~~ publicly, repeatedly, burn a human being alive for the amusement of Americans who represent some of the purest strains of Nordic blood, ~~in that great state, Mississippi, which has done so much for the civilization of the world!~~

Not simply in these things have we attacked our own civilization.

have made it almost impossible for America to think logically.

I said, for instance, that I might ask what Negroes were. I come back to that question. I gladly as the representative of the Negro race, and yet I know and know that I can equally stand as a representative of the Nordic race. Whenever it seems necessary to deny me any privilege, then I am a Negro, and whenever I do anything that is worth doing, suddenly I become white. The United States measured soldiers in the great war and came to conclusions concerning the intelligence the Negro race; yet know perfectly well the men they were measuring were not Negroes, but that perhaps 70 per cent of them had white blood. It is impossible by any scientific measurement to divide men into races, and even to prove there are separate races, and yet we talk about races, and prescribe races and measure races; and because we are not talking logically when we talk about races, so we talk logically about --the tariff, farm relief, unemployment, credit, wages or capital.

The matter of our logic is not nearly so important as that of our ethics and religion. Here you are, a great white nation with a magnificent Plan of Salvation. have an ethical code far beyond anything the world ever knew--if you do not believe it, listen to what you preach to the darker peoples. You are followers of the Golden Rule and of the meek and lowly Jesus. Yet you do not try to follow out your own religion because you know when your religion comes up against the race problem that religion has nothing absolutely to do with your attitude toward Negroes. The attacks that white people themselves have made upon their social structure are worse for civilization than anything that anybody could ever do.

[1951]

In this present crisis, American Negroes are hesitant and divided. For many years our policy has been to agree with and support the most powerful classes and movements in the United States, if by that method they could be assured of reciprocal support for Negro equality of civil, political rights. For this reason we were long congenital Republicans voting unquestioningly for high tarifs, containing of the labor movement and in general government in the interests of the rich. This attitude in New England was strengthened by the gifts of the well-to-do to Negro education and other social enterprises. The depression shook us out of this attitude and drove us to support the social program of the New Deal, which proved our economic salvation. We therefor voted for Roosevelt as long as he lived. Today we are thrown back where we must make new political and social choices. Our plan of emancipation as followed by the NAACP for 40 years has had great success. Negro rights have been widely established before the courts and race discrimination has been driven to a new low. But this does not mean that the battle is won: the cases of Rosa Ingram, the Martinsville Seven , Willie Mc Gee and the Trenton Six prove that Negroes cannot be sure of basic justice before the courts;more Negroes vote in the South than ever before, but it is still true the most eligible Southern Negroes do not vote nor hold office. Taxation without representation is still the rule of thr black South. Over the whole nation, and not least in New Engand, discrimination against Negroes in jobs and wage is still the rule and the Negro today is faced by the question as to whether simply to continue a program which in the past has brought notable success or whether the momentous change which is overtaking the world, may not call for change of tactics and broaden of aim on our part.

46-8-90

Decision is all the more imperative since custom and inertia, example and present safety. impell our upper classes toward reaction and conservative action. We have evolved a growing class of well-to-do Negroes, with education, beautiful homes and expensive cars Instinctively this class seek alliance of interests with property and respectability. But the danger here lies in the fact that throughout the world, the rule of organized wealth is being challenged as never beforeorganized industry and monopoly have been behind Colonial Imperialism and the serfdom of the darker peoples of the world in Africa, Asia and the

[1951?]

What is being attempted in Germany and also foreshadowed in Japan is colonialism under another name and with excuses ~~fit~~ different from the race theories on whcih we built the colonialism of the I9th century . Then nations must obey Europe because they were not able to stand alone. Now nations must obey the United States for fear of absorption by Russia In both cases the outcome is that the interssts of the ~~Un~~ imperial master dictates policy and not the interests of the nation itself. In both cases democratic methods a re limited by military force and dictatorship more or less concealed makes the nation the colonial appendage of concentrated power. It is nothing less than crazy for us to dream that Japan will ever ally herself will ingly with the United States against Asia. The race hate which we for more than a century inspired among the Japanese against the white world will not be dissipated by the tactics of General Mc Arthur. We may restore the former industrial masters of Japan to temporary power, but that power will never last after its crass failure in the Second World War

Back of all this -- Colonial Imperialism, Investment Imperialism, the war against Socialism --- back of all this lies the persistent belief that mankind has to be controlled and that those who control have a right to seek their own interests before the interests of the mass of mankind. This belief is deep-seated in the United States despite all talk about freedom and democracy. Never was dictatorship stronger than in America of today

46-8-96

poor Negroes of the United States; they need social medicine; free legal advice; cheap municipal housing; wage floors in industry ; social security and insurance. These great social ramparts are the goal of all laboring people and have been the salvation of all Scandinavian lands. They are spreading in every civilized country today and are being forwarded by national control of all industry which is liable to abuse in private hands. Today railroads, telephones and telegraph, street cars and subways express freight, roads, rivers and river control, power and transmission all these things are under public control and ownership in all civilized lands. Only the United States is fighting this socialization of industry bitterly, although even here the fight was not altogether sucessful as the TVA and social security laws prove. But to carry on this fight against the social control of wealth , Big Business has tried to control cjeap labor and cheap rwa materials the world over and to make this nation enter a third world war ostensibly against Communism, but really against the rise of the working class in this nation.

Allied with Big Business in the United States is the race discrimination of th e South. It is the South which blocks not only anti-lynching laws but anti-poll tax legislation and stimies every effort for a fair employment law. Hand in glove with the South is Northern wealth. And the whole nation black and white is misled as to current trends in the world by a press and periodical control under the ownership of monopoly. Our news is screened, our education is propaganda, our platform of debate is limited and any Negro who wants the praise of white folk today, would better start by damning Paul Robeson and end like Hazel Scott by despising Commnists.

This is the day for Negroes of integrity to stand up and do their own thinking. To realize that there is but one party which deserves their votes and that is the Progressive Party. That the Repu blican and Democratic are but the same principles under two names. As freedom came by a Third Party in I860, so it can only come in the same way in I952

Of course, the C.C.C. camps have included a very large proportion

30-27-75

14

Thus taxation falling mainly on the poor furnishes funds which make American investment safe; and then the business man without risk , with cheap native labor, reaps 50 or 100% profit and calls it his. He uses it in elections ~~like this~~ to buy public officials, push legislation which favors him and kill laws which he does not like. Moreover much of the capital used today is taken from public funds through taxation while the returns go to private profiteers. For instance huge profits of the automobile industry are largely due to the vast expenditure for roads paid for by the public. Labor contends that it is therefore but fair to take part of this profit for public use. On the other hand industry in the United States consistently refuses this demand and is reluctant to bear its own share of public taxation. Today for instance, the owners of our commerical shipping, built and sustained in part by public taxation pay less proportionately in taxes than the sailors on their ships pay out of their wage.

Today despite every effort in the United States to conceal and deny the facts, all civilized nations ~~except this~~ have been progressing toward socialism especially since 1900. They own and run the railways, the telephone and telegraph, street cars, buses and subways; they largely conduct housing sanitation, insurance and relief, they guarantee employment; they engage in industry, in manufacturing, foreign trade, mining, forestry and river control in power conversion and control and wide ownership of land. Some nations like Britain go further than this; others like the Scandinavian lands plan less in theory but do evernmore in practice; while the Iron Curtain lands attempt complete social and industrial planning and ownership of all capital.

Here then is a world movement which the United States almost alone is attempting to stem. We are attempting to champion private enterprise when no great industrial effort can possibly be private or carried on primarily for private ends; we stress individual initiative which is laudable when it is for social ends and inadmissable when it leads to anarchy.

Colored Women College graduates

Date	Men	Women	Total
1820--1910	3198	658	3856
1910--1919			2861
1920			364
1921			461
1922			523
1923			643
1924			675
1925			752
1926			985
1927			1030
			8294

30-23-26

Assuming that one fourth of the college graduates from 1920 through 1927 were women, the total number of college women graduates since 1920 has probably been 2750. According to the Census figures of 1920, there were, among Negro women, ten years of age and over, 4 lawyers, 35 dentists and 65 physicians. Of course these numbers have greatly increased in the last seven years. I should imagine that there are 10 lawyers, 60 dentists, and 100 physicians.

Hampton

is on the Hampton grounds, and even in after life made an he students to an extraordinary degree. To be a personal a Hampton teacher is the especial reward of an excellent udent.

. too, the graduates of Hampton in large numbers find excellent nd do excellent work the men of exceptional ability find themselves pushed into an educational blind alley with responsibilities thrown upon them for which their education has not prepared them.

Take, for instance, Major Moton. He is an excellent man and a fri of mine. He has done and will do good work, but he is going to be for ever handicapped by the fact that Hampton deliberately kept him from b a broadly educated man. He is handicapped by his training and he feels He may, of course, by argument, and Hampton does argue that broader n and higher training might have "spoiled" him. My feeling is that it is better to take the risk of spoiling exceptional men rather than to ta the other risk of giving talent half a chance.

A case in point is that of W. T. B. Williams, field agent of the Slater Fund. Williams is a graduate of Hampton. He was discouraged by the Hampton authorities in every way and even ridiculed. Nevertheless, he pushed on. When he tried to enter a Northern college he found that his Hampton preparatory training was not recognized there. At a great, and to him, serious loss of time he had to take practically a whole preparatory course, and then enter, and was graduated from Harvard College.

36-1-61

What was the result? When Hampton wanted a first-class educated man to take charge of certain field work in which she was interested she was compelled to turn to Mr. Williams, and he is now one of their most valued and lauded graduates. Yet Hampton did all it could to make Williams impossible.

Hampton get easily the best raw material for education that the Negro race is producing. Some of it she uses to advantage, but a large and important part of it she not only does not use to advantage but she so spoils it that it cannot be used by other institutions and these men go out as half educated men.

Again, great advertisement has been given to certain aspects o the Hampton method of learning by doing. Undoubtedly the Hampton metho taught us something in the line of recasting the high school corr but it has not taught us everything and it has made itself seriou forgivable mistakes.

I remember when I went for the first time to the Hampton trade and asked the wagon maker how his students were getting on. He tol They have n't got enough mathematics to make wheels. At the time Ha was sneering at higher mathematics, but she had to put some into her riculum in order to do her "practical" work.

In a similar way Hampton authorities fought the introduction of tain historical and social studies into her corriculum. For a long t she would allow no instrumental music to be taught, and their present musical instructor, Mr. Dett, one of the geniuses of the colored rac has had a hard time trying to get permission to develop the musical ability of Hampton students.

It is all very well to stress retically the advantage of

37-5-161

Negro

The same problem faces the Negro in another form in his schools. Since the great crusade of Reconstruction, when Northern white men and women of the finest type went South to teach the eager freedmen, there has been a tradition of white and Negro teachers working together in the higher Negro schools. The South has again and again attacked the system by law and by social wrath, but still this contact of white and black America long remained the finest cultural contact between diverse races that the world afforded. America may never know, in the pother of race hate, how much she owes to the fact that up to the present no liberally trained Negro has walked into the world who had not in his youth held the hand of a white teacher and friend.

But change came. The romance of the crusader faded and the courage of the martyr. The white South, by steady and unyielding pressure, kept demanding of all white folk down there conformity to Southern ideas about the Negro. To this demand was joined the financial pressure of the philanthropic North and especially of such agencies as the General Education Board, on which the white

38-9-147

Ther is another duty for the local Negro Church and that is self help and cooperation am ong Negroes. It should begin with study and reading and lectures and sermons on work, wage and relief among modern workers in Britain and Scandinavia; in the Soviet Union and China. Southern Negroes have been driven into the most ill-paid jobs; they have been deprived of doing

38-9-148

repairing for each other. The white plumber charges a Negro five dollars for minor repairs and pays his wife a dollar for five hours hard housework. No Negro can enter the plumber's union and the cuty inspector backs the plumber's lightest demand. Here the Negro must use his vote. There must be house in dustry which Negroes can contrive. They must be ways of escaping the cheating of the white retail stores; there must be kinds of decent well-paid work for Negroes instead of leaving them to the extrems of exploitation backed by city and county authorities. The Negro Problem cannot be settled by continued migration to the North. Rights in the south based on intelligent voting on economic lines with knowledge of what socialism the world over is doing for the worker

There are certain matters about the kinds of business which you are organizing to which you must give attention. Insurance, for instance, must not be allowed to fall into private hands. It it does it will become gambling or exploitation or both. Insurance should be dominated and conducted by the state. Building should be largely in the hands of the state which should control the amount and place and kind of building. The making of cloth and cl thing should be built upon your own ancient method of home manufacture and guided and assisted by the state. Especially in the matter of food you should guard against the import of large amounts of costly foreign food and drink. Try to raise your own foods as far as possible and to manufacture your own light beverages. If you do so it will save you a world of trouble and expense.

40-1-187

adducing proof from the bible or science of the inescapable inferiority of black folk. It includes all the voluble defenders of the "Curse of Cannaan and modern "scientists" like Bean,

and the "Intelligent testers"

THE ECONOMIC DISRUPTION

In

THE SPREADERS OF THE BLIND SPOT

This school simply omits as far as possible all mention of slvery or the Negro race in American history. Most modern textbooks in the public schools follow this pattern

35-9-42

THE SIMPLE TRUTH

American culture is almost completely submerged in business enterprise; So much so that to the average citizen of the United States any attempt to change our concept of business is an attempt to ch nge the American Way of Life, since business is normal life. At the center of this concept of business is the widest possible freedom to carry on manufacture and trade as will bring to the business man the most personal profit. Such business men comprise a wide variety of persons and functions from bootblacks and greengrocers to vast corporations like the United States Corporation. Their area of common interest is small and virtually consists in the right to receive less than they expend. The wider this gap, the more sucessful the business.

One can see then how deep and fundamental is resistence of business to any propos l which would curtail its field of operation or change its methods so as to limit or distroy it rate of profit. This would seem to the average business man as an attack so fundamental as to justify resistance to t the last step of war.

Yet each business man must recognize that the field of profit-making business has limits. Manufacture and trade must be honest: increasing the u usefulness of goods and trading without deceit. That certain things must not be matters of trade, like human life.

49-27-3

wealth is the result of work and gift of nature

property is the legal right to wealth; it may come from work which you do or which others have done; it may come from seisure of natural resourses; it may come from chance, theft, cheating or inheritance

wealth never was entirely the result of individual effort; it always involved some group co-operation; today more than ever , wealth is a result of social effort

Big Business takes $I from your taxes and invests it in Korea and make $I profit without any risk except what you take and no work save what cheap Korean labor gives

35-6-175

peace would cost profiteers too much

seven rooms for two and 2 rooms for 7

Every land which we have rescued with our way of life -- Cuba, the Phillipines, Porto Rico, Greece -- are poor, exploited and unhappy except for the Quislins and Rhees who share the loot

Is not what a man gets his own? Often it is your own but he has possession

A marble building and a marble heart

our economists go off into higher mathematics and are paid $7000 a year to stay there not counting pay from momopoly for books and atticles to supp rt exploitation and attack socialism

advertisements, patent medicines

Miss. sales tax; coinage of money

keeping third party off ticket

we want schools not from charitable a foundation but from our own money which we earned and which but did not get; we want to spend it not by oligarchy but by democracy

We boast our wealth and intelligence to conceal our poverty and ignorance

[1927?]

The Hamilton Study

A teacher writes us:

Moreover most of our work today is done neither by governments nor individuals. It is done by artificial individuals called corporations. These corporations having neither bodies to be kicked nor souls to be damnes, for the most part do as they please, and noone can be held responsible for their actions or failure to act. Noone except th government which created them and which some people think should own and direct them. But Business men , most of whose work is done by corporation s and most of whose wealth is owned by corporations put up strong opposition to this program, stoutly maintaining that corporation action is individual action with which govern ent must rarely interfere. "hen now our business administra gets to work, we must expect that busine s will not interfere with corporations, except to allow them to buy and sell, make profit to the limit of the often non-existent law and thus simplify starvation. If however industry comes up with loss instead of profit then the govern ment co es to the rescue of business as it did in the great Depression. Remember? It was really the funniest thing in a very unfunny era, to see the banks on their knees begging for a hand-out. They got billions of our money, yours and mine.

36-10-143

All this makes the plan of a business administration less convincing than some think. For instance among these busibess tycoons who knows what about the theatre: or literature or painting or sculpture? To be sure Mr. Eisenhower believes modern art is "nuts" and social insurance to be equated with jail. I have never heard him mention a book nor are his cabinet expert on bridges, architexture, parks nor trees; none of them have of the history of the past or of what men think or how or why experience in educati n, or travel, or scientific laws. What they are expert in is making money; selling for more than you pay. In that they are tops. So in a time of crisis, when w war threatens the world and civilization totters, these will be our rulers, headed by four-star generals who are expert in arming, marching and murder. Somehow I am uneasy.

The officers of the Peace Information Center are shocked by the latest effort of the Department of Justice to stop the mouths of those Americans who desire peace and not a Third World War. Last April a number of those who were alarmed at the trends toward war, formed a "Peace Information Center" to desseminate news concerning peace sentiment in this country and abroad. We issued "Peace-Grams", reprinted and circulated the Stockholm Appeal and the Red Cross protest against atom bombs.

In August the Department of justice asked us to register under the act requiring registration by "an agent of a foreign Power". The Chairman replied:

Meantime we asked the Attorney-General for an interview in which our objects and methods could be explained. This was not granted. Meantime the work of the Center has been finished and the office closed

45-7-155

Miscellaneous

states. We are today dominated openly by selfish private interests, in no small measure because the disfranchisement of 3,750,000 black voters in the

We rejoice at the continued growth and development of economic Negro culture, art and literature. Dispite efforts within and without the race to prostitute beauty to filth and defeatism.

36-1-55

We are still objects of petty public insult, coupled with economic theft. In time of public calamity, like the Mississippi flood, we are treated in many instances like slaves and criminals. We still lack the right to enter many places of public accommodation, and especially we continue to pay railroads in the South for accommodations which we do not receive. These public carriers, even in interstate traffic, inforce a species of discrimination so outrageous and so obviously illegal as to call for immediate redress before the courts.

Our great weapon of offense against all this is the ballot. We must give it up. We must register and vote whenever and wherever we can. We must not mortgage our vote to faithless and corrupt political organizations. We must demand.

We hail and greet our friends, North and South, black and white, whose liberal thought in word and deed, in platform, newspaper, classroom, book and press, is forwarding the day of our emancipation.

The white man

~~will~~ feel that the prestige of the [illegible]race is in danger and that unless the offending Negro is put imm[illegible]ately "in his place", the present race relations in the South are in danger. I was therefore ~~more than half prepared~~ not surprised to see the white man grow livid with anger. The occasion in other parts of the country or in other lands or at other times would have seemed trivial, but there was absolutely no doubt but that here was a man furious with anger.

He arose from his seat. He was tall and dressed in black, and started up the aisle toward me. There were, of course, many possibilities which I have since considered. In the first place he probably thought I was armed. My experience is that three out of four at least of the men in the South carry pistols. I was not armed. I had at that time never owned a pistol or any other sort of fire-arm in my life. I had always been afraid that if I did have one, that in some moment of unreasoning anger I ~~should~~ might kill a human being. I ~~do~~ did not want any such contingency to occur. Probably the man as he advanced up the aisle thought I was armed and expected me to rise so that if necessary I could shoot. If I had risen and he had been armed one of us undoubtedly would have been killed. The second contingency that he probably had in his mind was that I would run away; but that did not occur to me, not from bravado but simply because on a moving train with a white train crew in front and two or three coaches of white passengers behind there was no place to run. If I had started to retreat or run I should probably have gotten off with having my ears boxed or being kicked or receiving a severe tongue lashing. I did not run, I sat quietly and watched the man approach. Probably this disconcerted him somewhat. He did not know just what I proposed doing and he did not know what the car full of Negroes would do. There was a death-like stillness in the car, not a movement, not a whisper, hardly a breath. If these people, or any part of them were my friends (and they were not) he ~~might expect~~ was afraid of trouble from their side, which I seriously doubt. Then

Mr. Wallace in his attack on socialism merely quibbles; how a welfare state with planned economy differs from socialism is something which a champion of the New Deal finds difficulty in explaining. He forgets that once his only criticism of socialism was that this country was "not ready" for it; and he chided labor fir having " little interest in government ownership of key industries." Wuth that irritating theological twist which Wallace always lugs into his talks, he admits that

35-7-35

previous to the rise of Marxism, nations professing Christianity had spilled more blood in war than all the pagan nations put together."

but charges that

"Marxism denies the spiritual side of man and the existence of God"

~~Wallace adds with confused logic; "but~~

Marx seeking scientific unity declares that matter thinks and not an undiscoverab le " spirit", but that did not hinder him from exalting the spiritual side of man as no economic philosophy ever has; and it comes in poor grace from a supporter of Roosevelt Four Freedoms to deny freedom of religoous belief

The final tour de force of this speech is: "We in the US inspite of the McCarran Act still have a free world. Russia in spite of all she has done to teach her people to read and write, still has a slave world."

This begs the whole question. Many Americans, some of whom sit today in jail for no crime, would doubt the freedom of this nation; and if the Soviet Union is based on slavery, then a host of witnesses from Sidney and Beatrice Webb and Bernard Shaw to ~~a dozen of other students and writers~~ the Dean of Canterbury are either liars or fools.

45-7-143

This apologia from a man who once led the progressive forces of America, fills me with profound disappointment. It reads like abject surrender to current hysteria and class the class interests surrounding M. Wallace. He was profoundly ~~disappointed~~ upset by the election of I948. ~~He could stand defeat when~~ He could stand defeat when still defended by an applauding minority; but not defeat which entailed bitter criticism and the discountenance of respectable people. We saw him changing in I949 and the change came bef

struction" of race relations which was really "worth the riot". Let us see now what Atlanta is doing for her Negro children. According to the Census of 1900, Negro children formed 40% of the school population. A school census of 1908 make them but 33½% - a suspiciously low figure. Accepting, however, the latter figure we find the following facts:

Teachers -

in 1903, 214 white and 49 colored,

1908, 300 white and 60 colored.

The figures for the pay of these teachers (not including superintendence) are difficult to ascertain, but we learn this much:

Pay of teachers -

1906, $176,775.28 for white teachers,

1908, 209,069.50 " " "

1906, $24,732.99 for colored teachers

1908, 23,220.00 " " "

31-26-9

To know the future we have but to remember the past. Everyone can easily learn that not only did Negroes fight for the New World in the days of discovery and Colonial Wars but that 3000 of them fought in the Revolution and there, too, without segregation. "No regiment is to be seen," writes a Hessian officer in 1777, "in which there are not Negroes in abundance and among them able-bodied, strong, brave fellows." Even the regiments of the South had their black men. New York State raised two Negro regiments in 1812 and Perry, ~~and~~ Chauncey and Paul Jones used colored sailors. Jackson at the Battle of New Orleans said to his colored troops: "I knew that you could endure hunger and thirst and all the hardships of war. I knew that you loved the land of your nativity and that like ourselves you had to defend all that is most dear to man, but you have surpassed all my hopes." Four hundred Negroes took part in the Battle of New Orleans and one of them gave Jackson the suggestion for his famous cotton breast works. There were 178,975 Negro soldiers who took part in the Civil War beside 150,000 Negro laborers. The soldiers took part in 449 battles and had 36,874 killed and wounded. In the Spanish American War it was the Negro Tenth Cavalry that saved Roosevelt's Rough Riders at El Caney and a southern writer said that they were physically "the best men in the army," and seemed to be "absolutely without fear." In the present war it is well known that Negro troops are already with Pershing in France.

True it is that the burdened nation is not at this time (more's the pity!) engaged in settling the "Negro problem," but is raising an army for war. Nevertheless, it is certain that the best way to raise an army in America today is to settle at least so much of the Negro problem as interferes with the effective training and use of Negro officers and troops.

Negro History

32-8-29

where possible

F. We believe that Negro workers should join the labor movement and affiliate with such trade unions as welcome them and treat them fairly. We believe that workers' councils organized by Negroes for interracial understanding should strive to fight race prejudice in the working class.

And in other cases we should form and federate our own Negro unions

30-MH-36

I. We conceive this matter of work and equality of adequate Income is not the end of our effort, but the beginning of the rise of the Negro race, in this land and the world over, in power, learning and accomplishment. Colored

J. We believe in the use of our vote for equalising wealth through taxation, for vesting the ultimate power of the state in the hands of the workers; and as an integral part of the working class, we demand our proportionate share in administration and public expenditure.

K. This is and is designed to be a program of racial effort; and this narrowed goal is forced upon us today by the unyielding determination of certain elements in the white race to enslave, exploit and insult Negroes; but to this vision of work, organization and service, we welcome all men of all races and colors so long as their subscription to this basic creed is sincere and is proven by their deeds.

But we know that control of Capital by the masses is the fundamental & all political + social power

30-14-37

FIRST CHOICE Disfranchisement Carbon

2. We demand enforcement of the laws which give the right to vote to American citizens of Negro descent and in order that they and others may cast an intelligent ballot we ask for national aid to common school education, to be distributed among the several states in accordance with their illiteracy.

SECOND CHOICE

1. Universal Suffrage: There can be no equality of opportunity in political affairs, and consequently no complete democracy, so long as one-half of the adult inhabitants are denied a voice in forming the laws under which they are to live, or so long as any race or group is disfranchised. The right of suffrage should not be denied or abridged on account of sex, or race. We, therefore, demand the nation-wide enfranchisement of women upon equal terms with men, and favor the immediate adoption of the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Federal Constitution. And we demand the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments which gives the right of suffrage to citizens of Negro descent.

49-25-416

THIRD CHOICE

2. We believe that one of the greatest difficulties in democratic government today as yesterday is the ignorance of the masses of men. We demand national aid to common school education distributed among the several states in accordance with their illiteracy, and administered without discrimination against any race or class to the end that all laws and customs which directly or indirectly disfranchise any race or class may be repealed and changed without danger to the common weal.

cept. They, therefore, withdrew into the African Methodist and Zion Methodist Churches. The Baptists, even among the slaves had their separate churches, and these churches in the North began to federate about 1836. In 1871 the Methodist Church, South, set aside their colored members into the colored Methodist Episcoapl Church, and the other Southern churches drove their members into the other colored churches. The remaining Northern denominations retained their Negro members, but organized them for the most part into separate congregations.

30-274-27

Practically, then, the seven-eighths of the whole Negro population is included in its own self-sustaining, self-governing church bodies. Nearly all of the other eighth is economically autonomous to a very large degree. It is natural that to-day the bulk of organized efforts of Negroes in any direction should center in the church. The Negro church is the only social institution of the Negroes which started in the forest and survived slavery; under the leadership of the priest and medicine man, afterward of the christian pastor, the church preserved in itself the remnants of African tribal life and became after emancipation the center of Negro social life. So that to-day the Negro population of the United States is virtually divided into Church congregations, which are the real units of the race life. It is natural, therefore, that charitable and rescue work among Negroes should first be found in the churches and reach there its greatest development.

The statistics for Negro churches in 1906 according to the United States Census was as follows: "The total number of communicants or members, as reported by 36,563 organizations, is 3,685,097; of these, as shown by the returns for 36,648 organizations, 37.5% are males and 62.5% females.

According to the statistics, these organizations have 35,160 churches with a seating capacity of 10,481,738, as reported by 33,091

2. To put forward a series of labor laws which should make the exploitation of Negro labor secure.

Both these things they were able to do under the cry of race prejudice. No method of inflaming the darkest passions of men were unused. The lynch mob was given its glut of blood, and egged on by purposely exaggerated and often wholly invented tales of crime on the part of perhaps the most peaceful and sweet-tempered race the world has ever known. Under the flame of this outward noise went the more subtle and dangerous work. Laws were passed, in the States where three-fourths of the Negroes live, so ingeniously framed that a black university graduate could be prevented from voting and the most ignorant white hoodlum could be admitted to the polls. Labor laws were so arranged that imprisonment for debt was possible, and leaving an employer could be made a penitentiary offence. Negro schools were cut off with small appropriations, or wholly neglected, and a determined effort was made, with wide success, to see that no Negro had any voice in either the making or administration of local, state or national law.

30. 27d-28

In order to accomplish this, it was,of course, necessary to secure the white labor vote of the South and the neutrality of the North. The former was accomplished by throwing white and black laborers so far as possible into rival competing groups and making each feel that the one was the cause of the other's troubles. To-day the white laborer regards the Negro artisan as a "scab" working for low wages, and the Negro regards the white workman as a tyrant who keeps him out of the Union and forces him to work for low wages. Meantime, the neutrality of the North has been secured through their fear for the safety of large investments in the South, and through the fatalistic attitude common both in America and Europe toward the possibility of real advance on the part of the darker nations.

30-27d-32

30-27d-32

To understand this development better let us return to the economic condition of the Negro.

The chief occupations of Negroes in 1890 and 1900 : exact figures were as follows: taking the Negro population at least ten years of age, engaged in specified occupations.

45-7-221

1892 & 1949-50

The peace & Progress of the late 19th century

Imperial power; luxury; colonialism

Templehofer feld; Weimar; Poland

Peace in 1950

The will to Peace in Soviets; Czechoslovakia; & Balkans; in France

Object of Peace: Experiment for economic change

Need of change: Poverty in France & Italy: hopeless

Soviet & Chech: hopeful

The basic problem not Russian

In organized human work today a few persons get more wealth than they need and more power th n they can intelligently use; while most persons get less than they need for survival or intelligent use of what they have

The nineteenth century said that this was unfortunate but necessa ry

The Twentieth Century knows it is bot h unfortunate and unnecessary but we are ranged into two bitter and increasingly threatening camps as to what can be done about it

The prereccusite for both parties is Peace

The n tions behind the Iron Curtain know this

The nations of the West for the most part believe they h ve the solutioion that argument is unneccessary and dangerous and that war is needed to keep the Peace

What strikes the esterner is the the strength of the conviction there that experiment pays that Planning brings prosperity; this involves regimentation;

30-27-60

Silence under these conditions means tacit approval. The indifference of the North is already responsible for more than one assault upon democracy, and every such attack reacts as unfavorably upon whites as upon blacks. Discrimination once permitted cannot be bridled; recent history in the South shows that in forging chains for the negroes, the white voters are forging chains for themselves. ~~"A house divided against itself cannot stand";~~ this government cannot exist half slave and half free any better to-day than it could in 1861. Hence we call upon all the believers in democracy to join in a national conference for the discussion of present evils, the voicing of protests, and the renewal of the struggle for civil and political liberty.

sooner than it will, instead of surrendered to war led by private capitalism.

As time passes the possibility of any such laboratory experiment in studying the American Negro as an integrated group will become progressively impossible. The walls of segregation and caste are falling, which is the objective of all those who are working to solve the Negro problems. But if the efforts of statesmen and social workers could be guided by science the solutions would be quicker and better. As it is they are guided in the United States by the thought and method which is currently dominant. This, happens at present to be the anarchy of private capitalism guided by individual profit making and what we call the American "way of life." American Negroes are therefore dividing themselves into classes with the rich exploiting or helping to exploit the poor and with all the fantastic consequences which Franklin Frazier has shown so clearly in his BLACK BOURGEOSIE. Not only then American Negroes, but other groups the world over will have lost at least for a time the guidance of that social science which the Atlanta University Studies tried to start.

41-3-352

Scientific Study of Negro (chpt XVIII)

labor was thoughtlessly born to hate the slave and in new free labor states like Kansas and California in the early days the laws against Negroes were severe as the laws against slavery.

This inborn tendency found further justification in the fact that the freed Negro having worked formerly for nothing was delighted on emanciaption to work for almost nothing. This lowered the general level of wages in sections and communities and everywhere in certain lines of work. The wrath of the laborers was forthwith directed not simply against the low wages and the men who paid them, but alos and even more virulently against the men who received them.

These poor black workers mertied no such anger. They accepted low wages because the low wages were higher than any they had ever received before. They knew nothing of the struggle of wage slaves for higher wage; they did not know the A B.C. of agitation. To meet this situation two paths were open to the working class. To educate this new free working class up to the plain of demanding a living wage, or to ignore them and to try and organize the working class along the color line.

First the labor movement in the United States tried more or less sincerely the broader and worthier method.

The Evans brothers who came from England as labor agitators about 1825, put among their twelve demands: "10th. Abolition of chattel slavery and of wages slavery."From 1840 to 1850 labor reformers were, in many cases, earnest abolitionists; as one of them said in 1847:

"In my opinion the great question of labor, when it shall come up, will be found paramount to all others, and the operatives of New England, peasant of Ireland and laborers of South America will not be lost sight of in sympathy for the Southern slave."

"Indeed the anti-slavery agitation and the organization of the mechanics of the United States kept pace with each other; both were revolutionary in their character and although the agitators differed in their methods, the ends in view were the same, viz. the freedom of the man who worked."

Along with this movement went many labor disturbances which had economic causes

especially the series of riots in Philadelphia from 1829 until after the war, when the Negroes suffered greatly at the hands of white workingmen." The civil war with its attendant evils bore heavily on the laboring classes, and led to wide-spread agitation and various attempts at organization.

"In New York City, especially, the draft was felt to be unjust by laborers because the wealthy could buy exemption for $300. A feeling of disloyalty to union and bitterness toward the Negro arose. A meeting was called in Tammany Hall and Greeley addressed them. Longshoremen and railroad employees struck at times and assaulted non-unionists. In New York Negroes took the places of longshoremen and were assaulted."

After the war attempts to unite all workingmen and to federate the trade unions were renewed and following the influence of the Emancipation Proclamation a more liberal tone was adopted toward black men. On August 19, 1896, the National Labor Union said in its declaration:

"In this hour of the dark distress of labor, we call upon all laborers of whatever nationality, creed or color, skilled or unskilled, trades unionists and those now out of union to join hands with us and each other to the end that poverty and all its attendant evils shall be abolished forever."

On August 19, 1867, the National Labor Congress met at Chicago, Ill., There were present 200 delegates from the states of North Carolina, Kentucky, Maryland and Missouri. The president, Z.C. Whatley, in his report said among other things:

"The emancipation of the slaves has placed us in a new position, and the question now arises, What labor position shall they now occupy? They will begin to learn and to think for themselves, and they will soon resort to mechanical pursuits and thus come in contact with white labor. It is necessary that they should not undermine it, therefore the best thing that they can do is to form trades unions, and thus work in harmony with the whites."

It was not, however, until the organization of the Knights of Labor that workingmen began effective co-operation. The Knights of Labor was founded in Philadelphia in 1869 and held its first national convention in 1876. It was for a long time

a secret organization, but it is said that from the first it recognized no distinctions of "race, creed or color."

Nevertheless admission must in all cases be subject to a vote of the local assembly where the candidate applied, and at first it required but three black balls to reject an applicant. This must have kept Northern Negroes out pretty effectively in most cases. On the other hand the shadow of black competition began to loom in the horizon. Most people expected it very moon and the Negro exodus of 1879 gave widespread alarm to labor leaders in the North. Evidence of labor movements in the South too gradually appeared and in 1880 the Negroes of New Orleans struck for a dollar a day but were suppressed by the militia.

Such considerations led many trade unions, notably the iron and steel workers and the cigar makers, early in the eighties, to remove "white" from their membership restrictions and leave admittance open to Negroes at least in theory. The Knights of Labor also began proselyting in the South and by 1885 were able to report from Virginia:

"The Negroes are with us heart and soul, and have organized seven assemblies in this city (Richmond) and one in Manchester with a large membership."

So,too, the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners said about 1886 that they had Negro unions as far South as New Orleans and Galveston:

"In the Southern States the colored men working at the trades have taken hold of the organization with avidity, and the result is the Brotherhood embraces 14uunions of colored carpenters in the South."

The Knights of Labor, after a brilliant career, having probably at one time over half a million members, began to decline owing to internal dissentions and today having perhaps 50,000 -100,000 members. Coincident with the decline of the Knights of Labor came a larger and more successful movement - The American Federation of Labor which has now nearly a million members.

The attitude of the American Federation of Labor may be summed up as having passed through the following stages:

1. "The working people must united and organize irrespective of creed, color,

sex, nationality or politics."

This was an early declaration but was not embodied in the constitution. It was reaffirmed in 1897, after opposition. Bodies confining membership to whites were barred from affiliation.

2. "Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Union, Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions composed exclusively of colored members."

This adopted by the convention of 1902 and recognizes the legality of excluding Negroes from local unions, city central labor bodies, etc.

3. A National Union which excludes Negroes expressly by constitutionaly provision may affiliate with the A.F.L.

No official announcement of this change of policy has been made, but the fact is well known in the case of the Railway Trackmen, Telegraphers, and others.

4. A National Union already affiliated with the A. F. L. may amend its laws so as to exclude Negroes.

This was done by the Stationary Engineers at their Boston convention in 1902, and an (unseccessful?) attempt in the same line was made by the Molders at their convention the same year. Thr A. F. L. has takem no public action in these cases.

The net result of all this movement has been to convince the American Negro that his greatest enemy is not the employer who robs him, but his white fellow workingmen. For thirty years, he has been taught this lesson by the working man himself: between 1881 and 1900, fifty strikes occurred in the United States against the employment of Negroes and probably twice that number really against Negroes, but ostensibly against non-union men, when in reality the Negro was not permitted to join the union.

The socialist party must know and heed this history. The Negro workingman is daily increasing in efficiency. Small Negro capitalists are arising. The whole trend of thought among Negroes is for reasons given and other reasons distinctly capitalistic. The employign classhas given hugh sums of money wrung from underpaid white laborers to furnish Negro schools and other institutions which the States controlled largely by the white laborers vote refused to furnish. Small wonder that the average

Negro can be counted on as the solid unwavering ally of capitalistic government and looks on strike breaking as a more than justifiable blow to his enemies.

Facing such a situation what has socialism to say to these black men? Is it going to ignore them, or segregate them or complain because they do not forthwith adopt a programme of some revolution of which they know nothing or a movement which they are not invited to join.

The Bolsheviki

"What are the B."

My daughter is 17 & studies

My dear I answer merry don't you see I'm reading & tired from a days work & needing quiet as—

"The teacher wants a report tomorrow"

That is painful. There is a cunning in our family that my daughter is teaching a ~~great~~ boon whom as my generosity & kindness for college at great personal sacrifice & devotion. What in return for this she is to have certain allowance of cash, indulgences from house work & particularly "talk" on reports &c.

I lay aside my paper with a sigh. The sigh is part satisfaction. The Lord will not hold me responsible for taking a paper under the circumstances I fold it & my conscience away.

The Bolsheviki are the defenders those today who are considering materials & work.

You mean capital & labor —

I do not — distinctly not. I mean Things & Efforts In earliest days Things were ~~to eat~~ to be used as ~~to~~ to be worked over into more usable forms by who ever would.

The Thing that a man worked on was recognized as his — its usableness after his efforts made it enough. Increase of it.

John Brown

1.

7 ailme. & Bnccas

The Ham & the Man.

1800 Born
1805 – to Ohio
1821 – married
1837 Panic
1839 slavery
1841-54 – Sheppard
1855-6 Kansas
1858 Chatham
1859 Harpers Ferry
Hanged Dec 2 1859

3

Talks

Education 1819

Tanner — 1837

Merchant — 1841-54

Kansas 1855-6.

Harper's Ferry 1859.

3

Atlanta University

Department of Sociology

W. E. Burghardt DuBois

Atlanta, Ga.,_____ 190

My name is John Brown. I have been well known as Old Brown of Kansas 2 of my sons were killed here today & I am dying too. I came here to liberate slaves & was to receive no reward I have acted from a sense of duty & am content to await my fate. I am an old man. Yesterday I could have killed whom I chose but I had no desire to kill any person. If I had succeeded in running off slaves this time I could have raised 20 times as my men as I have now for a similar expedition. But I have failed

Atlanta University

Department of Sociology

W. E. Burghardt DuBois

Atlanta, Ga.,_____190

5) Causes of Famine

His eyes —

The antecedents of the Panic

Business & Philanthropy

Starting the war vs. Slavery (murders)

Harper's Ferry

2

Head & enlarged

Atlanta University

Department of Sociology

W. E. Burghardt DuBois

Atlanta, Ga.,_____190

The man

I should be 60 yrs old should I live to May 9, 1860. I have enjoyed much of life as it is & have been remarkably prosperous having early learned to regard the welfare & prosperity of others as my own ++ I might go on to recount unnumbered blessings, among which would be some very severe afflictions & those the most needed blessings of all; & now when I think how easily I might be led & shall all I have done or suffered in the cause of Freedom, I hardly dare wish another voyage ~~of~~ even if I had the opportunity

My love & all that love their neighbors
I have asked & be spared from hearing
any weak or hypocritical prayers made over
me when I am publicly murdered & that
my only religious attendants be poor little
dirty ragged bareheaded & barefooted slave
boys & girls, led by some old gray haired
slave mother.

The Rampin

Let them hang me I forgive them for they know not what they do. I have no regret for the transaction for which I am condemned. I went against the laws of men it is true, but whether it be right to obey God or men, Judge ye!

I feel astonished that one so exceedingly vile as I am should even be suffered & have a place anyhow or anywhere among the very least of all whom when they come to die (as all must) were permitted to pay the debt of nature in defence of the Right & of God's eternal & immutable truth

I, John Brown, am now quite
certain that the crimes of this
guilty land will never be purged
away but with blood

Mrs Tambo '86
Mrs E.B. Stepperson
(High School

The lesson

Who' Love repine & reason Chafe

There came a voice ——

Much after intelligent and sympathetic examination he seems best fitted + which seems also best fitted to encourage his own individual ability, and self respect.

By encouraging the Talented Teach the Shaker seek to select such quiet one every ~~one~~ one of exceptional ability and encourage such ability by the very best and most exhaustive training in order to supply Negro leaders thinkers, technologists and artist to the world. Every method of public awards, Medals, honorable mention scholarships &c should be used

& we should set the Negro before the world as a creative artist and as a strong sympathetic subject for artistic treatment

By Political action we should organize the voters of the Negro & train them in modern political methods for the enfranchisement of their disfranchised men & women, for enlightened labor legislation & for general social reform. Particularly must we divorce them from the bribery of Patronage & office

By education we must seek to train ~~the~~ colored children & become intelligent citizens & efficient workers. ~~and~~ We must see that every American child has a chance to learn to read ~~and~~ write & cipher; that beyond this he has a chance to gain some comprehension of the world in which he lives. We must then train him as an intelligent doer of that part of the world's work for

causes that cry for the same good democratic ideal for which each stands.

This has been peculiarly true of the fight of enfranchisement across the lines of race and sex. In the ~~good~~ democratic upheaval in India one continually hears on the lips of enlightened men the greatest contempt for the English suffragettes and for Votes for Women anywhere. Here in the United States large numbers of colored men & of their advisers regard militant feminism with ~~hostility~~ as an unnatural fact, and the ~~Suffragettes~~ leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union have never been welcomed in this country.

On the other hand I dare say a woman suffrage rally has been held in the last 10 years where fool or bad some one did not base the desirability of votes for women on the undesirability of votes for black folk. At times the argument has even taken a further step and we have been asked to contemplate the abnormality of allowing the coach-driver to vote when the

mistress was denied. The subtle ~~implication~~ known in all such arguments is ~~that~~ the covert appeal to class, ~~prejudice~~ & to aristocracy as against democracy: the subtle assumption that the husband & wife lies not in any ~~disfranchisement~~ so much as in the disfranchisement of some one else whom I do not regard ~~as my equal or whom~~ who should not be regarded by others as my equal. ~~as fair of any said disfranchisement~~

Manifestly such arguments & attitude is dangerous and unworthy of so great a cause as this, & yet, unfortunately, many (not permanent arguments for democracy can be based on undemocratic foundations. The bigotry & tyranny of class exclusion cannot be made the high way to universal suffrage.

I am not here to ask therefore that the Woman's Suffrage movement ~~shall~~ be ~~especially~~ & ~~exclusively~~ a movement of Negro

or the greater freedom of the laboring man to vote but I am here to insist that every argument for the abolition of sex discrimination in the use of the franchise is an argument against the political slavery of races; and that no objection has ever been raised against the right of black men to vote but what the same argument true and supposed difference has been hurled against voting women: One has only to name the arguments of inherent inferiority, constitutional incapability, economic dependency and dependency of brutal force to realize the striking parallelism.

Why now has there been this peculiar tendency of the Disfranchised to make common cause against each other in these modern days? It is without doubt by reason of the [illegible] movement which [illegible]

the early 20th century as contrasted with the philosophy of the early 19th Many earnest but ~~fe~~ shallow ~~or~~ ~~ex~~ ~~cen~~ ~~con~~ ~~fe~~ thinkers have concluded that the democracy & ~~and~~ universal suffrage for which the fathers fought was a mistaken ideal and that we demand today efficiency rather than or indeed in spite of democracy. In no other way can we obtain the rise of the strong executive, the concentrated cabinets & commissions, the ~~de~~ subservience of militarism & a certain contempt for popular election.

Any new movement for enfranchisement must face the new & strong ~~allie~~ allies and small wonder that the new movement is ~~tempted~~ tempted to say: we too would deny ~~my~~ all ~~too~~ and unite ~~with~~ the ~~the~~ elected

look upon us not as advocates
of further democratization of the world
but rather as allies & your own kith
& kin who will help you make the
world less democratic & more African.

Right here then it seems to me
is the place for a warning word. Our
the connection between democracy & Negro
suffrage, and the future development & general-
ment in these respects. In saying this
word I assume to speak not so much
to those who seek a place in democracy
as to those who have won it. The road
to be traveled for woman suffrage has been a long one
agencies more years ago when the suffrage movement was not a commonplace but when
women who labored

to demand the vote took their reputations,
& their freedom & future

& [in] [illegible] safely in their hands
& when the helm of the ship was in
the hands of the greatest advocate
Frederick Douglas was not deposed
Today the fight is over. The guerilla
warfare will continue & the struggle
[illegible] will may defend them
[illegible] [illegible] for yet many years. It is
[illegible] merely a question of time when
woman will vote in every civilized land &
in every land that writes D. after [illegible]
In defence of democracy therefore I asked
with this new cause. I asked & [illegible]
[illegible] you not ask those who
ask and as more who have & will have
the ballot and who have thus forced forward

the frontiers of human ~~democracy~~ democracy. Do other words

What is going to be your attitude when other hands without fear open the gates of opportunity? Will you join the cursed armadillos and dollar-chasers in efficiency & what they have profit in efficiency & therefore greater & greater reduction of the ballot & the lopping off of the failures?

To answer the questions raised here there are certain fundamental truths which we must consider & certainties as an human democracy & capabilities. There is not the slightest scientific reason for assuming that a normal human being of any race or sex cannot reach normal human development if he is given a reasonable chance. This is of course denied. It is denied by

No matter how you may at present [illegible]
of Negro suffrage you must eventually face it.

unduly & so frequently ~~that~~ and such such spontaneous conviction that most unbiassed people seem to assume that most human beings are not human, and have no right to human treatment or human opportunity. This fact is not as strange as it seems ~~How are so blind as those nearest the object~~ ! More have more persistently and dogmatically mistaken on the inherent inferiority of women than the men with whom they come in closest contact. It is the husbands brothers sons of women whom it has been most difficult to induce to consider women seriously or to acknowledge that women have rights which men are bound to respect. So too it is those who live in closest contact with black folk who

Human beings are and must be mutually dependent on each other. It always should not be [illegible] each other's weakness

People do not associate with each other we associate with our ideas of each other & their people have either the [illegible] ability or courage to question their own ideas

have most unhesitatingly asserted the utter unfitness of living human negroes who were not either industrial or political slaves and social pariahs. All this shows that none are so blind as those who will not see. The thing seen, and on the other hand the history of the world is the history of the discovery of the common humanity of human beings and steadily increasing circles of them.

What reasonable doubt is there then that the flood of democracy that has successfully overflowed the barriers of family locality class station & race, will not just as surely surmount the rampants of race. It would be a. Political democracy is a contradiction terms.

The fact is that what has been regarded as a limitation of democracy is simply a limitation of the democratic method

of the past — a method which I may call the method of the Majority. I remember that ~~was~~ excellent little high school text book Woodhoff's Politics where I first read of government had this sentence at the beginning of its most important chapter: "The first duty of a minority is to become a majority" ~~This is a statement that has been denounced~~ This is a statement which has its underlying truth but it also has its dangerous falsehood for any minority which cannot become a majority is not worthy of any consideration. No greater misdemeanor of office, could be committed than this. We have assembled in democratic government which only entrusts the Majority to make it rule by divine right and to make the rule hereditary in the same Majority. We have come to look on minorities as obstacles & usurpers & to give them no serious attention unless

we feared a revolution at the ballot box when we suddenly discover Aristocrats or Laboremen or Communists and treat them a bit more considerate because they may become rulers at some time.

All this we assume to be inherently hard and based of democratic government & because the revolt against the supply of ability and kind of new ideas. But like all impulsive results do stands backgrounds. If the absolute monarchy of Napoleon is found inefficient are they any more inefficient than the absolute monarchy of individuals or ~~are~~ classes or races? Surely not & just as the correction of absolutism was to call the people to counsel so the future democratic Napoleons will call aristocrats to counsel. People & governments will not in future assume

that because they have the brute power to impose momentarily dominant ideas that it is best to do so wise and thoughtful conference with the ideas of smaller groups & individuals.

That this method is already coming in vogue we can see in the numerous groups of modern legislatures. Marked by the unanimity attained & divide all sensible ideas and plans between the great parties, modern legislatures in advanced nations tend to develop minority groups & government is carried on by tendency coalitions. It is only the fear of war that drowns ideas in dogma and war is the child of national & racial prejudice.

The ~~people~~ persons then who
Bore formed in the dawn of the
20th century to hold in the minds of
men must come with the firm
conviction that no nation race
or sex has a monopoly of ability
or ideas; that no group is so
small as to deserve to be ignored
as part of an integral and
indebted part of the mass of men.
That no group of 10 million
black folk even tho they are
at the mercy of a 90 million
white majority can be silenced
of voice in government or the
right to self development until
at a blow at the very foundations
of all democracy & all human

uplift? You cannot dispose of the rights of white men in this land & ignore the rights of black men. You cannot seek to uplift 45 millions inside women on the backs & degradation of 5 millions of your brothers sisters. The battle of Murdens democratic government to vindicate carried forward by the enfranchisement of woman suffrage must not be forestalled by the continued disfranchisement of 8 millions negroes.

Leave extended the

will be known that
as late as 1913 great
& civilized nations were
making desperate endeavors
& confine the development
of ability & individuality of
one sex, that is to ½ the nation
& he will probably learn
that the effort to confine.
humanity to one race lasted
a hundred years ~~more~~ longer

The doctrine of the same rights of majorities leads to almost monstrous inconsistency on a dead level of mediocre likeness. It insists that all people be alike or be ostracized. At the same time the greatest accusation is decent to be like: the Puritan is accused of vanity to be a man; the realist is accused of envy of the rich & the black man is accused of wanting to be white. Any one of these should

simply want to be himself
is to the average worshipper
of the majority inconceivable
And yet of all models
the grand Lord delivers us
from a world where every
body looks like his neighbor
dresses like his neighbor
* thinks like his neighbor
+ is like his neighbor

"The attempt to enfranchise minorities to stifle ability initiative & development among the masses of men ~~left~~ to such revolutions and blood shed that the two are connected today in men's minds as normal alternatives, and we ~~did~~ blindly challenge the darker majority of men to seize their liberty if they can against the day guns of Europe. Dreams & unwieldy ~~useless~~ as such an external policy is, it is not as dangerous as our internal treatment of minorities. whose powers ~~dangerous~~ we need not fear. We apparently forget that the negative losses spiritual losses from a suppressed minority may far outweigh the physical loss of war. It is such problems that newly enfranchised women will be called to face.

I stand as one who pleads for all unfortunate
moment[illegible] how came before who who are pleased
with the dawn of waking to remind on the one hand
that on the day of your travail Y. Daughter elder sister
then were sent to watch on their own ills as to give you
to remind you on the other that there can be no darkness

2

triumph democracy: all the government must be based
on the consent of the governed or it is tyranny no
matter how small or on your eyes how despicable
the wretches ministry may be.

ARTICLES IN PRINTED FORM

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FIRE LIGHT REFLECTIONS.

—o—

There are times, when the heart swells up
In every human breast,
With its feelings undefined,
Beyond a vague unrest.

There are times when the past comes back
Like a plodding caravan train,
And emotions, dead, revive,
With mingled joy and pain.

To-night I have sat and watched,
In the burning fire-light glow,
Pass many a scene and face
Before me to and fro.

On the face of some, there was
A smile of youth and glee,
And childhood's shadowy dream,
Came flitting back to me.

The old home and its hearth
On a pleasant wintry night,
Gave again to a babbling six,
Its warmth, its glow and light.

Two girls, four frolicsome boys,
The flickering fire light showed
Around a noisy hearth,
Where a silent mother sewed.

A quarrel, then a making up,
Some sweet old song is led,
A scary tale, or blindman's buff,
A tucking off to bed.

Then a shadowy dreamy face
Was alone in the firelight glow,
Hands plying the needle and thread,
With many a rent to sew.

The silence and the night,
Wear on as wear they must,
While six young sleepers sleep
The sleeping of the just.

But the glimpse of childhood home
With all its smiles and tears,
Like the moving caravan
Passed on with other years.

Then youth, gay youth and hope
Which only fair scenes know,
Blazed up in a red-hot blaze,
To fade in the flickering glow.

So many a scene of life,
Passed in my firelight glow,
Like a showman's canvas views,
Before me to and fro.

Thus gladness and regret,
I know not which the most,
Come with these shadowy scenes
As silent as a ghost.

So I have sat and thought
Of many a scene and face,
Which I have loved, and yet,
Have in my heart a place.

But late, so late it is,
The fire has burned so low,
Till ashes cover up
The dying embers' glow.

And I must hie away,
And get me off to bed,
And count my childhood sleep
When my first prayer was said.

I'll say that prayer to night,
For old time's sake to keep,
God bless my friends while "Now
I lay me down to sleep."

God bless them, and, "If I
Should die before I wake"
In this last sleep, "I pray
The lord my soul to take."

G. M. McClelland, '85.

The trustees of Columbia college have passed an ordinance compelling students and professors to don the cap and gown.

GLIMPSES OF CHINA.

———o———

THE following is an extract from a private letter written to a member of the faculty by Miss Minor, whom we pleasantly remember as a teacher here in '86–'87, and who is now a missionary in China:

Tientsin, China, Nov. 8, '87.

I'll tell you a little about this place, as I shall probably see it about once a year while I remain in China. The "Foreign Concession" was waste land subject to overflow a few years ago. Now it is a very pleasant city, but quite unlike anything in America. The "mission compounds" here are all quite near together. These compounds are enclosed by high brick walls. The gate is usually an archway, and just within on one side is the room of the gate keeper whose duty is to exclude all improper persons and to lock the gates at night. Inside are the comfortable cottages in which the missionaries live, usually not more than three families in a compound, often a chapel, and sometimes a little building. As you go along the street all that you can see are these high compound walls, with an occasional glimpse thro' an open gate.

It is the foreign, not the native city which I have described. I have made one pilgrimage, in a jinricksha to the Chinese city, and do not care to repeat it. We rode two miles and a half to a dispensary one day–I'll stop right here to tell you a little about Dr. Gloss, whose dispensary we visited.

She is a very enthusiastic young lady who came out about two years ago under the Methodist Board.

Her home is in the Foreign Concession, and in the adjoining compound is her hospital. Here she has "in-patients" and a clinic every day for "out-patients." She spends two afternoons a week in her little dispensary in the native city, where she often treats fifty persons in an afternoon, performing surgical operations and doing all sorts of things. But to return to our jinrickshas. The narrow streets were thronged and packed with people and heavily laden wheel–barrows and donkey carts among which we literaly "wound" our way, often having to stand still for five minutes or more. The Chinamen would get close to us and stand still to stare as only a Chinaman knows how to stare, taking in the most minute details, and showing especial interest in our enormous feet with their queer skin shoes. And you can't imagine the sights and smells and tumult of sounds which greeted us. One is made to realize the phrase "even to the uttermost". The lines occured to me:

"Still thy love, O Christ arisen
Yearns to reach these souls in prison;
Thro' all depths of sin and loss,
Drops the plummet of thy cross;
Never yet abyss was found,
Deeper than that cross could sound!"

The Viceroy of this province, Li Chang, "the Bismark of Asia," has had great improvements made in the city both in cleanliness and in smoothness of the streets, but to put it mildly, there is still room for improvement. The native city, by the way, has outgrown its walls, and there is as much outside as within. This dispensary is without the walls, and after leaving it we climbed the Drum Tower in the center of the wall city, at the intersection of the two main sides

which connect four gates. From the second story of this tower or pagoda we looked down upon the floor of roofs below us, when an occasional break gave a glimpse into a tiny court. The Drum Tower is a temple to sacred animals, the fox, snake and others equally noble.

It contans no idols, but tablets to the animals. The temples of China are numerous, but most of them are miserable affairs. I wish that I had time to describe a visit to a Chinese bride, but my letter bids fair to grow to undue proportions.

One institution in Tienisin in which I have been very much interested, is the "Viceroy's Hospital," in charge of a Dr. Mackenzie from Gt. Britain, with whom medical and religeous work go hand in hand. There were fifty conversions last year among his in-patients. He has a class of thirteen young men, supported by government, who are taking a three years course to fit them for navy surgeons. A class of four were graduated last year. Of these thirteen, nine are earnest Christains. Think what an influence they will exert in the future! I attended Dr. Mackenzie's Sunday School class of young men, where English was spoken. I doubt whether any where you could find a class of young men who would show deeper intellectual and spiritual insight into the passages studied than they did.

Pao-ting-fu, Nov. 27th. '87.

I am ready now for the second installment, for the courier will be starting for Tientsin in two or three days. I want to write next a description of our mission premises here, and some phases of our life, and then I may hold forth, not philosophically, on the Chinese language. These won't be missionary letters, for I shall know practically nothing of mission work for some time to come, and want to avoid giving any false impressions.

It was the fifteenth of November when we reached *home* and took breakfast with Dr. and Mrs. Merrith, the only missionaries at the station except those who came up with me. They have been here only two years, tho' both of them are about half way thro'the thirties. My home has been with them thus far, and I hope that it will continue to be for they are like a brother and sister to me already. They are very delightful people, brimful of fun and life, but Dr. Merrith has as much missionary spirit to the cubic inch as one often finds. The other people here are just as nice only in a rather more formal and proper way, and I am sure that we shall all be very happy together. The old workers here were so glad to welcome the new recruits, for they had been calling for reinforcements for so long, and the native Christians greeted us so warmly that we felt at once that we had got to the right place. We had a genuine Thanksgiving this week. I am sure that I had more reasons for thankfulness than I have ever had before. I don't think that there is any earthly happiness to surpass that of finding a place in which to work. The hard part of it is that I can't get at the real work until I have worked at the langnage for about a year. It is quite a trial to see these people around and not be able to do anything for them.

I commenced work in the language, with a Chinese teacher, the day after I reached here, and am pegging away

at it with all my might. I erjoy the study very much. My teacher and I carry on the most astonishing conversations. He knows about ten English words. I struggle laboriously thro' a sentence three or four times, then perhaps he grasps my idea and expresses it in language which usually bears a remote relationship to that which I used. In English we inflect a sentence; in Chinese the meaning of each individual word depends upon the inflection or tone given it, and you have to slide up the words and down them and over them in all sorts of shapes. One word without changing its spelling, has thirty different meanings depending entirely on the way in which it is pronounced.

I havn't time to describe at length our mission premises. They are Chinese dwellings with foreign floors, doors and windows. The three courts are paved with brick and poles are arranged overhead so that matting can be spread on them in summer to keep out the sun. Each inn is a little house by itself except the three in the rear of the Merrith court, and the two corresponding ones back of the Piersne court. The halls etc., are really covered passages with independent walls. The houses are of native brick, which is grey, and the bricks are laid with the broad side showing. The houses are only one story with quaint tall roofs such as you have probably seen in pictures, and with red woodwork under the roof and about he doors and windows. The walls of the main court come just up to the edge of the roof, and have open-work tile ornamentations at the top. There are five gateways, only the inner and outer gates in the main courts being gates proper. The other's have simply the tile roof supported by pillars. The whole affair is quite picturesque, and the houses are very comfortable.

This property is only rented. The mission has recently bought ground outside the walls, and is beginning to put up some foreign houses. One house may be ready so that a family can get out of the city next sali. At present the mission has to be deserted by foreigners during the summer because it is'nt safe to stay in a closely packed Chinese city of one or two hundred thou sand inhabitants during the intense heat.

The nearest cities to us are Tien tsin and Pekin, each a hundred miles away. We were six days in coming here on the river, but we did not travel on Sunday.

We shall have almost unbroken sunshine all thro' the winter. The trouble with our surrouudings here is that we have so little opportunity for exercise.

We have made one expedition out side the walls. We have to go out in springless Peking carts, which are simply indescribably dreadful on these rough roads.

My disappointments have all been happy ones, and I look forward only with pleasant anticipations to my life in China, hoping that I can spend my whole life here. I think often of you all, and of my pleasant year at Fisk, and hope that our first home mail will bring a letter from some of the friends there.

Luella Minor.

Miss Whitney takes the chair of Astronomy at Vassar.

TOM BROWN AT FISK.

In three chapters.

CHAPTER. III

IT was the close of the Christmas Rhetoricals. The bustling of departing visitors and students mingled with the congratulations poured upon the successful orators. One group stood near the door. You could easily recognize the affable voice of Thompson, for Thompson was a senior now, and of course—well he was a *senior* and every body knew it. "Who was that tall dark young man that spoke so *splendidly* ?" asked one of the group, an octaroon with black waving hair and twinkling eyes, pretty, and cognizant of the fact. "Oh' that was Brown. He's a freshman ; this is his first time on. Smart fellow that ; lost one year to take care of his mother 'till she died and then came back and not only kept up with his class, but made another. You ought to have seen him when he first came! green, whew !" "Yes, he's my chum," said another, a pretty little fellow dressed in the latest style, so that he almost looked like a laundried collar with a head on it. "Wouldn't you like to meet him?" "O yes! Do bring him here." answered Miss Floyed (the beauty), "I should like to see him ever so much." In a few moments our Tom was bowing and scraping before the group of young ladies and probably would have been blushing had not that been a physical impossibility. "Really you must come and see us" said Miss Stanley, "we live on South High." "Thank you, I will" said Tom, as visions of beauty and cake passed before his already excited brain. "Tell you, boy, you've struck a big thing. We'll have a racket in the city during the holidays," said Carter, Tom's chum, as he returned from escorting his charges to the city. "I believe Bess Floyed's stuck on you, fellow." "O pshaw! stop your nonsense" said Tom as he tucked up in the bed-clothes and industriously tried to go to sleep, which he succeeded in doing at last and dreamed that he and Miss Floyed were married and that he was the greatest orator—I don't know what else he might have dreamed had not the warning bell for breakfast started him from his slumbers. On their way from breakfast Carter imparted some very important information to Tom. "Boy, I've got an invitaion for you to night at Miss Stanley's. Going to have a big time. Then next week we've something on docket for every night. I tell you, we'll just paint Nashville red ; show 'em what Fiskites can do. Of course you'll need a new suit and some laundry, etc, but—" "But I have'nt any money,—not a cent," said Tom dubiously. "Borrow," replied Carter sententiously, as if that was a very common method with himself. "I dont like to do that ". "Bah! don't get squeamish now! why, fellow, you ought to have heard Miss Floyed talking about you. Why, I tell you we'll have all these fellows opening their eyes when they see us having such a big time in the city." Tom kept thinking the matter over as he was cleaning up the room, and it must be confessed that under the ceaseless running of Carter's tongue his scruples were fast melting away. "But Miss Parmelee won't excuse us so often." "Go without an excuse then. I don't propose to be shut up here all the Christmas just because those teachesr

want me to be. I'm a man and propose to do as I please." "The teachers don't want you shut up here. They don't think it right however to be running out too much and staying up nights, and I don't—" "Well, you can stay here and read the Bible if you want to. Hello! there's a letter—no, a card for you. Whew! registered letter down in the office for you. Tell you, Brown, you're luckey. We can have a racket now, hey?" "Ye-es, but that money was for my school warrants and I ought to give it to Stickel." "Well I declare! You're the biggest gump-head I ever saw!" Suffice it to say that Tom took ten dollars to the Treasurer and put the remaining thirty in his pocket, and then wanted to be provoked because the Treasurer was a little gruff. Soon Tom had a new suit with a long-tailed coat, a package of laundried collars and cuffs, and countless neckties and handkerchiefs. The first two nights of eating and dancing quite turned his head, and made him deeply in love with Miss Floyed's curls. The third night the Matron flatly refused to excuse them, and they followed Carter's plan and went anyhow, for as Carter argued "they could easily get back by ten." However Carter wasn't ready to depart at that time, being engaged in a very confidential conversation with Miss Stanley, and although Tom hated to leave Miss Floyed's black eyes, he departed alone. As he crossed the railroad he saw the lights in Livingstone beginning to go out and he started out in full gallop. As he neared the bridge his foot struck a stone and he fell spranling into one of the spacious mud-puddles which can always be found in that vicinity. Picking himself up he started out again and reached the door just in time—to find it locked. Here was a pretty fix! If he aroused the watchman he was sure to be reported, and if he didn't,—ah! here was a window left open; he crawled in, sneaked up stairs and dreamed all night that officers were arresting him for burglary. Carter turned up bright and early, in time for breakfast, and started to whisper in Tom's ear:

> Listen my children, you shall hear,
> Of the midnight run off—"

but was promptly checked by a pitcher of water. Tom did not go out much the rest of the week. New Year's day however, he could not resist the temptation, especialy when it was backed by a dainty missive, saying "Miss F. would be disappointed, if" &c.&c,&c. "I'm not going to buy any more cards" said Carter. "We won't need 'em." Tom readily consented for he had only fifteen cents left. They were ashamed to ask for excuses again so away they went without them. Arriving at the house they boldly rang the bell and when the door was opened by a small boy, stepped in and began to take off their over coats, when the boy held up a little server, and said, "Thirteen cards, pleth thir." Tom stood and looked at the boy for a moment and then turned just in time to see Carter's coat-tails disappearing down the street. Soon only the boy and server were left in the hall. Cards however were purchaced and written in short order and often waiting long enough for the affair to be forgotten, they returned and spent the evening in most agreeable company. This time even Tom could not tear away by ten, and, to make a long story short,

staid out all night. "We're in for it now," said Carter as he came up stairs after breakfast, "The President wants us down in his office. He knows it all." The final result was that Carter, being an old offender, packed his trunk, while Tom received a severe reprimand, which was very affective

It wouldn't have been so hard but when he reached his room he found a note wnich stated that Mr. and Mrs. John Floyd would be pleased with his company at the marriage of their daughter Bessie, to Mr. J. R. Bruce, at Louisville, Ky., Feb. 9, 188–. Tom didn't shed any tears, merely walked to the mirror and said, "Tom Brown, you're a fool!" and the young man in the mirror seemed to assent, without any mental reservations.

* * * * * *

Ella Boyd had been compelled to loose two years for financial reasons, and was consequently a Senior Normal at the same time Tom a Senior College. They did not meet very often, for Tom's Freshman escapade had settled the girl question with him, as he thought, and he was tending strictly to his studies, while she was pursuing her quiet way as usual, not even bothered now by Thomson. The scholarship and deportment of both were very high, and once in a while they mutually sought one anothers advice as to certain pet schemes. Ella had a taste for literary work and Tom's practical common-sense was often of use in toning down too brilliant passages: Tom was doing some extra work in the sciences and sometimes made her his confidant as to his future plans. Commencement soon drew near, and one day as Tom was passing the little grove in the north-west corner of Victoria square, "getting off" his oration he happened to overhear a conversation to which, being personal, he could not be blamed for listening. "That Tom Brown is jnst making a fool of Ella Boyd. Like to see myself running aronnd after a boy as she does. And then he's homely as a hedge-fence—" just then Tom happened to spy Ella seated on a bench not far away, also, probably, getting the benefit of the conversation. Tom said nothing. Commencement passed off nicely. After dinner Tom spoke to Ella and asked her to take a little walk. O no, really she conldn't now she must go up stairs and pack. "I had something very important to say to you " "Well can't you say it here, Mr. Brown?" "You used to call me Tom." "I used to do a graet many other foolish thing" with a defiant look that said "but I don't intend to again." After considerable argument Miss Boyd was prevailed upon to take a *very* short walk. I don't know what Tom said but at any rate when Ella came back she did'nt look half as mad as she *might* have, and her chum had to remind her twice not to pack the lamp in her trunk. At any rate Tom Brown is now a large farmer and stock-raiser in Kansas, worth probably ten thousand, whose christian life and example are worth many times that amount to the community, and Ella Boyd is—his wife.

Harvard University by the aid of the Price Greenleaf bequest offers $13,000 in sums of $150 and $250 to canadates for B.A. These can be awarded in advance upon application.

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FEBRUARY, 1888.

EDITORIAL.

WE congratulate our sister institution, the Meharry Medical College, on the completion of twelve years of excellent work. This institution is certainly an honor to the race.

THE life of the late Secretary Powell of the A. M. A., as related in the Chapel a few days ago by Secretary Ryder, was certainly a noble one. In him the Negro people especially, have lost a staunch friend. We can best show our appreciation for him by imitating his upright and self-sacrificing character.

THE increase in the number of glasses worn in the University lately, is a sure sign that many of our students are abusing their eyes. The eye is the most faithful and useful of our servants and it behooves us to see that it is used aright. There are some who will loiter away a whole hour when the sun is at the meridian, but in the last rays of twilight or just before breakfast they begin to have a wonderful appreciation of the fact that moments are golden. There are few here who could if they wished prepare their recitations by broad day light or at least with little hard study at night and thus save themselves and teachers much trouble and annoyance.

EDITORIAL TOOHPICK.

THOMAS Carlisle once sharply reproved a student because he had no plans laid for his future life.

If said terse old gentleman were in Fisk to-day he could find several weeks of profitable employment at the same business, to say nothing of a month or so among the Alumni, in which time he would have ample chance to exhaust his vocabulary of expletives. It's a fearful thing to be aimless, yet how many of us are blown about by every wind of desire.

Many of us will be teachers. Why? Because we choose this profession, and fit ourselves carefully for it; no; but because we will drift into it? by accident of situation, and will never drift out. Such a noble calling as teaching should not be taken hold of as an experiment. It is a profession.

It should be treated as such, and not as a mere stepping-stone. No

matter what we do, whether we teach, preach, die, or get married let's have an end in view.———Prof Smith's lecture on student life in Germany was very interesting.

Why isn't there a Fisk student at Leipsic, or a Fisk metaphysician at Berlin? Aren't we smart enough? *Mures*! well, then, have'nt we grit enough? "Mebbe, Mebbe!"—So! now the time draweth nigh when the soph. layeth his *Horace* carefully away in his table-drawer, and the Senior forgeteth his *Moral Philosophy*, mournfully they look forth upon the landscape. They revolve multitudinous and divers plans. The sun riseth on their meditations, and noonday findeth them yet deep in thought. Verily what mighty plans absorb them, what ubiquitous design disturbs their homogeneity? A Keely motor? a Ph. D., at Heidelburg? Nay, nay! a greater than these; they are planning for a *Spring Suit*. O Lord, how long this thusness? Till we're uniformed,— a suit of jeans, and one of wool, for a year's ward-robe.

We are the recipients of a very beautiful valentine from the Pope Manufacturing Co., giving twenty-three reasons for purchasing a Columbia Bicycle. The Editor while very thankful would beg leave to $ay that exce$$ive mode$ty make$ the purcha$e of $aid vehicle @ pre$ent an impo$$ibility. —As the Editor was strolling down 5th Avenue, (3rd floor, Livingstone,) about 9:30 P. M. last Saturday night, meditatively sucking a beef-bone, which he had borowed or stolen, (his memory fails him just here) he was startled by flaming posters at No. 12, inscribed, NOTICE! NOTICE!! *starch found*!!! Dumbfounded at so strange a discovery, he he joined the immense throng at the entrance and by almost superhum an exertion gained admission. In the middle of the floor with a large field glass was the prospector surrounded by a throng. In close proximity was a chair upon which lay a cuff just from the Fisk Laundry in which the aliedged starch was found. The Editor took a look through the field glass and must confess there were a few signs of the article. However, without doubt it got there by mistake.

HENRY WARD BEECHER AND THE FISK JUBILEE SINGERS.

ONE of the earliest and strongest friends the "Jubilee Singers" ever had was Henry Ward Beecher. That he did not up to the last days of his eventful life forget this early friendship is shown by his address before the Freedmen's Aid Society in London, England, on the 16th of October last. We quote from the address;

"I think there never was such a phenomenon as the building of Fisk University. We talk about castles in the air. That is the only castle that ever I knew built by singing from foundation to top. That is a castle in the air worth having. They sang through our country, and it is one of the things that I cherish with pride that they took their start from Plymouth Church Lecture Room. Oh! those days after the war! My brother Thomas wrote to me that this Jubilee Band were trying to sing their way to the East and see if they could not raise a little money, and urged me to look after them. They called on me. I said, "I do not

know whether the folks will bear it or not, but come around on Friday night, at the prayer meeting, and I will give you a chance." On Friday night they sat there, and after the service concluded I said to the people: 'There's a band of singers here, every one of whom has been baptized in slavery, and they are coming to the East to see if they can raise some little funds for their education and their elevation, and now I wish that you would hear them sing a few pieces. I called them up on the platform. There were about eleven hundred people there. The Jubilee Band began to sing. It was still as death. They sang two pieces—tears were trickling from a great many eyes. They sang again, and the audience burst out into a perfect enthusiasm of applause; and when they sung four or five pieces my people rose up in a mass and said: 'These folks must sing in the church.' On Sunday morning I gave out word that on Wednesday the church would be open on payment, not of a shilling–that is the English price. Fifty cents is what we call a respectable fee at the door for anything. Anything that is not worth fifty cents is not worth trying. I had them sing on Sunday morning, and on Wednesday night the church was crowded and crammed, and from that they went on conquering and to conquer. They sang up and down our own country; they sang here; they sang in the presence of the Royal Family; they sang in Paris; they sang in Berlin; they sang before the Emperor William; and when they came back they had earned one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the building of Fisk University." *Selected.*

OUR NEXT PRESTIDENT.

DELIVERED IN THE SENIOR PREP. RHETORICAL CLASS.

I am not an orator, and as I am a woman, I shall, most likely be considered entirely out of my sphere when I touch on any measure in politics: but even if I am not one of the great, grand and all-aspiring men, I am to quite an extent interested in the next presidential election. Although I do not profess to be posted at all in politcs, you will please allow me to speak in behalf of the man who in my judgment would most honorably and successfully fill the president's chair for the next four years. We know nothing of his political career, none of us know any thing of him as a statesman, but to come nearer home, *we all know him.* It does not seem to me that the president's chair should always wait for some great general, for some man who has led armies on to victory, nor even to those who boast their ability and intellect: but until the responsible position of presidency is filled by such a man (strange his name may sound to you,) as I have in mind, the United States of America will lack that which might make her one of the grandest nations on the face of the earth.

And when we women are allowed to select the man who is to lord it over us, we will choose just such a man. Until then we must be content with whom you choose to put in office. Excuse me if I deviate a little, but our country needs the female vote. Let us vote, and we will not only give you a president worthy of honor, but we will also drive intoxicating liquor as far from you as the "east is from

the west."

Now again to our subject: the man who now occupies the president's chair no doubt does the best he can, but there is always room for improvement; and *my* candidate will not only be a great improvement; but even a blessing to the country. And when we women go to the polls we will even "*stuff*" the box for our honored and most beloved friend and instructor: Erastus Milo Cravath; and if the women are for him, who need be against him?

Lizzie Dee Jones.

PEOPLE AND EVENTS.

The annual boat race between Oxford and Cambridge takes place March 24th.

A son of the late Pres. Finny of Oberlin has given $50,000 to the College to be kept till it reaches the sum of $80,000 and then to be expended in the erection of a memorial building to his father.

Forty two college graduates are employed on Boston newspapers, seventeen of whom are from Harvard.

Columbia college has graduated 9000 men. At least the *Cynic* says.

Negroes of the city are building a Reformation Manufactory for giving employment to idle boys and girls. This is advancement.

Louis W. Douglas, a son of the O.M.E. is doing a paying Real Estate business at the capital.

A woman's Jubilee to celebrate her devlopment in all directions during the past half century will be held in Washington the 25th of this month.

Mrs Harriet Beecher Stowe is in better health than she has been for several years.

The inauguration of the new President of Albert College, who with his new ideas his discontinued education, the young ladies of course being the ones discontinued, has been the occasion of much comment. The ladies in the College at the time were allowed to complete their course, which of course they did not do, and now the young men may jog along at their own rate with no rivalries from their friends.

The Centennial anniversary of Lord Byron's birth-day occurring a short time ago was but slightly recognized any where.

England's great Botanist, Thomas Irwin Boswell, died on the same day as Prof. Asa Gray— Jan. 30th.

Maurice Thompson has been spending the winter in Bay St Louis, where he has received more benefit than at other places.

The famous Lick telescope is mounted and scientific observatories will soon be made with it.

Louisa M. Alcott, the famous authoress, died in Boston, Mch. 6.

PERSONAL.

S. A. Coffin, '86 is now at Jefferson, Texas.

We hear that O. J. Bennett, who graduates at Oberlin this year, will study in one of the medical schools of this city next year.

We are glad to see that George Hudson has again put in his appearance.

L. P. Driver is teaching at Brier Ridge.

41/3E/12

D. P. Gilmer is at Bolivar, making money of course.

C. L. Davis is teaching at Uptonville.

Miss Ida Edmondson is going to school in Fayettville.

Mrs. W. H. Scott writes that she is as happy as she can be at her new home in Richmond, Texas.

J.J. Scott writes that he will certainly return to Fisk next year.

It was the printer who made the personal editor say in the Feb. HERALD that "T.P. Harris had one of the bones of the calcis fractured."

Messers. L.H. Tirdall and J.Levy Jr. were on the sick list last monuth.

N.J, Anderson has been somewhat "under the weather" but is now up.

Simon S. Medaris, a former student, who has been lately attending school at Knoxville, writes that he had to give up school on account of the recent epidemic there.

We welcome A. Whitfield, of Faunsdale, Ala., who recently entered school. Mr. Whitfield brings his wife with him.

Rev. Mr. Montgomery and wife of Minneapolis, Minn. stopped over at the University a day or two this month Mr. Montgomery gave a very interesting account of Mormonism.

T.B. Burris has entered the boarding department; we are glad to have you Thomas.

Joseph Wiley left on the 5th inst. for Eutau Landing, Miss. We hope that he will return next year having reaped an abundant harvest of dollars and cents.

Miss Lula Jones was out of school a few days on account of sickness.

Miss Mamie Stewart. '88, had a very mysterious scar on her face: there were many conjectures as to the cause of it, but the real cause was a slight burn from carbolic acid, she hopes it will disappear before June.

Mrs. Jenkins our matron has been a little unwell for several days, but is now about her duties again,

Mrs. Rose Firestore of Salem, Ohio, is a guest of Mrs. Pres. Cravath: she is on her way to Florida,

Miss Louise B. Harris left on the 1st inst. for Goodlettsville, where she will teach.

We regret that Miss Cappie Tate is now confined to her room because of illness: we wish her a speedy recovery.

Mrs. Eliza Levell accompanied by her little son, Frank, visitied, for a few days, her daughter Carrie. We were glad to see her.

The class parties begin as spring puts in its appearance: The Sophmores at the parlors of Prof. and Mrs. Wright, and the English A's at the parlors of Jubilee Hall, at the invitation of Miss Bowen their principal, spent Friday evening March 3rd in a social gathering.

Rev. Mr. Metcalf, Pastor of the High St. Cangregational church at Columbus, Ohio, spent a day at the University last month, visiting classes.

Miss Kizzie Jones, a member of the 2nd year Normal Class, was united in marriage to Mr. N. J. Stith, Monday, Mch. 12th. at the residence of the bride's parents. The ceremony was performed at 5 P. M. and at 7 P. M. the bride and groom started for Marion Ark. where they will reside, we send them many congratulations. Still they go!

Miss Patti J. Malone arrived safely at Athens Ala. but was unfortunately greeted by the mumps which is causing her much discomfort.

The new cooking class consists of Misses M. J. Murray, Ella Thompson Katie Smith, all of whom are much delighted with the art.

Miss J. M. Condit one of our teachers has been kept from her duties in the school-room for a few weeks, on account of illness: we are glad that she is now convalescent.

WEDDING IN TEXAS.

FEBRUARY 8th 1888.

AT the residence of Mr. Wm Watts, one of Longview's highly respected and aristocratic families, occurred the marriage of Miss Celia Phelps and Mr. Wm Scott M. D., both graduates of Fisk University. Long ere seven o,clock, the appointed hour, arrived, the little cottage was filled with loving friends and acqaintances, ex-Fiskites, some coming on the train and others on horseback

The bride was becomingly attired in a dark gray travelling suit, trimmed with plaid velvet.

The bridegroom with his usual comely dignity and reserve, wore a handsome suit of broadcloth and black kid gloves.

As they stood there among schoolmates, friends and acquaintances, and pledged themselves to ever remain true and faithful to each other we could but say as the poet:

"So stately *his* form and so lovely
her face;
That never a hall such a galliard
did grace."

After ceremony supper was served, then amid inumerable congratulations and good wishes the happy couple boarded the south bound train to Richmond, Texas, there future home, where the Dr has a large and paying practice.

We wish them God-speed and a long life.

E. H. H.

EXCHANGES.

The *Moderator* a monthly journal published at Lansing, Mich., is for keeping teachers and students up with the latest methods of instruction, a sparkling gem.

If many of our exchanges would devote more to general topics than to pursonals and locals so many readers of college journals would not feel like stopping after reading about a page and half, and the interest would be increased. Now most are filled with advertisments, personal and locals.

Butchell College has just completed a gymnasium that cost $15,000; Oberlin is in hopes of one to cost $50,000; and the University of Michigan is rapidly raising the required amount for their new gymnasium.

There is a girl in Michigan. six feet nine inches tall, and when her lover stands on his tip toes and pleads for a kiss, she stoops to conquer.

Ex.

The Feb. issue of the *High School Record* has an amusing article on blind boys playing ball.

The *Penn Chronicler* is certainly a paper that has the right name, as it always contains interesting articles.

Base Ball seems to be at fever heat with most colleges, as we see in most college papers something about "the nine" either under the head of personals, locals or even in the editorial department.

Most of our exchanges have something to say of Washington's Birthday.

MUSIC AT FISK.

AS we came in at the northwest door of Jubilee Hall, last Friday afternoon, we were struck with the unusual noise in the hall and in the Assembly room. We approached and inquired as to the cause of all this clamor and we were informed that the long hoped for piano had just been putinto the room. Certainly we excused the noise and with the other girls mingled our voices in the rejoicings. The piano comes from Gordon Bros. and a pretty little instrument. One by one have the young ladies welcomed it but March 7th we we welcomed it *en masse* at the Rehearsal of which the following is the programme:

"Danish Air, King," Ida Mallery
"Under the Pines," Emery, Carrie Carney.
"Rendo Mignon," Baumfelder,
Arvilla Bryant.
"Shepherd Boy," Wilson, Nettie Crump.
Sonata, Op. 47, No. 2, Reineke,
Mrs. E. Crawford.
Cradle Song, Barili, Bellina Bryan.
"Shepherd Boy's Song," Karl Merz,
Hermine Smith
Brook Song' Op. 107, Reinecke,
Lulu Erving.
"Consolation', S. W. W., Mendelssohn,
Miss Cheatham.
"At the Fountain" Op. 311, Spindler,
Flora Wright.
Nocturne No. 15, Chopin, Mary Bennett.
Etude from Op. 46, Heller, Willa Hadley.
"Sweet Violet," Spindler, Mary Coffin.

The Faculty has voted to have the Mozart Concert in April. We need not say that we are all delighted both because we like to hear the Society sing and because the concert is one step nearer the Pipe Organ although perhaps a very short step.

LOCALS.

The appoinments have been made for the oratorical contest.

The first meeting of the State Teachers Institute took place at Roger Williams University on Feb. 4th. The 2nd Session for 1888 was held at Central Tenn. College on Saturday March 3rd, the third session will be at Fisk, University on Saturday April 7th.

Valintine day!!!!

Croquet is becoming an epidemic.

The thermometer stood at 10° on 22nd .

On the 26th thermometer register 12°

During Feb. Prof. Chase gave a lecture on heat. B. T. P. assisted.

The gymnasium is to be located in the central lot opposite Livingstone, fronting Shaftsbury Ave.

The stakes have been set and work will begin soon.

Washington's Birth Day was observed as holiday by us this year for the first time. The day was warm as May

and every one spent the day outside.

Thirty or more of the young ladies visited the the Capitol, Mrs. Polk's place and Watkins Institute. At night a social was given in the parlor for the family.

The B. K. B. has recently purchased some valuable additions to its library. The following officers were elected at the last meeting:

President, W. E. B. DuBois,
Vice-president, L. B. Moore,
Rec. Secretary, G. D. Field,
Treasurer, H. H. Procter,
Critic, J. N. Calloway,
Marshall, J. T. Warren,
Cabinet, C. O. Hunter, B. F. Miller.

The speakers for Commencement are L. B. Moore, T. P. Harris, and B. F. Miller.

Miss Jones wrote from London that she was highly pleased with her trip across the Ocean and through England.

On Feb. 24 th Dr. Smith of Vanderbuilt University gave a most interesting lecture on University life in Ger many.

Mrs. Spence has been actively engaged in her endowment work during February and has had some success, Mrs. Bedford, of Nashvill, gave $100, to help on the enterprise.

The following volumes were added to the Univesity Library during February: *Junvenius Mundi* by Gladstone; The *Boy travellers in South America* by Knox; *Gray's Botanical Text Book*, Goodale; *Louis Agassiz, His Life and Correspondence*, E. C Agassiz; *School-days at Bugby*, and *Tom Brown at Oxford*, Thos. Hughes; *Poems and Dramas*, Robt- Browning; *Silent Partner* E. S. Phelps' and Jas. Cooper's works.

SHARPS AND FLATS.

What ho! ye sick and dyspeptic Alumni, give thine aid to the gymnasium that the rest of us be not like unto ye!

The Model School has a fine little house,
The Intermediate, a frame,
The gymnasium has no house as yet,
But she'll get there all the same!

An Elephant once caught a young Lion and placing him near him, watched him closely, feeding him only Bread and Milk. One day the Cub humbly asked if he might not have the privilege of feeding himself, arguing that he was large enough and had always beleived in Home Rule. "O no" answered the Elephant, "Your'e too Gladstonian. If I should allow you to feed yourself you would soon become a lion, and then what could I do with you"?

MORAL what's Ireland's gain is England's loss.

Weather possibilities–Weather probabilites.—*Ex.*

A hole in the ground and a smell of gas sold for $8,000 in Ohio the other day. The hole was found to be all right, but the smell of gas disappeared with the owner of the land.—*Ex.*

"Papa, what is a model?" inquired littie Johnny. —"A model is a small likeness of anything."— "And is a model man the small likeness of a man?"—"A great many of them are, Johnny," replied his father musingly," a great many of them are." *Ex.*

CITY ITEMS.

Fiski'es who are wise
when spending their tithes
Always patronize
Those who advertize
——in the HERALD.

Be sure to raed Ditson's new list of books for the "Musical '88."

deAnquinos is doing work in his usual artistic–Don't fail to have your pictures taken before leaving for home.

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For full explanation of the above mentioned stock, see the advertisement in *WEEKLY AMERICAN.*

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Independent-
Nov. 30, 1899

The
Suffrage Fight in Georgia.

A1 | 5E | 1

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4. Educational qualification for voters, with an "understanding clause" for poor whites. (Voters must read and write, *or* understand a clause in the Constitution read to them. The local election officers are the judges of the understanding. This is the Mississippi law.)

5. Educational qualification, with the "grandfather clause" (*i. e.*, admitting ignorant voters if they or their ancestors could have voted January 1st, 1867. This is the Louisiana law and is proposed in North Carolina.)

6. Educational qualification with compulsory "understanding" clause, and also a "grandfather clause." (This requires that a voter must *not only* read and write, but must also *understand* the clause read in the constitution. The local election officers are judges of this "understanding." Those who could vote in 1867, or whose ancestors could are excepted. This is the proposed Georgia law.)

The first two steps belong to reconstruction times, and altho they have not wholly disappeared they have fallen into distinct disfavor. The third step must, of course, fail where the whites are divided into parties. The last three are the latest attempts to combine in one bill provision for negro disfranchisement and honest elections among whites.

The negroes of Georgia have become aroused over the Hardwick bill, and have just presented to the Legislature a straightforward and logical memorial, couched in calm and respectful terms. In this document they readily acknowledge that the demand for a government based on the consent of the governed must, in civilized countries, be modified by the proviso that those taking part in government be intelligent. They say: "We join heartily with the best conscience of the State, of the nation and of the civilized world in demanding a pure, intelligent ballot, free from bribery, ignorance, fraud and intimidation. And to secure this, we concur in the movement toward imposing fair and impartial qualifications upon voters, whether based on education, or property, or both.

"Nor is this, gentlemen of the Legislature, a light sacrifice on our part. We negroes are to-day, in large degree, poor and ignorant through the crime of the nation. Through no fault of our own we are here brought into contact with a civilization higher than that of the average of our race. And we have not been sparing in our efforts to improve.

"Notwithstanding all this, so far as the Hardwick bill proposes to restrict the right of suffrage to all who, irrespective of race or color, are intelligent enough to vote properly, we heartily indorse it." They then proceed to point out the two clauses against which they "desire hereby to enter solemn and emphatic protest." They declare that the "grandfather clause" is wrong in theory, unfair in application and "in flat contradiction to those very principles of reform on which the whole proposal is based;" and they assert that the "understanding" clause "is a direct invitation to injustice and fraud." The petition proceeds then to say:

"When race discrimination in political affairs is grounded on real difference in civilization and intelligence, then it is defensible; for in such case it is not really discrimination against color, but against ignorance, poverty and vice. It is for this reason that the nation, the civilized world and the negro himself have acquiesced silently in much of the discrimination against this race. But when race proscription has no such excuse back of it, it stands confessed to the world as a plain wrong.

"If ignorance is dangerous to democratic institutions, then proscribe ignorance and not color.

"If bribery and vote-selling have too often made popular elections in Georgia a farce, then proscribe bribery and vote-selling, and not color.

"It is ignorance and crime that menace decent government in Georgia, and not the color of its citizens. Away, then, with ignorance and crime, but let the rule that regulates the restrictions apply to white and black alike."

It is further pointed out that 22 per cent. of the 518,706 illiterates in Georgia are white, and that negro illiteracy has decreased enormously in a generation, for which they gracefully thank the school system of Georgia. Finally they say:

"For these reasons, gentlemen of the Legislature, we plead for the defeat of the above mentioned features of the Hardwick bill, which would tend to increase that race antagonism between citizens of our State which all good men deeply deplore. We know that there are among our white fellow citizens broad-minded men who

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The Suffrage Fight in Georgia.

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois,

Professor of Economics and History in Atlanta University.

IT is not generally known that there has passed to a second reading in the lower house of the Georgia Legislature a bill radically amending the qualifications for voting in that State. This Hardwick bill goes a step beyond anything yet proposed in the South. Briefly summarized, the steps toward disfranchising the negro have been as follows:

1. Intimidation at the polls.

2. "Counting out" and other false returns of votes.

3. "White primary" system (*i. e.*, preliminary "party" voting under strict State law; to the Democratic primary all white men, even Republicans, are admitted; and no negroes, not even Democratic negroes. The regular election then merely registers formally the decision of the Democratic primary. This system is in vogue in Georgia.

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conditions are not peculiar to this little island, and also that they are not of our making, except as our best-intentioned charity may have aggravated the effect of the climate.

The question as to our part in working out the problem,—which is, after all, not of our making,—I put at every mile of the way; the question which the whole temperate zone is putting to the tropics. I asked it of every stolid face; of every idle man; of the boy who walked at my side begging for a centavo; of the father carrying his dead child upon his shoulder, in the glaring sun, to consecrated ground miles away; of the boy who, in primitive fashion, balanced the produce on one side of his panniers with rocks on the other, and of the Indian who guided me through the pathless woods and brought me sugar-cane to suck when I could get no food,—of all these I asked it. I did not need to ask the fallow fields and the bare hillsides; I knew their answer, and it was put into the mouth of the people. It is the answer of all the tropics, that the temperate zone has an obligation there. We certainly have an obligation in Porto Rico.

But there is a hopeful side to the situation in Porto Rico even now, if our theories will let us enjoy it. The schools are being opened all over the island, under competent supervision. Roads and bridges are being built. Franchises are being sought for redeeming swamp-lands, for water privileges, for building street railways and steam railroads across the island. Neglected plantations are being brought into cultivation again, and prosperity seems on the eve of entering the island. The taxes are being honestly collected, and progress is being made toward securing justice to all. These are rather abstract statements, but there are concrete facts back of them. There is no occasion to be jubilant or boastful or sanguine; but if our civilization means anything, it means that the agencies that we have established there will some day bring good to the island and its people.

The orange grows wild in Porto Rico, but it lacks that particular flavor which the cultivated palate demands. Since the American occupation, new-comers have set out orchards with the purpose of grafting slips from California or Florida trees upon native stock, that they may produce, not Porto Rican, but California and Florida oranges. The simile is easily carried into the field of politics.

It will be at least five years before the orange-trees will bear, and then perhaps not abundantly. And the simile will allow the further suggestion that one ought to be as patient with the processes of political growth as the orange-growers are with their slow-fruiting trees. Barring hurricanes, they are as likely to get their California and Florida oranges in time, and the island of Porto Rico will get its civilized fruitage, if only the political storms are not too violent. One may not reason from orange-trees to human beings; but the processes of Nature in the transformation of a wild tree do certainly give most hopeful analogy.

THE AMERICAN NEGRO AT PARIS.

BY W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS

ON the banks of the Seine, opposite the Rue des Nations, stands a large, plain white building, where the promoters of the Paris Exposition have housed the world's ideas of sociology. As a matter of fact, any one who takes his sociology from theoretical treatises would be rather disappointed at the exhibit; for there is little here of the "science of society." On the other hand, those who have followed historically the development, out of the old Political Economy, of a miscellaneous body of knowing chiefly connected with the larger aspects of human benevolence, will here find much of interest: the building and mutual-aid societies of France; the working-man's circles of Belgium; the city governments of Sweden; the Red Cross Society; the state insurance of Germany,—are all here strikingly exhibited by charts, statistics, models, and photographs.

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS.

The United States section of this building is small, and not, at first glance, particularly striking. There are, in the center, well-made tenement-house models; in one corner a small exhibit of the American Library Association, and elsewhere sets of interesting maps and photographs showing the work

of factory inspectors and typical industrial plants. All these exhibits, are, unfortunately, rather fragmentary, and do scant justice to the wonderful social and economic development of America.

In the right-hand corner, however, as one enters, is an exhibit which, more than most others in the building, is sociological in the larger sense of the term—that is, is an attempt to give, in as systematic and compact a form as possible, the history and present condition of a large group of human beings. This is the exhibit of American Negroes, planned and executed by Negroes, and collected and installed under the direction of a Negro special agent, Mr. Thomas J. Calloway.

In this exhibit there are, of course, the usual paraphernalia for catching the eye—photographs, models, industrial work, and pictures. But it does not stop here; beneath all this is a carefully thought-out plan, according to which the exhibitors have tried to show:

(a) The history of the American Negro.
(b) His present condition.
(c) His education.
(d) His literature.

EXHIBIT OF AMERICAN NEGROES AT THE PARIS EXPOSITION.

The history of the Negro is illustrated by charts and photographs; there is, for instance, a series of striking models of the progress of the colored people, beginning with the homeless freedman and ending with the modern brick schoolhouse and its teachers. There are charts of the increase of Negro population, the routes of the African slave-trade, the progress of emancipation, and the decreasing illiteracy. There are pictures of the old cabins, and, in three great manuscript volumes, the complete black code of Georgia, from colonial times to the end of the nineteenth century. Not the least interesting contribution to history is the case given to Negro medal-of-honor men in the army and navy—from the man who "seized the colors after two color-bearers had been shot down and bore them nobly through the fight" to the black men in the Spanish War who "voluntarily went ashore in the face of the enemy and aided in the rescue of their wounded comrades." It was a Massachusetts lawyer who replied to the Patent-Office inquiry, "I never knew a negro to invent anything but lies;" and yet here is a record of 350 patents granted to black men since 1834.

The bulk of the exhibit, is naturally, an attempt to picture present conditions. Thirty-two charts, 500 photographs, and numerous maps and plans form the basis of this exhibit. The charts are in two sets, one illustrating conditions in the entire United States and the other conditions in the typical State of Georgia. At a glance one can see the successive steps by which the 220,000 negroes of 1750 had increased to

7,500,000 in 1890; their distribution throughout the different States; a comparison of the size of the Negro population with European countries bringing out the striking fact that there are nearly half as many Negroes in the United States as Spaniards in Spain. The striking movement by which the 4⅕ per cent. of Negroes living in the cities in 1860 has increased to 12 per cent. in 1890 is shown, as is also the fact that recognized mulattoes have increased 50 per cent. in 30 years, even in the defective census returns. Twenty per cent. of the Negroes are shown to be home-owners, 60 per cent. of their children are in school, and their illiteracy is less than that of Russia, and only equal to that of Hungary.

It was a good idea to supplement these very general figures with a minute social study in a typical Southern State. It would hardly be suggested, in the light of recent history, that conditions in the State of Georgia are such as to give a rose-colored picture of the Negro; and yet Georgia, having the largest Negro population, is an excellent field of study. Here again we have statistics: the increase of the black population in a century from 30,000 to 860,000, the huddling in the Black Belt for self-protection since the war, and a comparison of the age distribution with France showing the wonderful reproductive powers of the blacks. The school enrollment has increased from 10,000 in 1870 to 180,000 in 1897, and the Negroes are distributed among the occupations as follows:

In agriculture, 62 per cent.; in domestic and personal service, 28 per cent.; in manufacturing and mechanical industries, 5 per cent.; in trade and transportation, 4½ per cent.; in the professions, ½ per cent.

They own 1,000,000 acres of land and pay taxes on $12,000,000 worth of property—not large, but telling figures; and the charts indicate, from year to year, the struggle they have had to accumulate and hold this property. There are several volumes of photographs of typical Negro faces, which hardly square with conventional American ideas. Several maps show the peculiar distribution of the white and black inhabitants in various towns and counties.

The education of the Negro is illustrated in the work of five great institutions—Fisk, Atlanta, and Howard Universities, and Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes. The exhibit from Fisk illustrates, by photographs and examination papers, the work of secondary and higher education. Atlanta University shows her work in social study and the work of her college and normal graduates; Howard University shows the work of her professional schools, especially in medicine, theology, and law. From Hampton there is an especially excellent series of photographs illustrating the Hampton idea of "teaching by doing," and from Tuskegee there are numerous specimens of work from the manual-training and technical departments.

Perhaps the most unique and striking exhibit is that of American Negro literature. The development of Negro thought—the view of themselves which these millions of freedmen have taken—is of intense psychological and practical interest. There are many who have scarcely heard of a Negro book, much less read one; still here is a bibliography made by the Library of Congress containing 1,400 titles of works written by Negroes; 200 of these books are exhibited on the shelves. The Negroes have 150 periodicals, mostly weekly papers, many of which are exhibited here.

We have thus, it may be seen, an honest, straightforward exhibit of a small nation of people, picturing their life and development without apology or gloss, and above all made by themselves. In a way this marks an era in the history of the Negroes of America. It is no new thing for a group of people to accomplish much under the help and guidance of a stronger group; indeed, the whole Palace of Social Economy at the Paris Exposition shows how vast a system of help and guidance of this order is being carried on to-day throughout the world. When, however, the inevitable question arises, What are these guided groups doing for themselves? there is in the whole building no more encouraging answer than that given by the American negroes, who are here shown to be studying, examining, and thinking of their own progress and prospects.*

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*Mr. Thomas J. Calloway, the special agent of the Negro exhibit, gives the following list of awards to the exhibit, together with a note of explanation, which we print below:

Grand Prix—American Negro Exhibit (on the collection as a whole): Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Hampton, Va. *Gold Medals*—Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.; Howard University, Washington, D. C.; T. J. Calloway, Special Agent Negro Exhibit (as compiler); W. E. B. Du Bois, Collaborator as Compiler of Georgia Negro Exhibit. *Silver Medals*—Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.; Agricultural and Mechanical College, Greensboro', N. C.; Berea College, Berea, Ky.; Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.; Booker T. Washington, Monograph on Education of Negro. *Bronze Medals*—Roger Williams University, Nashville, Tenn.; Central Tennessee College, Nashville, Tenn.; Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.; Pine Bluff Normal and Industrial School, Pine Bluff, Ark. *Honorable Mention*—Haines Normal and Industrial Institute, Augusta, Ga.; Claflin University, Orangeburg, S. C.

While these awards represent the appreciation of the several juries, taken together there is not the even balancing that might be wished. Some of the principal features were not installed till after the juries were disbanded. For example, the books, the models, patents, etc., fall under this lists. The awards, therefore, except in certain cases like Hampton, Tuskegee, Atlanta, etc., do not necessarily represent the strongest features of the exhibit.

THE TRAINING OF NEGROES FOR SOCIAL POWER

Outlook, October 17, 1903

presented for popular vote. The returns showed an overwhelming majority in favor not only of direct nomination, but also of the municipal ownership of lighting plants and street railways. It demonstrated the strength of the referendum as a political weapon, "both in the profound impression created upon the community, and especially on the political leaders." But if folly and bad counsel form a factor in the town meeting, are they not equally to be feared in the use of the referendum, where they are not displayed in the open nor so often seen side by side? The hope and success of town meeting, of referendum, of every form our self-government takes, then, depends, first of all, not upon making the public servants sensitive to the public will—it depends upon the people themselves.

42/2A/75

The Training of Negroes for Social Power

By W. E. B. Du Bois

Professor of Economics and History in Atlanta University.

THE responsibility for their own social regeneration ought to be placed largely upon the shoulders of the negro people. But such responsibility must carry with it a grant of power; responsibility without power is a mockery and a farce. If, therefore, the American people are sincerely anxious that the negro shall put forth his best efforts to help himself, they must see to it that he is not deprived of the freedom and power to strive. The responsibility for dispelling their own ignorance implies that the power to overcome ignorance is to be placed in black men's hands; the lessening of poverty calls for the power of effective work; and the responsibility for lessening crime calls for control over social forces which produce crime.

Such social power means, assuredly, the growth of initiative among negroes, the spread of independent thought, the expanding consciousness of manhood; and these things to-day are looked upon by many with apprehension and distrust, and there is systematic and determined effort to avoid this inevitable corollary of the fixing of social responsibility. Men openly declare their design to train these millions as a subject caste, as men to be thought for, but not to think; to be led, but not to lead themselves.

Those who advocate these things forget that such a solution flings them squarely on the other horn of the dilemma: such a subject child-race could never be held accountable for its own misdeeds and shortcomings; its ignorance would be part of the Nation's design, its poverty would arise partly from the direct oppression of the strong and partly from thriftlessness which such oppression breeds; and, above all, its crime would be the legitimate child of that lack of self-respect which caste systems engender. Such a solution of the negro problem is not one which the saner sense of the Nation for a moment contemplates; it is utterly foreign to American institutions, and is unthinkable as a future for any self-respecting race of men. The sound afterthought of the American people must come to realize that the responsibility for dispelling ignorance and poverty and uprooting crime among negroes cannot be put upon their own shoulders unless they are given such independent leadership in intelligence, skill, and morality as will inevitably lead to an independent manhood which cannot and will not rest in bonds.

Let me illustrate my meaning particularly in the matter of educating negro youth.

The negro problem, it has often been said, is largely a problem of ignorance—not simply of illiteracy, but a deeper ignorance of the world and its ways, of the thought and experience of men; an ignorance of self and the possibilities of human souls. This can be gotten rid of only by training; and primarily such training must take the form of that sort of social leadership which we call education. To apply such leadership to themselves, and to profit by it, means

that negroes would have among themselves men of careful training and broad culture, as teachers and teachers of teachers. There are always periods of educational evolution when it is deemed quite proper for pupils in the fourth reader to teach those in the third. But such a method, wasteful and ineffective at all times, is peculiarly dangerous when ignorance is widespread and when there are few homes and public institutions to supplement the work of the school. It is, therefore, of crying necessity among negroes that the heads of their educational system—the teachers in the normal schools, the heads of high schools, the principals of public systems, should be unusually well trained men; men trained not simply in common-school branches, not simply in the technique of school management and normal methods, but trained beyond this, broadly and carefully, into the meaning of the age whose civilization it is their peculiar duty to interpret to the youth of a new race, to the minds of untrained people. Such educational leaders should be prepared by long and rigorous courses of study similar to those which the world over have been designed to strengthen the intellectual powers, fortify character, and facilitate the transmission from age to age of the stores of the world's knowledge.

Not all men—indeed, not the majority of men, only the exceptional few among American negroes or among any other people—are adapted to this higher training, as, indeed, only the exceptional few are adapted to higher training in any line; but the significance of such men is not to be measured by their numbers, but rather by the numbers of their pupils and followers who are destined to see the world through their eyes, hear it through their trained ears, and speak to it through the music of their words.

Such men, teachers of teachers and leaders of the untaught, Atlanta University and similar colleges seek to train. We seek to do our work thoroughly and carefully. We have no predilections or prejudices as to particular studies or methods, but we do cling to those time-honored sorts of discipline which the experience of the world has long since proven to be of especial value. We sift as carefully as possible the student material which offers itself, and we try by every conscientious method to give to students who have character and ability such years of discipline as shall make them stronger, keener, and better for their peculiar mission. The history of civilization seems to prove that no group or nation which seeks advancement and true development can despise or neglect the power of well-trained minds; and this power of intellectual leadership must be given to the talented tenth among American negroes before this race can seriously be asked to assume the responsibility of dispelling its own ignorance. Upon the foundation-stone of a few well equipped negro colleges of high and honest standards can be built a proper system of free common schools in the South for the masses of the negro people; any attempt to found a system of public schools on anything less than this—on narrow ideals, limited or merely technical training—is to call blind leaders for the blind.

The very first step toward the settlement of the negro problem is the spread of intelligence. The first step toward wider intelligence is a free public-school system; and the first and most important step toward a public-school system is the equipment and adequate support of a sufficient number of negro colleges. These are first steps, and they involve great movements: first, the best of the existent colleges must not be abandoned to slow atrophy and death, as the tendency is to-day; secondly, systematic attempt must be made to organize secondary education. Below the colleges and connected with them must come the normal and high schools, judiciously distributed and carefully manned. In no essential particular should this system of common and secondary schools differ from educational systems the world over. Their chief function is the quickening and training of human intelligence; they can do much in the teaching of morals and manners incidentally, but they cannot and ought not to replace the home as the chief moral teacher; they can teach valuable lessons as to the meaning of

work in the world, but they cannot replace technical schools and apprenticeship in actual life, which are the real schools of work. Manual training can and ought to be used in these schools, but as a means and not as an end—to quicken intelligence and self-knowledge and not to teach carpentry; just as arithmetic is used to train minds and not skilled accountants.

Whence, now, is the money coming for this educational system? For the common schools the support should come from local communities, the State governments, and the United States Government; for secondary education, support should come from local and State governments and private philanthropy; for the colleges, from private philanthropy and the United States Government. I make no apology for bringing the United States Government in thus conspicuously. The General Government must give aid to Southern education if illiteracy and ignorance are to cease threatening the very foundations of civilization within any reasonable time. Aid to common-school education could be appropriated to the different States on the basis of illiteracy. The fund could be administered by State officials, and the results and needs reported upon by United States educational inspectors under the Bureau of Education. The States could easily distribute the funds so as to encourage local taxation and enterprise and not result in pauperizing the communities. As to higher training, it must be remembered that the cost of a single battle-ship like the Massachusetts would endow all the distinctively college work necessary for negroes during the next half-century; and it is without doubt true that the unpaid balance from bounties withheld from negroes in the Civil War would, with interest, easily supply this sum.

But spread of intelligence alone will not solve the negro problem. If this problem is largely a question of ignorance, it is also scarcely less a problem of poverty. If negroes are to assume the responsibility of raising the standards of living among themselves, the power of intelligent work and leadership toward proper industrial ideals must be placed in their hands. Economic efficiency depends on intelligence, skill, and thrift. The public-school system is designed to furnish the necessary intelligence for the ordinary worker, the secondary school for the more gifted workers, and the college for the exceptional few. Technical knowledge and manual dexterity in learning branches of the world's work are taught by industrial and trade schools, and such schools are of prime importance in the training of colored children. Trade-teaching cannot be effectively combined with the work of the common schools because the primary curriculum is already too crowded, and thorough common-school training should precede trade-teaching. It is, however, quite possible to combine some of the work of the secondary schools with purely technical training, the necessary limitations being matters of time and cost: the question whether the boy can afford to stay in school long enough to add parts of a high-school course to the trade course, and particularly the question whether the school can afford or ought to afford to give trade-training to high-school students who do not intend to become artisans. A system of trade-schools, therefore, supported by State and private aid, should be added to the secondary school system.

An industrial school, however, does not merely teach technique. It is also a school—a center of moral influence and of mental discipline. As such it has peculiar problems in securing the proper teaching force. It demands broadly trained men: the teacher of carpentry must be more than a carpenter, and the teacher of the domestic arts more than a cook; for such teachers must instruct, not simply in manual dexterity, but in mental quickness and moral habits. In other words, they must be teachers as well as artisans. It thus happens that college-bred men and men from other higher schools have always been in demand in technical schools, and it has been the high privilege of Atlanta University to furnish during the thirty-six years of its existence a part of the teaching force of nearly every negro industrial school in the United States, and to-day our grad-

uates are teaching in more than twenty such institutions. The same might be said of Fisk University and other higher schools. If the college graduates were to-day withdrawn from the teaching force of the chief negro industrial schools, nearly every one of them would have to close its doors. These facts are forgotten by such advocates of industrial training as oppose the higher schools. Strong as the argument for industrial schools is—and its strength is undeniable—its cogency simply increases the urgency of the plea for higher training-schools and colleges to furnish broadly educated teachers.

But intelligence and skill alone will not solve the Southern problem of poverty. With these must go that combination of homely habits and virtues which we may loosely call thrift. Something of thrift may be taught in school, more must be taught at home; but both these agencies are helpless when organized economic society denies to workers the just rewards of thrift and efficiency. And this has been true of black laborers in the South from the time of slavery down through the scandal of the Freedmen's Bank to the peonage and crop-lien system of to-day. If the Southern negro is shiftless, it is primarily because over large areas a shiftless negro can get on in the world about as well as an industrious black man. This is not universally true in the South, but it is true to so large an extent as to discourage striving in precisely that class of negroes who most need encouragement. What is the remedy? Intelligence—not simply the ability to read and write or to sew—but the intelligence of a society permeated by that larger vision of life and broader tolerance which are fostered by the college and university. Not that all men must be college-bred, but that some men, black and white, must be, to leaven the ideals of the lump. Can any serious student of the economic South doubt that this to-day is her crying need?

Ignorance and poverty are the vastest of the negro problems. But to these later years have added a third—the problem of negro crime. That a great problem of social morality must have become eventually the central problem of emancipation is as clear as day to any student of history. In its grosser form as a problem of serious crime it is already upon us. Of course it is false and silly to represent that white women in the South are in daily danger of black assaulters. On the contrary, white womanhood in the South is absolutely safe in the hands of ninety-five per cent. of the black men—ten times safer than black womanhood is in the hands of white men. Nevertheless, there is a large and dangerous class of negro criminals, paupers, and outcasts. The existence and growth of such a class, far from causing surprise, should be recognized as the natural result of that social disease called the negro problem; nearly every untoward circumstance known to human experience has united to increase negro crime: the slavery of the past, the sudden emancipation, the narrowing of economic opportunity, the lawless environment of wide regions, the stifling of natural ambition, the curtailment of political privilege, the disregard of the sanctity of black men's homes, and, above all, a system of treatment for criminals calculated to breed crime far faster than all other available agencies could repress it. Such a combination of circumstances is as sure to increase the numbers of the vicious and outcast as the rain is to wet the earth. The phenomenon calls for no delicately drawn theories of race differences; it is a plain case of cause and effect.

But, plain as the causes may be, the results are just as deplorable, and repeatedly to-day the criticism is made that negroes do not recognize sufficiently their responsibility in this matter. Such critics forget how little power to-day negroes have over their own lower classes. Before the black murderer who strikes his victim to-day, the average black man stands far more helpless than the average white, and, too, suffers ten times more from the effects of the deed. The white man has political power, accumulated wealth, and knowledge of social forces; the black man is practically disfranchised, poor, and unable to discriminate between the criminal and the martyr. The negro needs the

defense of the ballot, the conserving power of property, and, above all, the ability to cope intelligently with such vast questions of social regeneration and moral reform as confront him. If social reform among negroes be without organization or trained leadership from within, if the administration of law is always for the avenging of the white victim and seldom for the reformation of the black criminal, if ignorant black men misunderstand the functions of government because they have had no decent instruction, and intelligent black men are denied a voice in government because they are black—under such circumstances to hold negroes responsible for the suppression of crime among themselves is the cruelest of mockeries.

On the other hand, a sincere desire among the American people to help the negroes undertake their own social regeneration means, first, that the negro be given the ballot on the same terms as other men, to protect him against injustice and to safeguard his interests in the administration of law; secondly, that through education and social organization he be trained to work, and save, and earn a decent living. But these are not all: wealth is not the only thing worth accumulating; experience and knowledge can be accumulated and handed down, and no people can be truly rich without them. Can the negro do without these? Can this training in work and thrift be truly effective without the guidance of trained intelligence and deep knowledge—without that same efficiency which has enabled modern peoples to grapple so successfully with the problems of the Submerged Tenth? There must surely be among negro leaders the philanthropic impulse, the uprightness of character and strength of purpose, but there must be more than these; philanthropy and purpose among blacks as well as among whites must be guided and curbed by knowledge and mental discipline—knowledge of the forces of civilization that make for survival, ability to organize and guide those forces, and realization of the true meaning of those broader ideals of human betterment which may in time bring heaven and earth a little nearer. This is social power—it is gotten in many ways by experience, by social contact, by what we loosely call the chances of life. But the systematic method of acquiring and imparting it is by the training of youth to thought, power, and knowledge in the school and college. And that group of people whose mental grasp is by heredity weakest, and whose knowledge of the past is for historic reasons most imperfect, that group is the very one which needs above all, for the talented of its youth, this severe and careful course of training; especially if they are expected to take immediate part in modern competitive life, if they are to hasten the slower courses of human development, and if the responsibility for this is to be in their own hands.

Three things American slavery gave the negro—the habit of work, the English language, and the Christian religion; but one priceless thing it debauched, destroyed, and took from him, and that was the organized home. For the sake of intelligence and thrift, for the sake of work and morality, this home-life must be restored and regenerated with newer ideals. How? The normal method would be by actual contact with a higher home-life among his neighbors, but this method the social separation of white and black precludes. A proposed method is by schools of domestic arts, but, valuable as these are, they are but subsidiary aids to the establishment of homes; for real homes are primarily centers of ideals and teaching and only incidentally centers of cooking. The restoration and raising of home ideals must, then, come from social life among negroes themselves; and does that social life need no leadership? It needs the best possible leadership of pure hearts and trained heads, the highest leadership of carefully trained men.

Such are the arguments for the negro college, and such is the work that Atlanta University and a few similar institutions seek to do. We believe that a rationally arranged college course of study for men and women able to pursue it is the best and only method of putting into the world negroes with ability to use the social forces of their race so as to stamp

out crime, strengthen the home, eliminate degenerates, and inspire and encourage the higher tendencies of the race not only in thought and aspiration but in every-day toil. And we believe this, not simply because we have argued that such training ought to have these effects, or merely because we hope for such results in some dim future, but because already for years we have seen in the work of our graduates precisely such results as I have mentioned: successful teachers of teachers, intelligent and upright ministers, skilled physicians, principals of industrial schools, business men, and, above all, makers of model homes and leaders of social groups, out from which radiate subtle but tangible forces of uplift and inspiration. The proof of this lies scattered in every State of the South, and, above all, in the half-unwilling testimony of men disposed to decry our work.

Between the negro college and industrial school there are the strongest grounds for co-operation and unity. It is not a matter of mere emphasis, for we would be glad to see ten industrial schools to every college. It is not a fact that there are to-day too few negro colleges, but rather that there are too many institutions attempting to do college work. But the danger lies in the fact that the best of the negro colleges are poorly equipped and are to-day losing support and countenance, and that, unless the Nation awakens to its duty, ten years will see the annihilation of higher negro training in the South. We need a few strong, well-equipped negro colleges, and we need them now, not to-morrow; unless we can have them and have them decently supported, negro education in the South, both common-school and industrial, is doomed to failure, and the forces of social regeneration will be fatally weakened, for the college to-day among negroes is, just as truly as it was yesterday among whites, the beginning and not the end of human training, the foundation and not the capstone of popular education.

Strange, is it not, my brothers, how often in America those great watchwords of human energy—"Be strong!" "Know thyself!" "Hitch your wagon to a star!"—how often these die away into dim whispers when we face these seething millions of black men? And yet do they not belong to them? Are they not their heritage as well as yours? Can they bear burdens without strength, know without learning, and aspire without ideals? Are you afraid to let them try? Fear rather, in this our common fatherland, lest we live to lose those great watchwords of Liberty and Opportunity which yonder in the eternal hills their fathers fought with your fathers to preserve.

Fresh Air Neighbors

By Helen Lockwood Coffin

MIKE MALONEY was the only boy in the party that Abraham Godolski really cared anything about. The other two dozen or so were from Abraham's own neighborhood, and he knew them well, while Mike was an undiscovered country; the others had never been in a Fresh Air Camp before, and they were foolishly enthusiastic over the grass and the cows and the new freedom, while Abraham and Mike, although this was their first taste of the country too, knew enough of the world to pretend that they always spent their summers in this manner. In the last analysis, that was Abraham's chief reason for liking Mike—because he knew how to pretend things.

So the first morning after they struck the camp the two boys gravitated toward each other.

"You come along with me," suggested Mike. "All this here's too slow trottin' fer us—we're outer our class."

"It's fierce how slow it is," agreed Abraham, and so the two went out the gates of the farm and started down the road on a tour of investigation. It was a wide country road, with banks of sweet clover along the sides, and tall

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DEVOTED TO THE MORAL, INTELLECTUAL AND INDUSTRIAL TRAINING OF THE NEGRO.

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TRAINING OF THE NEGRO FOR SOCIAL POWER.

BY W. E. B. DU BOIS.

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Such social power means, assuredly, the growth of initiative among Negroes, the spread of independent thought, the expanding consciousness of manhood; and these things today are looked upon by many with apprehension and distrust, and there is systematic and determined effort to avoid this inevitable corollary of the fixing of social responsibility. Men openly declare their design to train these millions as a subject caste, as men to be thought for, but not to think; to be led, but not to lead themselves.

Those who advocate these things forget that such solutions flings them squarely on the other horn of the dilemma: such a subject child-race could never be held accountable for its own misdeeds and shortcomings; its ignorance would be part of the Nation's design, its poverty would arise partly from the direct oppression of the strong and partly from thriftlessness which oppression breeds; and, above all, its crime would be the ligitimate child of that lack of self-respect which caste systems engender. Such a solution of the Negro problem is not one which the saner sense of the Nation for a moment contemplates; it is utterly foreign to American Institutions, and is unthinkable as a future for any self-repecting race of men. The sound afterthought of the American must come to realize that the responsibility for dispelling ignorance and poverty and uprooting crime among Negroes can not be put upon their own shoulders unless they are given such independent leadership in intelligence, skill, and morality as will inevitably lead to an independent manhood which can not and will not rest in bonds.

Let me illustrate my meaning particularly in the matter of educating Negro youth.

The Negro problem, it has often been said, is largely a problem of ignorance — not simply of illiteracy, but a deeper ignorance of the world and its ways, of the thought and experience of men; an ignorance of self and the possibilities of human souls. This can be gotten rid of only by training; and primarily such training must take the form of a sort of social leadership which we call education. To apply such leadership to themselves, and to profit by it, means that Negroes would have among themselves men of careful training and broad culture, as teachers and as teachers of teachers.

There are always periods of educational evolution when it is deemed quite proper for pupils in the fourth reader to teach those in the third. But such a method, wasteful and ineffective always, is peculiarly dangerous when ignorance is widespread and when there are few homes and public institutions to supplement the work of the school. It is therefore of crying necessity among Negroes that the heads of their educational system—the teachers in the normal schools, the heads of high schools, the principals of public systems, should be unusually well trained men; men trained not simply in common-school branches, not simply in the technique of school management and normal methods, but trained beyond this, broadly and carefully, into the meaning of the age whose civilization it is their peculiar duty to interpret to the youth of a new race, to the minds of untrained people. Such educational leaders should be prepared by long and rigorous courses of study similar to those which the world over have been designed to strengthen the intellectual powers, fortify character, and facilitate the transmission from age to age of the stores of the world's knowledge.

Not all men—indeed, not the majority of men, only the exceptional few among American Negroes or among any other people—are adapted to this higher training, as, indeed, only the exceptional few are adapted to higher training in any line; but the significance of such men is not to be measured by their numbers, but rather by the numbers of their pupils and followers who are destined to see the world through their eyes, hear it through

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Such men, teachers of teachers and leaders of the untaught, Atlanta University and similar colleges seek to train. We seek to do our work thoroughly and carefully. We have no predilections or prejudices as to particular studies or methods, but we do cling to those time-honored sorts of discipline which the experience of the world has long since proven to be of especial value. We sift as carefully as possible the student material which offers itself, and we try by every conscientious method to give to students who have character and ability such years of discipline as shall make them stronger, keener, and better for their peculiar mission. The history of civilization seems to prove that no group or nation which seeks advancement and true development can despise or neglect the power of well-trained minds; and this power of intellectual leadership must be given to the talented tenth among American Negroes before this race can seriously be asked to assume the responsibility of dispelling its own ignorance. Upon the foundation-stone of a few well equipped Negro colleges of high and honest standards can be built a proper system of free common schools in the South for the masses of the Negro people; any attempt to found a system of public schools on anything less than this, on narrow ideals limited or merely technical training, is to call blind leaders for the blind.

The very first step toward the settlement of the Negro problem is the spread of intelligence. The first step toward wider intelligence is a free public-school system; and the first and most important step toward a public-school system is the equipment and adequate support of a sufficient number of Negro colleges. These are first steps, and they involve great movements: first, the best of the existent colleges must not be abandoned to slow atrophy and death, as the tendency is to-day; secondly, systematic attempt must be made to organize secondary education. Below the colleges and connected with them must come the normal and high schools, judiciously distributed and carefully manned. In no essential particular should this system of common and secondary schools differ from educational system the world over. Their chief function is the quickening and training of human intelligence; they can do much in the teaching of morals and manners incidentally, but they cannot and ought not to replace the home as the chief moral teacher; they can teach valuable lessons as to the meaning of work in the world, but they cannot replace technical schools and apprenticeship in actual life, which are the real schools of work. Manual training can and ought to be used in these schools, but as a means and not as an end—to quicken intelligence and self-knowledge and not to teach carpentry; just as arithmetic is used to train minds and not skilled accountants.

Whence, now, is the money coming for this educational system? For the common schools the support should come from local communities, the State Governments, and the United States Government; for secondary education, support should come from local and State Governments and private philanthropy; for the colleges, from private philanthropy and the United States Government.

I make no apology for bringing the United States Government in thus conspicuously. The General Government must give aid to Southern education if illiteracy and ignorance are to cease threatening the very foundation of civilization within any reasonable time. Aid to common school education could be appropriated to the different States on the basis of illiteracy. The fund could be administered by State officials, and the results and needs reported upon by United States educational inspectors under the Bureau of Education. The States could easily distribute the funds so as to encourage local taxation and enterprise and not result in pauperizing the communities. As to higher training, it must be remembered that the cost of a single battle-ship like the Massachusetts would endow all the distinctively college work necessary for Negroes during the next half-century; and it is without doubt true that the unpaid balance from bounties withheld from Negroes in the Civil War would, with interest, easily supply this sum.

But spread of intelligence alone will not solve the Negro problem. If this problem is largely a question of ignorance, it is also scarcely less a problem of poverty. If Negroes are to assume the responsibility of raising the standards of living among themselves, the power of intelligent work and leadership toward proper industrial ideals must be placed in their hands. Economic efficiency depends on intelligence, skill, and thrift. The public-school system is desired to furnish the necessary intelligence for the ordinary worker, the secondary school for the more gifted workers, and the college for the exceptional few. Technical knowledge and manual dexterity in learning branches of the world's work are taught by industrial and trade schools, and such schools are of prime importance in the training of colored children. Trade-teaching cannot be effectively combined with the work of the common schools because the primary curriculum is already too crowded, and thorough common-school training should precede trade-teaching. It is, however, quite possible to combine some of the work of secondary schools with p u r e l y technical training, the necessary limitations being matters of time and cost: the question whether the boy can afford to stay in school long enough to add parts of a high-school course to the trade course, and particularly the question whether the school can afford or ought to afford to give trade-training to high-school students who do not intend to become artisans. A system of trade-schools therefore, supported by State and private aid, should be added to the secondary school system.

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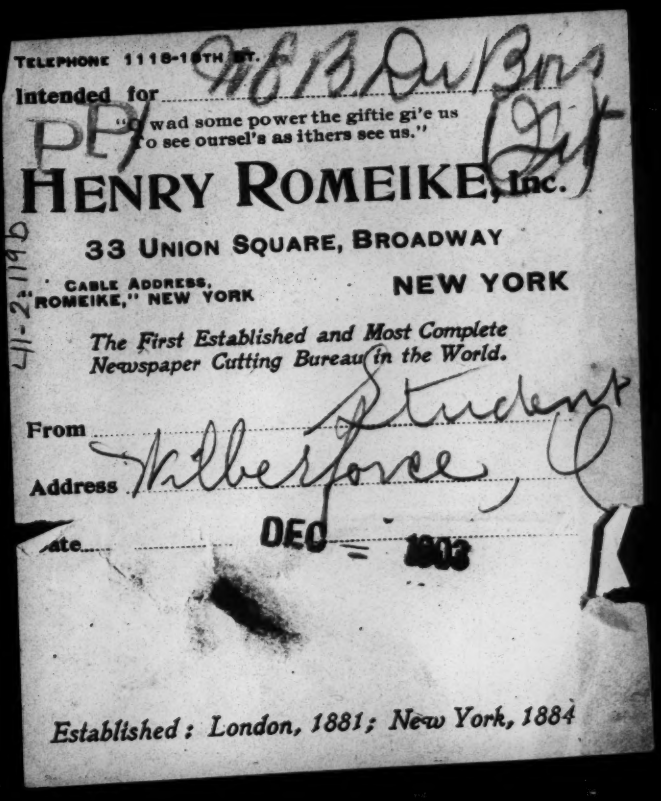
From the Outlook.

41-2-1196



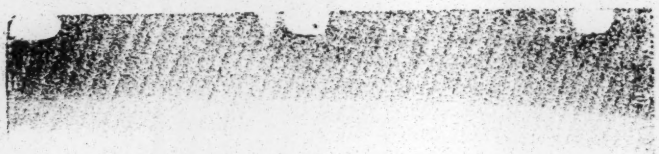
WHAT INTELLECTUAL TRAINING IS DOING FOR THE AMERICAN NEGRO*

* This article is based largely on *Atlanta University Publications*, No. 6 ("The Negro Common School"), to which publication those wishing further information are referred.

BY W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS, PH.D., ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

How easily one generation forgets the problems of its fathers! We call it still *the* negro problem, and yet it has changed its form in every decade. Our fathers asked, *Can* the negro be educated? We are asking, *How* shall the negro be educated? The very asking of this latter question shows that the former has been answered. We still differ as to the objects and extent of the training that ought to be given to the negroes, but no sane man to-day questions of their ability to be educated. Indeed, how can it be questioned? Compare the statistics of illiteracy. They are crude measurements of knowledge, and yet they have their value. In 1870, just after emancipation, four-fifths of the negroes ten years old and over could not read and write. Ten years later this was reduced to seven-tenths, in 1890 to 57 per cent., and in 1900 to 44.5 per cent. If we had not been so busy discussing Mr. Roosevelt's dinner list in recent years, we would have hailed the educational returns of the twelfth census with a chorus of generous approval for colored people, for to-day, for the first time in history, the majority of American negroes can read and write. The exact figures particularly for the South are of great interest:

STATES	*All persons ten years old and over*			
	1870	1880	1890	1900
District of Columbia	70.5	48.4	35.0	24.2
Missouri	72.7	53.9	41.7	28.0
West Virginia	74.4	55.0	44.4	32.3
Florida	84.1	70.7	50.6	38.5
Maryland	69.5	59.6	50.1	35.2
Delaware	71.3	57.5	49.5	38.1
Arkansas	81.2	75.0	53.5	43.0
Texas	88.7	75.4	52.5	38.2
Tennessee	82.4	71.7	54.2	41.6
Kentucky	83.8	70.4	55.9	40.1
Virginia	88.9	73.2	52.7	44.6
North Carolina	84.8	77.4	60.1	47.6
Mississippi	87.0	75.2	60.9	49.1
South Carolina	81.1	78.5	64.1	52.8
Georgia	92.1	81.6	67.3	52.3
Alabama	88.1	80.6	69.1	57.4
Louisiana	85.9	79.1	72.1	61.1
United States	79.9	70.0	57.1	44.5



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THE MOON

Illustrated Weekly

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June 27, 1872.

Because I had loved so deeply
Because I had loved so long
God in his [illegible] impassioned
Gave me the gift of song.

Because I had loved so vainly
And sung with such faltering breath
The Master in infinite mercy
Offers the boon of death.

February 9, 1906.

Dunbar Memorial Number

Edited by W. E. B. DuBois

Price 5 Cents

Paul Laurence Dunbar won unusual distinction for his writings, particularly for his poems. He wrote his first poem when seven years old, and while one would not be expected to produce much of a literary effort at such a tender age, it attracted some attention and it was predicted that a bright future awaited this Negro boy, who was then earning his living by selling newspapers.—Springfield (Mass.) Morning Union.

The passing of Dunbar is sure to be heard with sincere regret wherever the English language is spoken. Beginning at the age of 7, this remarkable individual turned out poems and prose works of exquisite beauty. For years, however, he met with no recognition. Always modest and retiring, he encountered so many discouragements that when success did come he greeted it with well-nigh prayerful gratitude. Mr. Dunbar died in the flower of his manhood. He gained renown second only to James Whitcomb Riley and Eugene Field, and many critics favored him above both. He had countless admirers in Chicago, and, in fact, called this city his second home.—Chicago Record-Herald.

In the death of Paul Laurence Dunbar there is ended a career of the second person of his race to achieve distinction in imaginative literature. Other Negroes have from time to time risen to positions of influence and power in various walks of life. In public service, in mercantile pursuits, in educational activities, at the bar and elsewhere we have numerous illiustrations of the possibilities of the colored man, but not since Phyllis Wheatley, the African born slave girl, whose verses received the compliments of Gen. Washington, had the race produced a poet of quality until this Ohio boy captured an audience and found a place in a field where competition is as keen as in any of the pursuits that men follow.—Detroit (Mich) News.

Mr. Paul Laurence Dunbar's death was but the close of a pathetic struggle against destiny. He suffered, as have so many of more talented of his race, from consumption. His earliest book of verse, "Oak and Ivy," was published in 1893, when he was only 21, and since that time he had contributed pretty regularly to the magazines and had written enough to fill seventeen volumes of verse and fiction. * * * His was a slender muse, wavering between humor and pathos, more or less conventional in both; but he will have some claim to memory both for the suffering of his later years and for the reason that he is the first of his people among us, we believe, to gain pretty wide recognition as a poet.—New York Evening Post.

Paul Laurence Dunbar died of "the white plague" at his modest but cultured home in Dayton, O., last Friday. It was but a few weeks ago that a visitor found him apparently holding his own and thoroughly optimistic. He had put out his last of a considerable series of books, a little before Christmas. This was characteristic. For nearly ten years he had been under the death-sentence of consumption, but he held steadily to his passion for work and it can be said that he almost died with his pen in his hand.—Central Christian Advocate.

With the death of Paul Laurence Dunbar the negro race loses its one poet who could interpret the soul of the black man—his various moods and passions, his sorrows and his hopes—better, perhaps, than any other poet of his time. William Dean Howells, the novelist, himself an enthusiastic admirer of Dunbar's verse, has said: "As far as I could remember, Paul Dunbar was the only man of pure African blood and of American civilization to feel the Negro life aesthetically and express it lyrically." He has also been spoken of as "a man who counted heart throbs."

He acquired that habit early, for the boybood days of the poet were full of trials and tribulations. His father was a slave in old Kentucky, who fled from there to Canada, and his mother, freed by the war, went to Dayton, O., where Paul was born and where he died yesterday of consumption. These first years were years of constant struggle on the part of mother and son against poverty and hunger. Life was as Dunbar himself has said in one of his poems:

A crust of bread and a corner to sleep in,
A minute to smile and an hour to weep in,
A pint of joy to a peck of trouble,
And never a laugh but the moans come double;
And that is life!

Finally Dunbar got a job as elevator boy in one of the public buildings of Dayton, and it was while he was at that work that he began to write the lyrics which were to make him famous. Even after his name became well known he clung to his old job, for his books brought him in but little and he had his mother to support.

Dunbar was the author of seventeen books of prose and poetry. Perhaps his best known work is "Lyrics of Lowly Life." Every one who has read it will remember the poem, "When Malindy Sings," a tribute to his mother.

For a long time Dunbar had been ill of consumption. While in the clutch of the dread disease he was working on a play which he was anxious to see staged, and his one consuming fear was that death would overtake him before he had finished it. So bit by bit he dictated daily to a stenographer. Propped up by pillows a visitor found him in his Dayton home not long since. While they talked a rainstorm came up, with a strong wind, which carried the drops against the window pane. The tall oaks swayed in front of the house. Dunbar raised his head and gazed silently at the storm. Then in prose he expressed the poesy within him.

"I like to see it rain," he said. "I just love to sit at this window and watch the rain for hours. There is something in the patter of the drops as the wind rushes them to the window, the moaning of the trees and the dreariness of the scene that appeals to me. I could sit here all day watching a storm."

Then he spoke of an old and well-to-do friend whose sole ambition was to become a writer and who was willing to sacrifice his wealth to attain a name in the literary world.

"I only wish I could trade him all the literary honors, if I may call them so, that I ever received," said Dunbar. "for his health and money. Then I could easily finish my——"

The sentence was never completed. Neither was the work he had in hand. But he learned at last the answer that lies beyond the years.

(Continued on Page 10)

4/14/58

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THE MOON

ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY

Tidings of The Darker Million

41/140/56

SOUTH AFRICA.

A disturbance occurred at a farm fourteen miles from Pietermaritzburg, where a body of Natal police fourteen strong was sent to arrest some natives who had made an armed demonstration the previous day on the occasion of the collection of the poll tax. Two natives were arrested, but an armed body of Zulus attacked the police, killing an officer and a trooper and wounding another officer. The wounded officer escaped with the rest of the party and returned to Pietermaritzburg.

There is every reason to believe that the disturbance will prove to be merely local, but, in view of the restlessness which has been noticeable for some time past among the Zulus, the government cannot afford to adopt half-measures. The right wing of the Carbineers and C Battery of the artillery have been mobilized, the Volunteers have been called out, and all the available police have been requisitioned.—London (England) Mail.

Within the last few days the native disturbance in Natal has reminded us of what is, after all, the biggest and most abiding question of South Africa. More vital even than the relation of one section of the white community to the other is the joint relation of both to the vast native community which surrounds them. It is just because of this big problem in the background, often lost sight of, but always there, that it is so necessary to secure government on sound and settled lines for the two elements of the white population. Our Pietermaritzburg correspondent does not think, we are glad to see, that immediate concerted action on the part of the natives is probable. At the same time the mere mention of such a possibility is significant, and so is the fact that the outrage of last Thursday is held to have been occasioned almost as much by the ordinary hut tax as by the poll tax which has lately been imposed. It seems evident that a good deal of organization will be needed before Natal can be thoroughly quieted, and there is, of course, always a chance of the unrest affecting those idle husbandmen, but superb warriors, the Zulus. Those who recall the interaction of the Transvaal question and the native question in the years 1877-1881 will be far from desiring that the native agitation should be complicated, and perhaps stimulated, now by the existence of political discontent in the Transvaal. The Natal incident lends fresh force to Mr. Lyttleton's earnest warning against vacillation of purpose on the part of the British government toward South Africa. Our experience in the past ought to show us how essential is continuity, and how deplorable would be any departure from it while the native population happens to be unsettled.—Editorial London Times.

LIBERIA.

Rev. Joseph C. Hartzell, missionary bishop of Africa for the M. E. Church, has returned to the United States to secure a number of missionaries for his field and funds to promote the work. He is anxious to establish industrial mission schools throughout Africa, which he declares are much needed for the white as well as for the black people.

He is very hopeful for the black republic of Liberia, in which the repatriated Negroes from America and their descendants, now 18,000 in number, and a few thousand civilized natives, form the governing class.

"Liberia, which has led hitherto a rather precarious existence," said the bishop, "is now entering upon a new epoch. An English company has been granted large mining and rubber concessions, in return for which the government has secured a loan of $500,000. With this sum it is intended to pay the debts of the republic, to establish a national bank and to open up the interior for new settlers."

Bishop Hartzell said he would not advocate the wholesale emigration of Negroes from the Southern States. There are not openings in Liberia, he said, for many settlers, and trade and other conditions are unfavorable for the absorption of many immigrants at a time.

BARBADOES.

To the Editor of the Herald—As a white native of Barbadoes I must protest against the wholesale characterizations of my Negro compatriots as lazy and useless, so frequently made during the last few months by speakers and writers discussing the canal labor problem.

The Barbadian Negro is, to my perhaps prejudiced view the highest type the race has yet produced. His industry, intelligence and ambition are undeniable, as must be plain on the face of it when one recollects that in an island 166 square miles in area 180,000 of his race make a living, however meager, and compete closely in every line of industrial and professional endeavor with 20,000 whites, backed by three hundred years of Caucasian supremacy and by social restrictions of the closest.—New York Herald.

WASHINGTON.

Representative Heflin, of Alabama, introduced a bill in the House requiring the sleeping car companies to provide separate compartments for white and colored passengers.

St. Valentine shared honors with Frederick Douglas, the leader and educational champion, whose birthday was February 14. At all of the colored schools of the city exercises commemorating Douglas Day were observed from 1 to 3 p.m. At the M Street High School, Oswald Garrison Villard, grandson of William Lloyd Garrison, the notable New York editor, and Judge Robert H. Terrell delivered addresses paying tribute to the memory of Douglas and calling attention to the advancement of education since his death in 1895.

BOSTON, MASS.

During the recent encampment of the Massachusetts G. A. R., the department commander, J. H. Wolff, who is a prominent Negro lawyer of this city, was presented on the eve of his retirement from office with a beautiful gold watch, the gift of the Massachusetts G. A. R. Commander Wolff accepted the token of esteem in well-chosen words of appreciation.

The Boston Literary Society sustained its reputation for securing able speakers and noted lecturers on Monday

A Litany of Atlanta

Done at Atlanta, in the Day of Death, 1906

W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS

Reprinted from THE INDEPENDENT, New York, October 11, 1906

Bot 32 32-33 85

A Litany of Atlanta

Silent God, Thou whose voice afar in mist and mystery hath left our ears an-hungered in these fearful days—

Hear us, good Lord!

Listen to us, Thy children: our faces dark with doubt are made a mockery in Thy sanctuary. With uplifted hands we front Thy heaven, O God, crying:

We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord!

We are not better than our fellows, Lord, we are but weak and human men. When our devils do deviltry, curse Thou the doer and the deed: curse them as we curse them, do to them all and more than ever they have done to innocence and weakness, to womanhood and home.

Have mercy upon us, miserable sinners!

And yet whose is the deeper guilt? Who made these devils? Who nursed them in crime and fed them on injustice? Who ravished and debauched their mothers and their grandmothers? Who bought and sold their crime, and waxed fat and rich on public iniquity?

Thou knowest, good God!

Is this Thy justice, O Father, that guile be easier than innocence, and the innocent crucified for the guilt of the untouched guilty?

Justice, O Judge of men!

Wherefore do we pray? Is not the God of the fathers dead? Have not seers seen in Heaven's halls Thine hearsed and lifeless form stark amidst the black and rolling smoke of sin, where all along bow bitter forms of endless dead?

Awake, Thou that sleepest!

Thou art not dead, but flown afar, up hills of endless light, thru blazing corridors of suns, where worlds do swing of good and gentle men, of women strong and free—far from the cozenage, black hypocrisy and chaste prostitution of this shameful speck of dust!

Turn again, O Lord, leave us not to perish in our sin!

From lust of body and lust of blood

Great God deliver us!

FROM lust of power and lust of gold,
Great God deliver us!

From the leagued lying of despot and of brute,
Great God deliver us!

A city lay in travail, God our Lord, and from her loins sprang twin Murder and Black Hate. Red was the midnight; clang, crack and cry of death and fury filled the air and trembled underneath the stars when church spires pointed silently to Thee. And all this was to sate the greed of greedy men who hide behind the veil of vengeance!
Bend us Thine ear, O Lord!

In the pale, still morning we looked upon the deed. We stopped our ears and held our leaping hands, but they—did they not wag their heads and leer and cry with bloody jaws: *Cease from Crime!* The word was mockery, for thus they train a hundred crimes while we do cure one.
Turn again our captivity, O Lord!

Behold this maimed and broken thing; dear God it was an humble black man who toiled and sweat to save a bit from the pittance paid him. They told him: *Work and Rise.* He worked. Did this man sin? Nay, but some one told how some one said another did—one whom he had never seen nor known. Yet for that man's crime this man lieth maimed and murdered, his wife naked to shame, his children, to poverty and evil.
Hear us, O heavenly Father!

Doth not this justice of hell stink in Thy nostrils, O God? How long shall the mounting flood of innocent blood roar in Thine ears and pound in our hearts for vengeance? Pile the pale frenzy of blood-crazed brutes who do such deeds high on Thine altar, Jehovah Jireh, and burn it in hell forever and forever!
Forgive us, good Lord; we know not what we say!

Bewildered we are, and passion-tost, mad with the madness of a mobbed and mocked and murdered people; straining at the armposts of Thy Throne, we raise our shackled hands and charge Thee, God, by the bones of our stolen fathers, by the tears of our dead mothers, by the very blood of Thy crucified Christ: *What meaneth this?* Tell us the Plan; give us the Sign!
Keep not thou silence, O God!

SIT no longer blind, Lord God, deaf to our prayer and dumb to our dumb suffering. Surely Thou too art not white, O Lord, a pale, bloodless, heartless thing?

Ah! Christ of all the Pities!

Forgive the thought! Forgive these wild, blasphemous words. Thou art still the God of our black fathers, and in Thy soul's soul sit some soft darkenings of the evening, some shadowings of the velvet night.

But whisper—speak—call, great God, for Thy silence is white terror to our hearts! The way, O God, show us the way and point us the path.

Whither? North is greed and South is blood; within, the coward, and without, the liar. Whither? To death?

Amen! Welcome dark sleep!

Whither? To life? But not this life, dear God, not this. Let the cup pass from us, tempt us not beyond our strength, for there is that clamoring and clawing within, to whose voice we would not listen, yet shudder lest we must, and it is red, Ah! God! It is a red and awful shape.

Selah!

In yonder East trembles a star.

Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord!

Thy will, O Lord, be done!

Kyrie Eleison!

Lord, we have done these pleading, wavering words.

We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord!

We bow our heads and hearken soft to the sobbing of women and little children.

We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord!

Our voices sink in silence and in night.

Hear us, good Lord!

In night, O God of a godless land!

Amen!

In silence, O Silent God.

Selah!

THE WORLD TO-DAY

SHAILER MATHEWS, Editor.

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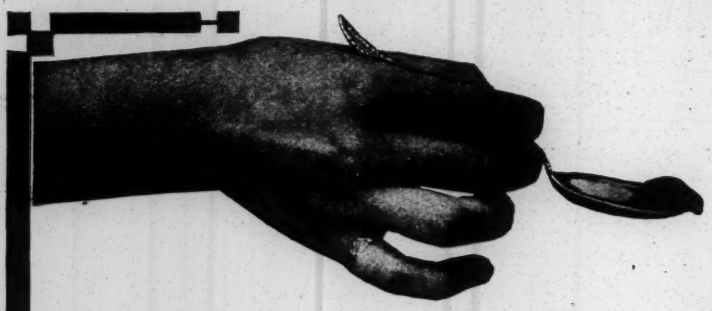

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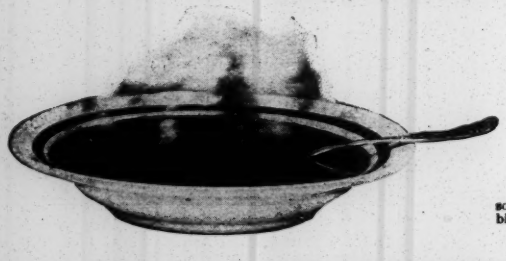

Tomato Soup Italienne

Two teaspoonfuls Armour's Extract of Beef
1 can tomatoes
1 quart water
bit of bay leaf
2 cloves
1 teaspoonful paprika
1 tablespoonful sugar
1 teaspoonful salt
⅛ teaspoonful soda
2 tablespoonfuls butter
2 tablespoonfuls flour
1 teaspoonful finely chopped onion

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Strain the tomatoes, add the water, and cook 20 minutes; add soda, salt, sugar, and Extract of beef; bring to boil on quick fire; bind with butter and flour; add seasonings. Serve with croutons.

Include Armour's Extract of Beef among the regular pantry supplies.

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in April. Many of them have gone there with camera, and note book, and laboratory appliances, and have spent anywhere from one to a dozen weeks trying to find out the causes, both of success and failure, of concrete construction. They have come back with a fund of information which will add largely to the useful knowledge on the subject and greatly assist in the determination of the true principles along which the concrete builder should work. While there is much yet to learn upon this subject, it should be remembered, however, that the buildings in San Francisco which totally succumbed to fire and shock were not built in accordance with all the then known laws for concrete construction. And one beneficial result of this disaster, aside from the knowledge gained by architects and engineers, will be an impetus on the part of owners of buildings toward giving the architect and engineer *carte blanche* to design buildings which will embody all the known principles of safety and endurance.

THE TRAGEDY AT ATLANTA

I—FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE WHITES

BY

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

EDITOR OF "THE ATLANTA GEORGIAN"

IT is exceedingly difficult in times of excitement and of public protest to consider dispassionately or to induce others in that environment to consider dispassionately the causes, conditions and provocations which led to lawlessness and personal vengeance.

It is equally difficult to persuade the majority of those people who live on the northern side of the Ohio and Potomac Rivers to receive any utterances that come from the South with patience and consideration unless it happens that these expressions coincide with their own views.

By the thoughtless newspapers in many cities of the northern and central states, I am written down as a radical extremist upon this Negro question, and without anything more than casual reflection, men who measure other utterances by the line of their own convictions, have done me the injustice to credit me with many things which I have never said, and to misconstrue entirely many things which I have said.

I am legitimately and earnestly a student of the race question. I have studied more diligently than any other the question that relates to the life of the people of the South, with an intensity of interest due to my conceptions of its serious meaning to the welfare of my children and to the future of the section of our common country in which I live.

I am not an extremist. I am not a negrophilist. On the contrary, I am absolutely devoid of passion, temper or prejudice in the consideration of the Negro question. Personally the Negroes regard me as their friend and helper. I receive more requests for personal favors from them than almost any other white man in my section, and, within the limits of my strength and capacity, I give more to their personal welfare and development than most men who live in the South. During the recent troubles in Atlanta my home was the rendezvous of Negroes who sought protection at my hands. And during the high tension of the riot period I sheltered under my own roof and upon my own premises perhaps a larger number of Negroes than any private individual in the South.

I have reached first of all the impression derived from history that the African and the Caucasian races are not only opposite but antagonistic races. They are inherently so. They would have been antagonistic if the institution of slavery had never existed. They are equally as antagonistic in the northern and middle states where slavery has never existed as they are in the South to-day. Who will deny the fierce and frequent outbreaks of this prejudice in the northern sections — in New York, in Wilmington, Delaware, in Danville, Illinois, in Evansville, Indiana, in Columbus, Ohio, in Chicago, in Indianapolis, in Leavenworth, in Topeka and in Cana and Cartersville in Virginia. The different skins of the races make an antagonism which seems to be but natural and providential, and I have only been able to explain it upon the theory that the antagonism of the races represents in part the purpose of the Creator in preventing a congregation of many peoples in one especially favored region of the universe, and in separating the races into different countries by the implanting of this natural prejudice in the bosoms of each.

It is doubtless true and may as well be acknowledged that this prejudice is greater in the South than in the North, because of the institution of slavery, which produces in the mind of the white man a rebellious protest against any effort to place his former slave upon an equality with himself, and on the part of the black man a spirit of revenge for the century of slavery in which he served the South. At any rate no thoughtful man looking fairly at the question can fail to realize that this race antagonism, which exists everywhere, exists peculiarly and emphatically in the South, and that the years that have passed and are now passing do not in any degree modify or ameliorate this racial antipathy and dislike. The younger Negroes imbibe in their mothers' milk the sentiment of hostility and hatred toward the youth and adults of the white race, and this is manifested in their personal relations from the time they start to school to the time they separate in the work and in the vocations of life. It is not because I would be unwilling to see this antagonism speedily destroyed, and it is not because I am not myself a reverent believer in the creed that Christianity is a solvent for human problems, that I am skeptical of a religious solution, but because I do not find in history or in precedent one line of light or one ray of hope upon which to base expectation that this feeling will die away, either in the lapse of time or through the labors of the Church.

I do not know that the crime of rape is primarily due to the existence of this racial antipathy. I am quite confident that in many cases, perhaps in the large majority of cases, it is evolved from other and more tangible causes. The increasing use of whiskey, the consumption of morphine and cocaine, the observation of obscene pictures in low dives, and the ever increasing recklessness and irresponsibility of the criminal Negroes, all joined with the long continuance of hot weather, produce at certain seasons of the year a wave of criminality along this appalling line.

In the application of these considerations to Atlanta's recent riot, I would simply ask fair-minded and broad-minded Americans to adopt that policy which has its sanction in Holy Writ and in the philosophy of justice, and to put themselves so far as possible in the places of the people whom they sometimes so unjustly judge. I am not seeking here to defend or to justify the violence of the mob, but I insist upon it that no brave and fair-minded people in any consideration of the mob can fail to remember and to weigh the provocation which moves the mob.

Those who have kept up with this lamentable tragedy in Atlanta, and those who have done me the honor to read the statement which the Washington *Post* was kind enough to distribute through the Associated Press, will bear in mind that for nine consecutive weeks the people in and around this city of Atlanta, the capital of Georgia, and in many respects the metropolis of the South, were horrified, at first week after week, and then, day after day, by the continued assaults upon the persons and the virtue of blameless and helpless white women in this vicinity. Never in the history of this atrocious crime in the South have the assaults been so brutal, so audacious in attempt, so fiendish in purpose, in the mutilation of

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women, and more insolent in the reception with which they have been met by the mass of the race from which these criminals came.

As I have said before, there were within three weeks eleven assaults made and attempted upon pure and virtuous women of good repute and standing in the immediate suburbs of Atlanta.

After the first two or three of these assaults, the press and the people began to discuss them and to devise ways and means to put a stop to them. No general violence was ever suggested or inculcated in any public meeting of the citizens of Atlanta, or in any newspaper of this section, with one exception. The consideration was calm and clear, while it was firm and resolute. It was a fact established that the noble women of Georgia — whose fathers had bought their liberty with their blood, and whose civilization had been worked out through heroic toil and industry — that the noble women of the South were actually living under a reign of terror which destroyed tranquillity in the daytime and a peaceful rest at night. Conditions rapidly grew worse until, at last, there was scarcely a thoughtful man in this section of the state who would dare to leave his home after sunset, even in the city and suburbs, and least of all in the country districts, without leaving a male escort and protector with his family at home. Public meetings, social enjoyments and an attendance upon the night services of the churches were all neglected in order that the man of the house might stay at home to protect the women of his family from a danger that hung like a pall upon the spirit and life of the Georgia home.

The assaults that were made were in the immediate suburbs of Atlanta, under circumstances of peculiar daring. Four of them were attempted right in the very heart of the city, and one of them in the lighted parlors of a home at 9 o'clock in the evening with the members of the family all in the house.

The strain of apprehension and of indignation daily grew in intensity. Public meetings were held under the most prudent yet determined auspices, and the most temperate discussions were held in order to discover the cause and the remedy for this appalling crime. The county police of Atlanta were quadrupled in number. Two hundred and fifty deputies were sworn in by the high sheriff of the county. The Negro leaders, stirred and quickened by the appeals which I had the honor to lead, gave us their full coöperation in preaching hell and damnation from their pulpits to the assailants of our white women.

On the Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday preceding the day of the Atlanta riot there were three separate attempts of extraordinary aggravation attempted within the limits of the city. Friday was an intervening day. The people breathed easier. On Saturday the first editions of the evening newspapers came out without the record of a rape.

Then suddenly there flashed upon the streets an extra announcing that four women had been assaulted within the hour and the indications were that the crimes were preconcerted and coördinately arranged. Another extra of another paper confirmed the rumor, and by 6 o'clock the streets were swarming with an outraged and angry populace who, having exhausted every expedient of remedy and protection that genius, money and law could devise, felt themselves absolutely helpless before the fast multiplying criminals of a race who were seeking to destroy the women of the South.

You know the rest as the story has been told. Without premeditation, without deliberation, without any possible organization, and simply upon the wild impulse of human nature driven to frenzy by the failure of the law and the failure of public sentiment, the impulsive, thoughtless and hot-headed members of our civic population lost the rudder of control in the storm of apprehension and danger that threatened their dearest possession, and the mob was on.

Now we do not need to go further. Atlanta through its representative voice has spoken its protest against the mob. Its newspapers have condemned lawlessness. The world has known that the sober, representative sentiment of this city does not approve the wholesale assault upon a whole people because of the monstrous and unspeakable crime of the few.

I do not plead a justification of the mob, and I do not argue for its continua-

tion, but I invoke the human nature that runs in the red blood of every white man in America to understand at least, even if we can not justify, the fearful and transcendent provocation which stirred the Atlanta mob to its swift and terrible revenge.

If I speak warmly here, it is because no light and tranquil words can possibly describe the sentiment of all classes of our people at this point in a thoroughly law-abiding community of the South. It was the instinct that moves the animal to the protection of its young. It was the instinct that moves the gentlest of doves to fight for the birdlings in her nest; and it was the instinct which fired a people beyond their self control to strike one blow whose single mission was to terrify and to remedy a colossal crime when all else failed.

The deed is done, the riot is over. Preachers have thundered North and South. Public meetings North and South have condemned and deplored the slaughter of the innocent. The passion of the mob has been spent and it is not likely that it will ever rise again in Atlanta. The repetition of the awful scenes of that Saturday night is out of the question.

But let us see fairly and honestly what the mob has done. Since that Saturday night the police and the military report that Atlanta has never enjoyed such peace and order among all elements of its population for the last twenty years. It is the common testimony of observant men that our streets are safer for pedestrians and that our suburban lines are freer and safer than they have been for a decade or more. The shadow of the terror has been lifted in large part from the hearts and minds of our women, and they not only feel safer than they have been at any time within these twenty years, but they are actually safer.

It is the common testimony of thoughtful men that not in two decades have the Negroes of this region been so accommodating, so reasonable, so polite, and so thoroughly kind and considerate in their attitude toward white persons as they are to-day.

It is held by the most conservative of our citizens to be true that the fearful lesson of the white man's vengeance, wrought on Saturday night, will have the effect of saving within the next three years twenty times the number of lives that were lost in the tragedy of the mob.

And above all else this great fact stands out, that since 7 o'clock P.M. on the evening of Saturday, September 22, not the suggestion or rumor of an assault upon a white woman has startled the air of this capital city of Georgia.

Now then, to sum up, I think that the status of affairs is fuller of hope and of promise than it has been before. The Negro has seen the awful and lawless fury of the white man's vengeance when he is aroused beyond control. The Negro has seen the superiority of the white man in numbers, in equipment, in military, in arms, in police force, in fire companies, and in coherent discipline. Best of all we have now, as we have never had before, the full and hearty coöperation of the Negro leaders.

I think that the coöperation of the best class of Negroes with the element of law and order among the whites along this line has done more than anything else has ever done to better the feeling and permanent relationship between the races. I believe that this consistent preaching of the leaders will permeate in time the whole rank even to that of the criminal Negroes of the race, and will cause that class to realize at last that they do not have the sympathy, but the utter condemnation, of their own people for this fiendish crime. I believe that the result of the riot and the reflections which come from it has established the fact that raping is not to be regarded hereafter as a crime of race but a crime of individuals, and will be so punished by the law.

I believe that the minds of thoughtful men of the South are coming more and more to study this instinct of the Negro criminal from a scientific standpoint as the experts study cholera and yellow fever. We are looking for the germ, in heredity, in environment, in habit and in education, and in the diseased conditions of the criminal Negro's body.

I believe that the results of these diligent and intense investigations will within the next year enable us to come nearer to understanding this phase of criminology than we have ever done before, and that with a clearer understand-

ing we will reach in time a better and lawful remedy to control it.

I thank THE WORLD TO-DAY and all thoughtful periodicals that give to the people of the South a fair hearing upon this question. No people on earth know and understand and appreciate the Negro as we do, who were raised with him, and who live in the civilization of which he is so interesting a part. If you will join with us in studying this great question and give to your reflections and expressions less of bitterness, less of the prejudice of sections, and less of abstract philanthropy that measures considerations at the distance of a thousand miles, we will promise to meet you in the same way, frankly and earnestly, and between us we should at least avail to solve this mighty question and if possible to save and elevate and dignify the race that is dependent on our own.

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II—FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE NEGROES

BY

W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS

AUTHOR OF "THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK"

ON Saturday, September 22, a mob of boys and young men from twelve to twenty-two, together with a few older persons, took possession of the streets of the city of Atlanta, Georgia, and killed, beat, maimed and otherwise maltreated such Negroes as they could get at. Afterward Negroes began to retaliate and for a time things looked like an armed vendetta. On Tuesday one hardware firm alone sold $16,000 worth of arms to white people, while every effort was made to disarm Negroes. The net result of the riot was the killing and wounding of at least one hundred persons, most of whom were Negroes, although a very large proportion of both the dead and maimed were white, the exact number on either side being unknown; the looting of three or four white stores and a few Negro; the smashing of plate glass, the partial wrecking of twenty street cars and spoiling of Pullman cars, the suspension of church services for a part of Sunday and a stagnation in business shown by a falling off of more than a quarter of a million of dollars in clearing-house receipts. To quote the results as summed up by the Atlanta *Constitution:*

"Thousands of Negroes, the best class of the race, the law-abiding class, collecting their property and their savings and leaving Atlanta! Business in almost total stagnation for three days, but now, fortunately, fully resumed with the return of confidence. Factories shut down. Long trains of freight cars standing unloaded for lack of labor to switch them. The loss running into a sum that can not be computed for many weeks."

The Alleged Cause

The alleged cause of this riot was the raping of white women by Negroes culminating in four cases on the day of the riot. The afternoon papers announced "four rapes attempted in swift succession within the hour, two of which had been successful." What were the facts? John Temple Graves' own paper announced September 24 that of these alleged crimes of Saturday, "None was a real case of criminal assault."* The real story of these assaults acknowledged by Graves' paper was as follows:

1. At 2 P.M. a Negro loafing in a back yard was ordered away and shot at.
2. At 7 o'clock a woman was knocked down by a man as she stepped out of her back door. He immediately ran away.
3. At 7:30 o'clock a similar occurrence in another part of the city.
4. An old lady living alone saw a black face looking through the window and was greatly frightened.

Two cases of fright and two cases of intentional or accidental violence is all that occurred Saturday. Before that there had been one case of brutal violence

* *The Georgian*, September 24, 1906.

and one case of probably attempted rape and another alleged, but as there was nothing but newspaper report on these cases it is difficult to be sure.

The Real Cause

The real cause of the riot was two years of vituperation and traduction of the Negro race by the most prominent candidates for the governorship, together with a bad police system and a system of punishing crime which is a disgrace to any civilized state. Mr. Hoke Smith in his campaign for office has deliberately stirred up in every part of the state the deepest hatred of the Negro, fear of his aspirations, and determination to keep him down. Mr. Clark Howell has been but a shade better. Only one candidate, Colonel Estill, treated the Negro with ordinary courtesy.

The colored people, even many of the best and most law-abiding, regard the Atlanta police as their oppressors. In the riot, when the civilization of a city went to pieces, blood ran and drunkenness and fury prevailed. It was, as the Atlanta *Constitution* naively remarks, "a remarkable fact" that out of 160 men "only two policemen were injured in the slightest degree." Atlanta, a city of less than one hundred thousand has seventeen thousand arrests a year by her 160 policemen, as many as New Orleans with her 270 policemen and twice the Negro population, three times as many as Savannah, where a majority of the inhabitants are Negroes, and three times as many as in a northern industrial center like Lowell, Massachusetts, a city of the same size. Most of the Atlanta arrests are of colored people and are largely for trivial charges.

Then, too, the whole criminal policy of Georgia is to make money out of crime. The system has been improved lately, but as a recent report says:

"It still makes the income from crime rather than the reformation of the criminal of paramount importance. Special stress is laid in each report of the prison commission on this income; the system is extolled as self-sustaining and nets the state large sums of money annually." At present the income is $225,000, which the last prison commission report refers to as a "magnificent increase."*

* Seventh Report, Georgian Prison Commission.

Retaliation by Negroes

In the last resort democratic governments have to depend on the self-defense of law-abiding citizens against the lawless. This is true of the southern whites to almost too great a degree. But it is the unwritten law of the South that the Negro must not defend himself against white aggression. That the mob was composed of the lawless element of whites is certain. The *Constitution* said: "Are we working for the protection of the womanhood of our race when immature boys — many of them in knee-trousers, many of them led by indiscreet and unthinking leaders; many of them viewing the thing simply as a picnic — drag innocent, pleading human beings from street cars, from alleys where they had taken refuge, from the sides of their employers, and hack and stab and shoot and stamp them?"

As soon as the dazed Negroes realized the situation they naturally began to arm and fight. Again and again the whites started toward "Darktown," one of the slums, but hesitated. The Negroes gained in courage. They shot out all the electric lights and, it is reported, telephoned the governor: "Don't send the police to us, *send the mob!*"

The situation began to look very grave; twenty or thirty white rioters were arrested, but the great mass were still free, and then the authorities made the strange mistake of attempting to disarm all Negroes, peaceful and vicious alike, while the whites were buying arms by the thousands. In a Negro suburb the county police, having sworn in a large number of white deputies, started to disarm the blacks and were ambushed, had their leader killed and a slaughter ensued. The state militia now was called, the work of arming the whites and disarming the Negroes proceeded, and peace at last settled on the distracted city after three days of orgy.

The Lesson

The lessons of this riot are clear.

1. It is a criminal procedure to stir up race hatred for political preferment.

2. There is crime among Negroes — serious crime, and there is crime among whites. The way to stop it is by just courts, a decent, honest police force, and a system of punishment the object of

which is to stop crime and reform criminals, and not to make money.

3. No community can hope to be peaceful if it makes a third or a half of its population helpless, defenseless and ignorant,* and leaves it naked to the worst elements of the city who form its industrial rivals.

4. The Negro must have the ballot. Only in this way can he peacefully defend his life and property, help the best class of whites defend theirs and put down the criminals of both races.

* Atlanta schools can not seat half the Negro children.

5. There is considerable evidence to show that the Atlanta riot was deliberately planned weeks before, and it has been openly charged that many of the attempted assaults were not made by blacks at all. However this may be, it is certain that action and radical action is necessary to prevent future outbreaks. These should take the form of forcing real republican governments in the South by reducing the representation of disfranchising states, and by government aid to the southern public school system to reduce illiteracy and barbarism.

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AGRICULTURAL CUBA

BY

F. S. EARLE

DIRECTOR, CUBAN AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, HAVANA

THE prosperity of Cuba depends almost exclusively on its agriculture. No country of its size in the world excels it in the quantity and quality of its arable lands. No tropical country excels it in the comfort and salubrity of its climate; and in geographical position and the ease and cheapness with which its products can be marketed, it is also unexcelled. It is no wonder therefore that it is more and more attracting the attention of investors and of people who are seeking a milder climate in which to make a home.

Only a small fraction of its fertile acres is as yet under cultivation and its immense possibilities for future development are realized by but few of its scanty population of a million and a half people. It is small wonder, then, that the thrifty land speculator has seen his opportunity here. In the years immediately following the war, advantage was taken of the unsettled business conditions and of the immense losses and consequent financial difficulties of the old land owners to buy up large quantities of Cuban lands at very low prices.

It must be remembered that there is some very poor land as well as much very good land in Cuba. In only too many cases the buyers either did not know or did not care about the quality of their purchases if only the price was low enough. Flowery prospectuses with pictures of beautiful tropical scenes and luscious fruits, and most extravagant statements as to the profits to be derived from the products of a few acres, were scattered broadcast, especially in the United States; large commissions were given to canvassers, and the work was merrily begun of unloading worthless acres that cost only two or three dollars on unsophisticated teachers, clerks and railroad men at prices ranging all the way from $15 or $20 to $50 or more per acre.

During the early days of my residence in Cuba I had the good fortune to travel some distance by rail with a typical representative of that most charming class, the well-to-do Cuban planter. My friend was educated in France, had traveled much in Europe and had resided for many years in the States. He was thoroughly posted on Cuban agriculture and was keenly alive to any suggestions as to means by which existing conditions could be improved. He

SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL DELEGATES TO THE RACES CONGRESS
Lord Weardale, president of the Congress, is seated in the center. To his right General Légitime, formerly President of Hayti. Others are representatives of Japan, Persia, Africa, etc.

The First Universal Races Congress

BY W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS, Ph.D.

[Professor Du Bois was the Honorary Secretary for the United States of the First Universal Races Congress just concluded in London. We have heard from others that his was the best address given at any session. We also publish, on the opposite page, his poem, read at the opening session.—EDITOR].

OF the two thousand international meetings that have taken place in the last seventy-five years there have been few that have so touched the imagination as the Universal Races Congress of this summer.

Such a meeting may be viewed in many lights: as a meeting of widely separated men, as a reunion of East and West, as a glance across the color line or as a sort of World Grievance Committee. Perhaps it was in part something of each of these. There was, however, one thing that this congress could do of inestimable importance. Outside the discussion of racial problems, it could make clear the present state of scientific knowledge concerning the meaning of the term "race."

This the congress did and this was its most important work. There were practically no reports of new anthropological knowledge. There were, however, several reviews and restatements in popular terms of the present *dicta* of the science in the matter of human races, exprest with a clearness, force and authority that deserve especial mention.

The scientific men who contributed papers to the congress, and who were with few exceptions there in person to take part in the discussions, were, many of them, of the first rank: Von Luschan and Von Ranke, of Germany; Sergi, of Italy; Myers, Lyde and Hadden, of England, and Boas, of America, are all well known; among the other speakers were the Indian scholar, Seal; Lacerda, of Brazil; Finot, of France, and Reinsch, of America. All those mentioned, save Boas, were present in person.

To realize the full meaning of the statements made by these men one must not forget the racial philosophy upon which America has long been nursed. The central idea of that philosophy has been that there are vast and, for all practical purposes, unbridgeable differences between the races of men, the whites representing the higher nobler stock, the

blacks the lower meaner race. Between the lowest races (who are certainly undeveloped and probably incapable of any considerable development) and the highest, range the brown and yellow peoples with various intermediate capacities.

The proofs of these assumptions have been repeatedly pointed out; the high civilization of the whites, the lack of culture among the blacks, the apparent incapacity for self-rule in many non-Europeans, and the stagnation of Asia. The reasons for this condition were variously stated: some assumed separate development for each race, while others spoke as tho the various races represented different stages in the same general development, with thousands of years between, the negro remaining nearest the ape, the whites furthest from the common ancestor.

Had these assumptions remained merely academic opinions it would not be necessary to recall them, but they have become the scientific sanction for widespread and decisive political action—like the disfranchisement of American negroes, the subjection of India and the partition of Africa. Under the aegis of this philosophy strong arguments have justified human slavery and peonage, conquest, enforced ignorance, the dishonoring of women and the exploitation of children. It was divine to enslave negroes; Mexican peonage is the only remedy for laziness; powerful nations must rule the mass of men who are not fit and cannot be fitted to rule themselves; colored women must not expect to be treated like white, and if commerce is arranged so as to make the dark world toil for the luxury and ease of the white, this is but the law of nature.

As I sat in the great hall of the University of London, I wondered how many in those audiences of five, six and seven hundred who daily braved the sweltering heat of a midsummer meeting realized how epoch-making many of the words quietly spoken there were, and how far they went toward undermining long and comfortably cherished beliefs.

The anthropologists were not rash in statement. They spoke with full realization of the prevalent attitude of Europeans toward other races. Some, like Von Luschan, took pains to emphasize separate racial development for the sake of the "hassenkamf," but he began with the sweeping assertion that "mankind is one":

> "Fair and dark races, long and short-headed, intelligent and primitive, all come from one stock. Favorable circumstances and surroundings, especially a good environment . . caused one group to advance more quickly than another."

Moreover both he and Von Lanke, Sergi and others ridiculed the possibility of a "science" of race, or, indeed, of the possibility or desirability of drawing complete racial lines: "The question of the number of human races," said Von Luschan, "has quite lost its *raison d'être*, and has become a subject of philosophical speculation, rather than of scientific research. It is of no more importance to know how many races there are than to know how many angels dance on the point of a needle!"

Especial insistence was made against regarding races as unchangeable accomplished facts; they were, in the words of Boas and Seal, "growing developing entities" and "the old idea of the absolute stability of racial types must evidently be given up; and with it the belief in the hereditary superiority of certain types over others."

This brought the discussion to the crucial point, for granted that human beings form a family thru which it is difficult to draw absolute lines, yet does not the present advancement of the various groups of men correspond on the whole with their physical characteristics? No proposition was more emphatically denied than this. In physique, said Seal, quoting Weisbach, "each race has its share of the characteristics of inferiority," and it is impossible to arrange the main groups of men in an ascending scale of physical development. Lyde, of Oxford, added that even color, which is today made the greatest of racial barriers, is with little doubt "entirely a matter of climatic control."

Nevertheless there are tremendous differences in the present condition of the various groups of men—whence do they arise and how permanent are they? Practically every anthropologist present laid the chief stress on environment in explaining these differences; not simply physical environment but the even more

Survey (NYC) Oct 1917

The Negro's Fatherland

By W. E. B. Du Bois

DIRECTOR OF PUBLICATIONS AND RESEARCH, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

THE future of Africa is one of the most important questions to be answered after this war. The very silence today concerning that future, on both sides of the forces at war, emphasizes its importance. We must remember that in Africa we have today not only the greatest world mine of undeveloped human labor but, also, that much of the raw material which the modern world particularly wants is to be found in Africa more abundantly than anywhere else. Let us note the list: Palm-oil, cocoa, mahogany, ebony, cork, cotton, rubber, ivory, ostrich feathers, gold, copper, iron, zinc, tin, lead and diamonds,—these are the present gifts of Africa to the world. Others in abundance hide in her bosom. The fight for the ownership of these materials and the domination of this labor was a prime cause of the present war. If this question is to be left unsettled after this war it is going to be a prime cause of future wars.

Why, then, are we so silent concerning the fate of something between 150,000,000 and 200,000,000 human beings? I presume that the cause of our indifference is largely psychological. It is the penalty of human degradation which always exacts payment from oppressor and oppressed. Today it is possible to ignore the Negro because of a history of degradation the parallel of which the modern world does not furnish. In ancient Mediterranean civilization Negro blood was predominant in many great nations and present in nearly all. Negro genius and Negro civilization gave here their great gifts to the world. In the European middle age when Africa became more or less separated from direct contact with Europe, nevertheless, African culture filtered into Europe, and legend and story and song came out of the dark continent. There was then no question of racial inferiority based upon color. But then, beginning late in the fifteenth century, the world for four hundred years raped this continent on a scale never before equalled. The result was not only the degradation of Africa, it was a moral degradation of those who were guilty; and we are still living in the shadow of the debauch of the African slave trade. It comes natural for us to have great masses of unthought-of men; to conceive of society as built upon an unsocial mudsill. It is possible for great labor organizations like the American Federation of Labor to organize themselves upon distinctly aristocratic lines, leaving out of account and out of thought certain so-called lower elements of labor. It is even possible for an organization like the League of Small and Subject Nationalities to bring in Africa only as an accident and after-thought. This mental attitude toward Africa and its problems builds itself upon unclear thinking based on the tyranny of conventional words.

When we speak of modern African slavery we think of modern slavery as a survival of ancient slavery. But it was not. The cleft between the two was absolute. Modern African slavery was the beginning of the modern labor problem, and must be looked at and interpreted from that point of view unless we would lose ourselves in an altogether false analogy. Modern world commerce, modern imperialism, the modern factory system and the modern labor problem began with the African slave trade. The first modern method of securing labor on a wide commercial scale and primarily for profit was inaugurated in the middle of the fifteenth century and in the commerce between Africa and America. Through the slave trade Africa lost at least 100,000,000 human beings, with all the attendant misery and economic and social disorganization. The survivors of this wholesale rape became a great international laboring force in America on which the modern capitalistic movement has been built and out of which modern labor problems have arisen. We have tried ever since to keep these black men and their descendants at the bottom of the scale on the theory that they were not thoroughly men, that they cannot be self-respecting members of and contributors to modern culture—an assumption purely modern and undreamed of in ancient or medieval days.

If, now, this same psychology and this same determination to exploit and enslave these people passes over into the new world after the war, what can we expect but, on the one hand, persistence of the idea that there must be an exploited class at the bottom of civilization and, on the other, an endeavor by endless war and rapine, futile at first but in the end bound to be triumphant, by which these millions of people will gain their right to think and act. No modern world can dream of holding 200,000,000 of people in permanent slavery even though they be black. If it tries, the cost will be terrible. If we would avoid this cost then we must begin the freeing of Africa through this war.

There is an unusual opportunity to do this. Africa is today held by Negro troops trained under European white officers. These Negro troops have saved France. They have conquered German Africa. They and their American Negro brothers are helping to save Belgium. It would be the least that Europe could do in return and some faint reparation for the terrible world history between 1441 and 1861 to see that a great free central African state is erected out of German East Africa and the Belgian Congo. Surely after Belgium has suffered almost as much from Germany as Africa has suffered from her, she ought to be willing to give up the Congo to this end; and it would be right that England should refrain from taking German East Africa as well as refrain from handing it back. Out of this state we could make a great modern effort to restore the ancient efficiency of the land that gave the iron age to all the world, and that for ages led in agriculture, weaving, metal working, and the traffic of the market place. Here is a chance such as the world has not seen since the fifteenth century. Liberia and Haiti were never given a sincere chance and were from first to last harassed, as only modern capitalism can harass little and hated nations.

The effort of such a new and sincere start in Africa would be tremendous. Its first effect would be upon the millions of Africa and then upon their descendants throughout the world. In the West Indies and in South America are some 30,000,000 of men of Negro descent. They have given literature and freedom to Brazil; they have given industry and romance to the West Indies, and they have given to North America art and music and human sensibility. In South America they may lose themselves in the blood of other people, but in the West Indies and North America they are striving for self-expression and need only such encouragement as just treatment of their fatherland and its spiritual effect on the whole world would give. I trust, therefore, that among the new nations that are to start forth after this war will be a new Africa and a new beginning of culture for the Negro race.

Now there are six Negroes in the French House. There were 280,000 black African troops in the war before whom France stands with uncovered head. The net result was that Clemenceau gave us permission to hold the Pan-African Congress in Paris. What could a Pan-African Congress do? It could not agitate the Negro problem in any particular country, except in so far as that problem could be plausibly shown to be part of the problem of the future of Africa. The problem of the future of Africa was a difficult and delicate question before the Peace Conference—so difficult and so delicate that the conference was disposed to welcome advice and cooperation.

If the Negroes of the world could have maintained in Paris during the entire sitting of the Peace Conference a central headquarters with experts, clerks, and helpers, they could have settled the future of Africa at a cost of less than $10,000. As it was, the congress cost $750. Yet with this meager sum a congress of 58 delegates, representing 16 different Negro groups, was assembled. This congress passed resolutions which the entire press of the world has approved, despite the fact that these resolutions had two paragraphs of tremendous significance to us.

Two Great Points Made

Wherever persons of African descent are civilized and able to meet the tests of surrounding culture, they shall be accorded the same rights as their fellow citizens; they shall not be denied on account of race or color a voice in their own government, justice before the courts, and economic and social equality according to ability and desert.

Whenever it is proven that African natives are not receiving just treatment at the hands of any state or that any state deliberately excludes its civilized citizens or subjects of Negro descent from its body politic and cultural, it shall be the duty of the League of Nations to bring the matter to the attention of the civilized world. Colonel House of the American Peace Commission received me and assured me that he wished these resolutions presented to the Peace Conference. Lloyd George wrote me that he would give our demands "his careful consideration." The French Premier offered to arrange an audience for the president and secretary of the conference. Portugal and Belgium, great colonial powers, offered complete cooperation.

As it was, we have organized the Pan-African Congress as a permanent body, with Mr. Diagne as president and myself as secretary, and we plan an international quarterly, Black Review, to be issued in English, French, and possibly in Spanish and Portuguese.

The world-fight for black rights is on!

went to the Amer[illegible]
sion and said frankly and openly: "I want to call a Pan-African Congress in Paris." The captain to whom I spoke smiled and shook his head: "Impossible," he said, and added: "The French Government would not permit it." "Then," said I innocently, it's up to me to get French consent!"

Clemenceau Admits Negroes

THE PACIFIC REVIEW

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The results of race mixture in the United States are not merely a subject of academic curiosity. This country cannot afford to remain longer in complaisant ignorance of the nature and consequences of phenomena which will affect largely its future welfare.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO TO AMERICAN LIFE AND CULTURE

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

32-39-116

It takes but little reflection to realize how far the Negro element in American Life is part of the very essence of its being. History, art, literature, industry,—on no one of these can we write for America without dwelling in some degree on the Negro. While most people would admit this, they at the same time assume that the place of the Negro in American culture is not that of a contributor, but rather of a passive victim or brute fact. This is not true. If we take his simplest contribution, manual toil, his significance to America has been tremendous. In a day when to Europe foreign trade was principally a trade in luxuries, designed for the whimsical rich and consequently more or less of a gambling operation, there came four great crops which, because of their wide demand among the mass of people, furnished for the first time in modern days a stabilized basis for foreign commerce. These were sugar from the West Indies, rice, tobacco and cotton from the mainland of America. Modern foreign trade was built upon these crops, and to them was added a trade in labor itself—the slave trade. The Negro then, both as an article of commerce and as a laborer upon basic articles of commerce, laid the foundations of the new world.

From these beginnings in the 15th and 16th centuries his

importance as a laborer increased. The economic development of America would have been impossible without him. and its cultural and political growth far different. Through Negro labor, America bridged long centuries over which other continents had toiled. His toil was not only positively efficient and valuable, but negatively his wide employment as common laborer and servant has for centuries released for other employment millions of persons, and upon this fact, more than any other, is based the phenomenal speed of American growth.

As time went on the Negro became the back bone of the farming industry in the South and today in a vast country where he forms only one tenth of the population he furnishes one third of the farmers and farm laborers and one fifth of the actual farm operators in the land.

Nor has the Negro confined himself entirely to the grosser forms of brute toil. He has done much as a skilled and semi-skilled laborer and even in the higher regions of invention he is not unknown. Granville Woods made some of the basic inventions on the telephone, Elija McCoy invented the foundations of the present system of locomotive lubrication and Matzeliger contrived the machine for making shoes which is today the basis of wholesale shoe manufacture.

The Negro woman, particularly, has played a curious and interesting part in the economic and spiritual life of America: slavery compelled her to be at least as large a contributor to the support of the Negro family as the man and very often she contributed more in care and labor to the training of the children. After emancipation she tended to become to a greater degree than white women economically independent, so that today nearly 39% of the colored women are in gainful employment as compared with 18½% of the white women.

The contribution of the Negro has not been confined, however, to his labor. Perhaps even greater than his contribution of toil has been his gift to art in America. With the single exception of the rather small contribution of the Amer-

ican Indian, the only real American music is Negro music and that which, past and present, has been based upon it. The Negro folk song was based upon African themes and rhythm, but was not simply African; it was developed by the African in America into new and poignantly beautiful forms and is today known and sung throughout civilization. From it Steven Foster in earlier days and composers like Powell in our day have developed notable musical contributions. Moreover Negro composers themselves like Harry Burleigh, Rosamond Johnson, Nathaniel Dett, Will Marion Cook and others in America, and Coleridge Taylor in England, have raised a splendid superstruction. The peculiarly African gift of syncopation and rhythm has swept the modern world not only in song but in dance.

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Negro America has produced a series of notable singers but they naturally are but slightly known outside of the Negro world itself. The so-called "Black Swan" in 1851 had a voice with a range greater than that of Jennie Lind but of course its possibilities were only partially trained. The Fisk singers and other bands who rendered the Negro folk songs were widely heard in Europe and America just after the Civil War and our tenor, Roland Hayes, has just sung before the King in England.

On the stage, in spite of equally great drawbacks, we have had Ira Aldrich who was regarded in Europe as one of the greatest tragedians of the day, equal in his line to the great Rachel. He was decorated by the Emperors of Russia and Austria and made a member of several academies of science and art. In our own land we have had Bert Williams and Charles Gilpin and on the minstrel stage have given the world a peculiar and characteristic kind of stage humor and comedy.

The American Negro has his painters like Tanner, known throughout the world, and sculptors like Edmonia Lewis once widely known, but now forgotten. In literature the gift of the Negro divides itself naturally into two parts. First his pecul-

iar situation and tragic history has been the inspiration of perhaps a larger mass of American literature than any other single series of facts in American life. We have only to think of the writings of Emerson, Whittier, Holmes, Lowell, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Julia Ward Howe, Thomas Nelson Page and George W. Cable. One could not on any basis of selection pick out ten great American masterpieces without including two or three like *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* based primarily on the Negro. On the other hand there has arisen an important American literature written by Negroes including Phillis Wheatley of Revolutionary days and Paul Lawrence Dunbar and Charles W. Chesnutt of our own day. There are a number of biographies which have been widely read, especially those of Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington. Between these two main branches of literature by the Negro we may note a growth of work like that of Joel Chandler Harris, where folk lore of purely Negro origin has been put into literary form by a white writer.

If we turn now to the indefinite but important matter of general social uplift we must first remember that emancipation was not simply the gift of white America to the passive Negro. As persistent fugitives from slavery, agitators, contributors to anti-slavery funds, organizers and helpers in the Underground Railroad, the actions of Negroes were decisive in making the abolition of slavery possible. The anti-slavery campaign without Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth and Frederick Douglass would have been impossible.

The Negro also has done much for the religious life of America. He has been a vivid exponent of religious emotion, an organizer of churches on a wide scale and a pioneer in missionary effort as in the case of George Lisle, the first American missionary to the West Indies and Lott Cary, an early missionary to Africa. Negro preachers have ministered to white congregations and had great success as in the case of Lemuel Haynes in New England, John Chavis and Lunsford

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34-39-115

In general ways there have been several American Negroes like Benjamin Banneker, Booker T. Washington and William Stanley Braithwaite who in many lines, quite outside their racial identity, have contributed much to American culture.

Finally a word might be said as to the special fields of exploration and defense in which the American Negro has been notable. One must not forget that the only living human being who has stood at the North Pole is an American Negro and that nearly 400 years before that event Estevanico was the first person of the eastern hemisphere to discover Arizona, New Mexico and the Southwest. There were Negro helpers and laborers with Balboa, Cortez and Pizarro. If it had not been for Toussaint L'Ouverture and the Haitian revolt there is every reason to believe that the Mississippi valley could never have been acquired by America and certainly not for the nominal sum which Jefferson paid for it. It was the Haitian revolt that drove France out of the Mississippi valley. On the other hand the Negro not only helped to find the land but to defend it and colored soldiers have been decided factors in

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THE COMPLEXITY OF THE AMERICANIZATION PROBLEM

By Herbert Adolphus Miller

If we compare a language map of Europe with a nationality map of any industrial city of America, it is immediately obvious that within one city's limits there is found the task of working out a way of harmoniously living together which the same people have not worked out when they have had all of Europe in which to do it. In all of these cities there is also a substantial minority who call themselves Americans and who assume to run the city according to their own standards. In 1915 more than half of the children in the schools of Cleveland did not speak English at home, and the same was true of Boston, New York, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Toledo, Chicago, and a multitude of other cities large and small, and yet the average American citizen never questions for a moment that they were English speaking cities.

It is not generally understood that in addition to variety of nationality, every political party in Europe is represented by these people in our American cities. It is no exaggeration to say that one can learn more about Europe in one summer in Chicago than in a year in Europe. I know for I have done it . We have, then, in addition to the adjustment of for-

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THE LAND BEHIND THE SUN

YOLANDE DU BOIS

YOU didn't know that there was such a place did you? No, neither did Madalen, until she went there. Madalen looked like a little Japanese girl, with a dimpled face, golden-brown in color, and soft jet-black hair. Her pretty almond-shaped eyes usually sparkled and danced with mischief. In fact, one afternoon these black eyes held too much mischief for her own good, and after she had succeeded in breaking two saucers, teased the white kitten, eaten the sugar on the sideboard and tangled her grandmother's knitting, her mother decided to put her to bed. I forgot to tell you that Madalen was a very little girl.

"But, Mamma," she protested, "I'm not sleepy, not a bit," and she opened her eyes very widely indeed.

"You've been a very naughty little girl, and if you don't behave, the Brownies will come and carry you away."

"Are the Brownies bad fairies?"

"Well," replied her mother, "they are little brown elves who catch naughty little boys and girls and carry them away until they promise to be good."

"Oh-oh," gasped Madalen, "and where do they take them?"

"Oh, somewhere down behind the sun," laughed the mother. "Now, Madalen, you really must close your eyes and go to sleep."

"Yes, Mamma," said the little girl, "but I wanna know—is it dark behind the sun?"

"Um-m, perhaps. I've never been there," and her mother closed the nursery door hastily. For quite a while Madalen lay perfectly still, with one chubby brown finger in her mouth.

"I wish"—she said aloud after a few moments, "I wish I could peek behind the sun, just to see what it is like."

"Do you really want to see behind the sun?" piped a small sweet voice.

"Oh," squealed Madalen, "who was that?"

"Look behind you," continued the voice. The words were no more than spoken when Madalen whirled around and there, on her very own bed-post, sat the prettiest little figure you ever saw. It looked like a doll, about eight inches high, but Madalen had never seen a doll who could laugh and swing her feet as this one did. Moreover, this minute figure was entirely gold. Her little hands and face were a dull golden-brown, her eyes were like a topaz, her filmy draperies seemed to shimmer with sunlight, and her hair shone like pure gold spun into threads. As for her wings, have you ever seen a bubble in the sunlight? Well, that's what her wings were like. When Madalen could recover from her astonishment she asked:

"Who are you, and where did you come from?"

"From behind the sun," gaily replied the little figure. "I'm one of the ladies-in-waiting, and my name is Topaz."

"Oh," said Madalen, "do you really live behind the sun—what is it like back there?"

"It's a very beautiful land," said the little creature soberly. "Would you like to visit it for a little while?"

"Yes," hesitated the child, "but how shall I get there? Besides, Mamma would spank me for running away."

"Just hold on to my hand tight and shut your eyes—when I say, 'Open', then you'll be there; and as for your mother, she'll never miss you from your crib."

Madalen obediently shut her eyes and clasped the hand of the tiny fairy. For a second she heard a rushing noise, and some voice, only much louder, bade her open her eyes. Looking around, she was astonished to see that Topaz was now the same size as herself.

"Oh," she cried, "you've grown up."

"No," laughed the fairy, "you've grown down."

"Do you mean," demanded the little girl, "that I'm as small as you were?"

"Yes indeed—you had to be to get behind the sun. Now take my hand and come along if you want to see the court of the Queen."

Madalen placed her hand in the fairy's and to her consternation, they rose in the air.

However, as she seemed to float along quite easily and without any effort, she soon gathered up courage to look about her. First of all, she noticed that although the sky above her was a deep blue in color, there was no sun. She couldn't tell where the light came from, but everything seemed enveloped in a silvery glare as though a full moon were shining over them. The next strange thing that she noticed was that the ground was blue; they were floating swiftly over hills and valleys, and the smooth velvety grass, the swaying trees and dainty cottages—all were delightful shades of blue.

"Why is everything blue?" she inquired of her guide, "and where's the sun?"

"Silly!" exclaimed Topaz with a smile, "you're behind it, so naturally you can't see it, and the back of the sun always gives a silver light. Everything is blue because it's our Queen's favorite color. Her name is Sapphire, and all her ladies-in-waiting are called after precious stones."

Madalen replied to this explanation with a nod because she was so busy looking she just couldn't speak. They were approaching what looked like a crystal city. As they drew near, Madalen could see that each little house was a single sapphire, carved into delicate tunnels and pergolas. The little city spread out, and in the very center stood the palace. It was an immense structure, entirely of blue stones set in silver. At the gate of the city they dropped back to earth, and Topaz touched a tiny bell on the lacy silver gate before them. Almost immediately the gate flew open and they beheld a little brown man dressed in a soldier's suit of blue velvet trimmed with silver.

"Greetings—Lady of the Topaz," he said, bowing low before the golden fairy.

"Gatekeeper, this is Lady Madalen from the Land in Front of the Sun."

At this the quaint little man bowed so low that he nearly tumbled on his nose, and the two girls were obliged to hurry on to keep from laughing and hurting his feelings. That never would have done, you know—it's awfully unkind to hurt people's feelings.

As they passed through the winding streets of the little city, Madalen noticed the cheerful faces of the inhabitants, which were all different shades of brown.

"Why!" she exclaimed, "everybody's brown."

"Yes," smiled Topaz, "didn't you know we are the Brownies—we are all brown, even our Queen."

"Why are the ladies-in-waiting named after stones?" inquired the little visitor.

"Because each one looks after the children born in the month her stone represents. What month were you born in?"

"October," replied Madalen.

"Oh," cried the fairy, "that's Opal's month. She is the most beautiful of us, except the Queen—her wings and her dresses are all changeable just like the Opal. Well, here we are. Now, Madalen, follow me and do exactly as I do."

Madalen obediently followed Topaz, gazing meanwhile with awestruck eyes at the structure which they were entering. Her eyes were dazzled by the light from the innumerable blue stones. Crossing the moat over a high arched bridge, Topaz paused and raised her arms. Madalen did likewise and the gate swung open. They ascended a wide, blue carpeted stairway, with a vast reception room also carpeted and hung with blue. At the far ends Madalen could see two blue thrones cut out of single sapphires.

"This," explained the fairy, "is the throne room. It is nearly time for the Queen to receive, so we'll wait."

She had hardly spoken when the vast doors on each side swung open and the ladies-in-waiting appeared. It would be impossible to describe them all, but they were very beautiful. There was the Amethyst in her robe of royal purple, the Ruby in rich red, the Turquoise in delicate blue, and the Opal, resplendent with her rainbow wings and draperies and flaming hair. Looking at the others, Madalen noticed them eagerly watching the throne, so she gazed also. Suddenly it became enveloped in a puff of smoke and as this cleared away she saw the Queen on the throne. When all the ladies had courtesied, Madalen stood before her.

"Lady Madalen," said a voice like a silver bell, "greetings and welcome, my dear."

The Queen's cordiality and beauty soon quieted the child's fears. She looked like a mere girl, about Madalen's color, wrapped in sheer blue chiffon. Around her plump brown neck was a necklace of blue. Even her sandals

were blue and the blackness of her hair seemed to reflect blue lights.

Madalen watched the court proceedings with interest and afterward the Queen turned to her and inquired how she liked their land.

"Oh," cried the visitor, "I think it's just wonderful—but I thought you punished naughty children here."

"No," replied the Queen, "but sometimes we bring them here to show them how nice it is to be good."

"Oh, I see," replied Madalen, "and what *does* become of the bad ones?

"Well, if they insist on being naughty, the Wicked Witch of Bogland gets them."

At this juncture the Queen looked very sad.

"Sometimes," she continued, "we can buy them back as the Witch is very fond of gold and silver, and we have plenty of that because whenever anyone in your world does a kind act a piece of gold drops into our treasury."

The Queen went on to tell how the Wicked Witch of Bogland had captured the young King. He was so handsome that she refused money for him but determined to marry him herself. Her eyes filled with tears as she murmured,

"We've tried lots of earth-children but they've all failed and you're too small."

"Well," offered the little girl, "if you tell me what to do I'll try to help you."

Then the Queen sent for Opal and charged her to direct Madalen on her way. As they went out of the Palace, Opal said:

"I know you don't know me but I've often sung you to sleep."

Soon they came to a hedge of thorns and Opal placed a little blue cap on Madalen's head and bade her good-bye, saying:

"Good luck, little one, I would come also but the fairies of this country may not enter Bogland."

Then she clapped her hands and Madalen found herself in a dark wood. Seeing a dim light in the distance, she followed it and soon found a tiny cabin. By this time she was awfully scared but she managed to knock on the door. A hump-backed dwarf opened it and motioned her to enter and turning to the other figure in the room, he squeaked:

"A tasty morsel, eh, mother?"

Looking past the dwarf, the girl saw the Witch, a bent figure in black with a white distorted face and hard gray eyes.

"Hee-hee," she cackled, "a very fine supper, my son; here, fetch me some water to boil her in."

Madalen looked around her in terror. There was no way of escape, she would be cooked alive!

The elf returned and setting down the pail, motioned her to get in it. As she hesitated, the Witch started toward her in a rage and in a panic of fear the child grasped the pail and flung the water over her.

"Oh, oh, oh," screamed the Witch, "Just look what you've done. I'm melting! Didn't you know any better than to wet me?"

Sure enough she was melting before their eyes. The dwarf fled into the darkness as she sank into a shapeless mass. Almost immediately bells began to ring everywhere and people of all shapes and sizes appeared to thank Madalen for their rescue. After a moment of astonishment she recovered herself enough to ask for the unfortunate "King of the Brownies". After a long search they found him hidden away in a dark garret, weak with hunger. Curtsying, Madalen exclaimed joyously:

"The Witch is dead, your Majesty."

Of course his surprise and joy knew no bounds. He was a handsome little king in spite of his rags, with a clear, kind eye. Bidding the others follow, they hurried through the wood to the thorny hedge where the King clapped three times and they were on the other side. When they reached the court, everyone went positively wild with joy and gratitude and determined to give a magnificent ball in honor of Madalen; but when they went to look for her she wasn't there at all!

And far away, in the land of the sun, Madalen was just waking up.

That night at supper her father looked at her strangely, saying:

"I never noticed that little star-shaped mark on your forehead before, daughter."

"No, replied Madalen, "that's where the Queen of the Brownies kissed me."

"What!" cried her astonished parents, "you've been dreaming again."

"Perhaps," said the child.

But she knew quite well it wasn't a dream and we knew it too, but we aren't telling all we know.

UP TO THE CRATER OF AN OLD VOLCANO

LANGSTON HUGHES

NEAR Toluca, Mexico, is an old volcano, Xinantecatl. The fires which once burned within its bosom have long ago gone out and now, in the deep crater that in past centuries held boiling lava and red hot ashes, two calm blue lakes sparkle like dainty jewels in a rough setting. No one knows when the last eruption of this volcano took place but some say that it was long before the time of Christ, and when the Aztec Indians came down from the North to found their powerful empire, Xinantecatl, for so they called it, had long been sleeping. Now, like a dead giant at rest, it is still great and majestic. Rising above the puny cities and little low hills that cluster about its base, it is as some nature king rising above a subject people. The ancient Indians thought it a god and climbed its steep sides carrying gold and jewels and precious gifts on their backs as an offering to the mountain deity. Even today the rural Indians say that when shots are fired in the crater or stones thrown into the blue lakes, the mountain becomes angry and calls the clouds to hide its peaks and send rain down upon its disturbers. We in Toluca, however, are not afraid of Xinantecatl. It is like a well known friend to us and one whom we see every day. On clear mornings its peaks are sharp and distinct in the blue sky; at evening the whole mountain makes a great black silhouette against the twilight colors.

When the boys of the Instituto, Toluca's high school, began to plan a two-day walking trip to the crater, and invited me to go with them, I accepted eagerly. They, with the customary Mexican politeness, put my name first on the list of those who were to go and several of the students went with me to aid in choosing the proper kind of "trumpeate", a sort of bag for carrying food. It is woven from marsh grass and is light of weight. They also saw that I bought a wide Mexican hat, as protection from the sun, and told me all the things that I would need to carry. First, plenty of lunch; then, two warm blankets because we were to sleep in the open mountains; my camera for pictures; a bottle for water; a small amount of cognac or some other liquor in case of mountain sickness in the high altitude; and a pistol. "But above all," they said, "take onions!" Those who had been up to the volcano before claimed that they were the very best things to smell if one began to feel ill in the thin air near the summit. I thought to myself that if I should get sick, the scent of onions would only make me worse. Nevertheless I took them and when the time arrived for their use I found my mind completely changed about their smell.

It was a beautiful sunny morning when we left Toluca. From the platform of the small station, where we were to board the seven o'clock train for Calimaya, we could see the white, sparkling snow peaks of the volcano and they seemed very high and far away. There were forty of us going on the trip and, before leaving time, the first coach of the tiny train was completely filled with Instituto boys. The aisle of the car was one jumble of blanket rolls and fat "trumpeates" of food, and the windows were crowded with faces—mostly brown faces of laughing young fellows, all talking at once and watching the late comers hurrying down the platform. These dark faced, friendly school boys were about like other dark skinned boys of my own race whom I had known in the United States. They made me remember a hike that the colored Y. M. C. A. fellows, in Chicago, took out to the sand dunes one summer. There the car windows were crowded with dark faces, too, and everybody talked at once. The only difference was that in Chicago they were speaking English and when a late member of the party reached the platform, every one cried out, "Hurry up!" while here, when Rudolfo, the tardy, came running through the gates, every one in the window shouted, "Apurese!" which means the same in Spanish.

The little train went click, click, click, down the pretty valley. We passed several small villages: Metepec, with its great church large

enough to hold its whole population; San Francisco, a collection of small huts, and a white temple; Mexicaltzingo, where the country bullfights are held; and then Calimaya, where the road to the volcano begins.

We found Calimaya a small, clean town with cobblestone streets and a stream of water running down the center of each one, where the cows and long horned oxen stopped to drink.

We piled our blankets and bags in one corner of its arched "Portales" to wait while two of the boys went for the guide and the burros—patient little beasts of burden—who were to carry our things. After a long while the burros came. There had been some disagreement in regard to the money to be paid, so we learned, the guide having set a price and then suddenly changing his mind, saying that he could not risk his animals in the cold mountain air for such a small sum. But finally an agreement was reached and we had three burros, a boy and two men to drive them, and a guide—all for a price that would amount to but five American dollars, and this for a two-day trip!

When the word "Vamanos" was given, the three small animals were almost hidden under their loads of blankets and lunch-bags, but being strong, sturdy little beasts, they did not seem to mind. They started off down the road with a trot, the two drivers and the boy running behind shouting, "Burro! Burro!" to make them go faster. The members of the hiking party, freed of their luggage, had nothing to pack now except the canteens or water bottles and their guns. Very few having pistols, there was an unusual variety of fire-arms in sight, from a modern rifle to ancient carbines. The reason for so many shooting machines was that we might meet bandits on the road, and, though it was only a *might*, every one should be prepared. During the revolutions and until a year or so ago the hills were full of robbers, who, not content with taking travelers' money, would ofttimes take their clothes, even to their shoes, leaving the robbed ones to get home as best they could. Now, though such robberies are infrequent, no one goes far into the country unarmed. The boys of the Instituto, going through the quaint streets of Calimaya, looked like a small militia.

The road leading to the foothills was quite bare of trees. High in a cloudless sky, the sun beat down upon our heads without pity, while the dust rose in clouds from under our feet.

On either side the road was lined with maguey and cactus plants which served as a sort of fence around the fields, where lazy, slow moving oxen were pulling wooden plows yoked to their horns, and wide-hatted peons pricked them languidly with sharp-pointed sticks. After about an hour's walking we passed Zaragoza, a small village which, like all Mexican villages, had its tall old church towering sad and beautiful above the miserable little huts. By this time all our water bottles were empty and our throats were dry. The guide promised us that we should come to a river soon and when we finally reached its friendly banks, after what seemed like an eternity of tramping in dust and sun, we lay on our stomachs like dogs and drank the cool clear water that came rippling down from the hills.

Soon the road began to ascend and we found ourselves climbing a slope covered with little pine trees. Before us, when we reached the summit, we saw only pine clad hills and then more hills, hiding the volcano from us. Looking back, we saw the wide valley of Toluca below, dotted with red roofed villages and the white towers and domes of old, old churches. At its opposite side we saw the mountains rising like a wall about the valley, shutting it in from the rest of the world and protecting it with their grey and purple strength.

The road now led upward, and it was not easy climbing through the forest of stunted trees with the sun like a hot ball overhead. About one o'clock, when everybody was aching and tired, the guide showed us a little cañon at one side of the road and said that here was the last water to be found before reaching the crater, the next morning; so he advised us to stop for lunch and to fill our water bottles. The burros were unloaded and everyone searched in the pile of "trumpeates" for his lunch-bag. As each woven sack looked just about like another, there was much opening and exchanging and inspecting before each one had his own. Then we scattered about the slope and prepared to eat. One of the boys from each group went down to the spring for water, and it was deliciously sweet and cool. After lunch we decided to rest a while. The guide said we had made good time and in three hours we could reach the timber line, where we were to make camp on the edge of the woods.

At three o'clock we climbed up to the road, loaded the burros and were off again—up, up, up. We had left the foot-hills behind us now and were on the very slope of the volcano itself. Here the trees, taller and thicker, made what we call a real forest. Perhaps we had eaten too much lunch, or perhaps we were tired, but anyway the trail seemed difficult. Then, too, we had begun to notice the lightness of the air and at every hundred yards or so we had to stop for breath. Some of the boys began to feel ill and at this juncture the onions put in their appearance. I felt none too well, so I began to search in my pockets for my onions, too,—and when, with a dull ache in my head and a breathless feeling in the lungs, I pressed them to my nose, all the former aversion to their scent disappeared. I kept them under my nose all the way to camp. And whether due to the onions or not, I didn't feel any worse while some of the fellows had to walk so slowly that they were left behind the rest of the party.

In the late afternoon we passed through a part of the forest where it seemed as if more than half the trees had been torn up by the roots. Great tree trunks, so large that we could hardly climb over them, lay across the path. Looking down, I could see whole hillsides strewn with these fallen members of the forest. Some of the boys explained to me how, two years before, a hurricane had swept across the mountains and tried to carry the whole forest off with it. The fallen trees were a bad impediment to our progress because, in an atmosphere where one cannot walk without getting out of breath, to climb over a gigantic trunk is an exercise that is not taken with pleasure.

It was almost six o'clock when we arrived at the spot chosen for camp, just below the timber line, where the trees of the mountain end. We were close to the peaks now and one of them, that looked very near, loomed between us and the sinking sun so that all the mountain-side was in shadow. Down below we saw the valley—far, far beneath—bathed in a twilight mist of rose and purple; the little river, that had been a winding, silver thread all day, had now turned golden in the sunset.

We began to make camp. Some unloaded the burros and tied them fast to trees. Others searched for the dry limbs and branches of the pine in order to make the fires. And still others, too tired and out of breath to do anything, sank down upon the ground to rest, for the last hour of the ascent had been the hardest of all.

The shadows on the mountain-side deepened and the sunset colors faded from the sky. For me, the evening passed quickly. There was supper around the blazing camp-fires, of which each group of fellows had its own; then songs and stories and more songs, to which the two burro drivers contributed a love ballad which they said they had learned down in the "hot country." At nine, the first guards were posted and the camp became still. The only noise to be heard was the occasional sob-like "hee-hooing" of the burros and the strong "Alerta" of the watchers, crying to each other from the four corners of the camp.

At two o'clock, when my turn came to stand guard, the moon had gone down behind the mountain and the forest was in inky blackness. The low burning camp-fires gave a little light. A long way off and deep down in the night-covered valley, we saw the white lights of Toluca, shining like a cluster of sunken stars in the darkness.

The next morning, at sunrise, we were off for the crater. A half hour's walk took us past the timber line, out of the forest, and to the open mountain-side. In a little while we found ourselves at the foot of one of the volcanic peaks, which, if we chose to climb it, would give us a view down into the crater. About half the party chose to go up; the others took the burro path which led around the side of the peak, entering the crater at the lowest opening. The peak, which near the top was covered with large patches of snow, did not appear to be very high. But we soon found that the steepness of its slope and the lightness of the air made the ascent more laborious than we thought it would be, and at every eight or ten steps we had to stop for breath. It seemed as if we would never reach the summit. The rocks and sand and gravel, of which the mountain was made, slipped beneath our feet and made us slide half-way back at every forward movement. We had to cross the snow covered spaces on our hands and knees—they were so slippery. When we finally gained the summit, it seemed as if our last breath had gone. We were very high and, between us and the hills below, the white clouds drifted by.

As we turned to look down into the crater, we saw it as a sort of double one, divided into two parts by a long hump-backed hill. On each side of the hill there was a blue lake with a rocky shore. The sides of the crater were steep and many colored, and the three highest of the tall, jagged peaks that formed its ragged edge had snow upon them. We, on top of our laboriously climbed summit, had an excellent view down into that part of the volcano where La Laguna Chica (The Little Lake) sparkled in the morning sun. Those who had taken the burro path were already resting on its shore and the height from which we saw them made them appear very tiny. Feeling the pangs of hunger, as we had not yet eaten breakfast, and knowing that the burros carrying the lunch-bags were waiting for us below, we began to descend. Half running, half sliding in the loose sand and gravel of the inner slope, we reached the bottom much more quickly than we had ascended. On the sandy shore, scattered with big boulders taller than a man, we ate our breakfast and drank the cold, refreshing water of the clear blue lake.

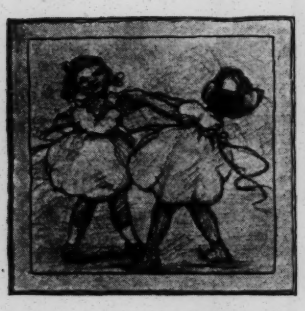
After breakfast we decided to see La Laguna Grande (The Big Lake), and so, circling around the side of The Little Lake, we began to climb one of the low ends of the hump-backed hill. In a short while, from the top of its rocky ridge, we saw below us the deep blue waters of La Laguna Grande, so beautiful and lovely and calm that it gave one a thrill of surprise at finding it buried in this old volcano's burnt, scarred walls. Some people say that this pretty lake has no bottom and that swimmers who venture far into its cold waters may be drawn down into unknown depths. Its smooth, innocent surface, however, gives no indications of such treachery, and the charm of its beauty makes one think it is a good fairy lake and not the wicked old witch with the pretty face, which reputation has given it.

We walked all around the rocky shore, stopping now and then to pick up small queer-colored stones or the sulphur coated rocks found on the beach. To reach the other end of the lake's long oval required more time than we had expected, for distances are deceiving in the high clear air. We stopped often to rest, sitting down on the large boulders and admiring the beautiful colors in the sides of the crater whose walls were sometimes deep crimson capped with jagged peaks, sometimes bright red or soft orange streaked with purple, and sometimes just gray rock covered with snow patches near the rim. And the blue lake was always like a jewel in a rough setting. At the other end of the oval we found erected on

the sandy shore, a large wooden cross which a band of religious people had carried up the steep trail some years before. They held a mass in the crater. Behind the cross rose "El Pice de Fraile," the highest of the Xinantecatl peaks, glittering snow white in morning sun. From its tooth-like summit on a clear day, one who has a pair of strong binoculars can see, off the coast of Guerrero, more than a hundred miles away, the silver waters of the Pacific.

When we climbed back over the hump-backed hill and down to the wider shore of the Little Lake, the burros were already packed with our blankets and much diminished lunch bags. Before we reached the spot where we had eaten, the first ones started off. We filled our water bottles and canteens from the lake and started after them. When we came to the highest point in the narrow road we turned for a last look at the little blue lake below, the hump-backed hill and the opposite red and purple walls of the volcano. Then we turned and followed the path which curved, at a dizzying height, onto the steeply sloping outer sides of the crater, where a false step too near the edge would have sent one tumbling down a mile or so into a green tree-covered valley. We took care not to make the false step.

When, at sunset, we unloaded the burros in the clean little "Portales" of Calimaya, although stiff and footsore and weary, everybody was happy and agreed that it had been a fine trip. A few minutes later, sitting on the platform of the country station, awaiting the last train for Toluca, we could see, high and far away, the sharp, jagged peaks of the old volcano faintly outlined against the sunset sky. They seemed so very high and so very far from us we could scarcely believe that just ten hours before we had visited them and drunk the cool snow water of their clear blue lakes.



PLAYTIME

ORIGINAL PUZZLES

C. LESLIE FRAZIER

THE SLEEPY PRINTER

THE printer was sleepy and ran his words together in printing the names of the compositions by these Negro composers. Can you straighten them out?

1. A. J. Conner: "Mych eris hedho pesmy fon destdre ams."
2. James Hemmenway: "Tha trest sos weetli kerest ab ove."
3. George Melburn: "Li st ent othemo ckin gbird."
4. James Bland: "Car ryme bac k tool dVir gini a."
5. Gussie L. Davis: "Theli ghtho useby th esea."
6. Samuel Milady: "Gran d fath erscl ockwa stooh ighf ort hes helf."
7. De Koven Thompson: "Lovecomesbutonc e."
8. Nathaniel R. Dett: "Listentothelambs."
9. J. Rosamond Johnson: "Sin cey ouwe ntaway."
10. Will Marian Cook: "Therainsong."

FRACTIONS

THE totals of the following fractions are the names of our foremost universities:

1. One-half of show and one-half of away.
2. Three-fourths of fish and one-fourth of kiss.
3. One-third of hollow, one-half of warmth, and one-sixth of reduce.
4. Two-fifths of total, one-fifth of regal, and two-fifths of spent.
5. Two-sevenths of Matthew, four-sevenths of lantern, and one-seventh of swagger.
6. Three-elevenths of willingness, three-elevenths of bereavement, three-elevenths of information, and two-elevenths of insincerely.

7. Six-elevenths of morris-dance, two-elevenths of Abracadabra, two-elevenths of sorrowfully, and one-eleventh of spendthrift.
8. Two-fifths of opals, one-fifth of years, and two-fifths of scene.
9. Three-eights of milliner, one-fourth of falconer, one-fourth of revolter, and one-eighth of windmill.
10. One-sixth of Hebrew, one-third of repaid, and one-half of cradle.

EXAMPLE: 1. SH-ow and AW-ay—SHAW.

CENTRAL SYNCOPATIONS AND REMAINDERS

EACH of the words described contains five letters, and the syncopated letters, placed in the order here given, spell the name of a famous American Negro patriot.

1. Syncopate a step for ascending and leave a commotion: 2. Pertaining to morning and leave principal: 3. The leaf of a flower and leave a loud and repeated sound: 4. A dwelling and leave covering for the leg: 5. A kind of nut and leave a song of praise and triumph: 6. A peddler and leave just: 7. Dispatch and leave aversion.

EXAMPLE: 1. stAir.

PRINTER'S PI

A Byb ahs a thoto ta stla,
Ybba nithks eh kastl,
Byba dansts ponu ish deha
Nhew eh rites ot kawl.

NUMERALS

EACH number represents a letter. 1 is A, 2 is B, 3 is C, etc. Below are names of streets which are popular thoroughfares for Negroes, and the cities and States in which they are:

(1) 2 5 1 12 5 19 20., 13 5 13 16 8 9 19, 20 5 14 14.
(2) 23 25 12 5 25 1 22 5., 16 9 20 20 19 2 21 18 7, 16 1.
(3) 4 18 21 9 4 8 9 12 12 1 22 5., 2 1 12 20 9 13 15 18 5, 13 4.
(4) 19 20 1 20 5 19 20., 3 8 9 3 1 7 15, 9 12 12.
(5) 19 15 21 20 8 19 20., 16 8 9 12 1 4 5 12 16 8 9 1, 1 1.
(6) 21 19 20., 14. 23. 23 1 19 8 9 14 7 20 15 14, 4. 3.
(7) 12 5 14 15 24 1 22 5., 14 5 23 25 15 18 11, 14. 25.

STARS

EACH star represents a missing letter and when you have placed them you will have the names of singers and musicians who can be heard on phonograph records.

1. B*r* W*l*i*m*.
2. M*m*e *m*t*.
3. N*b*e *i*s*e.
4. M*r* S*a*f*r*.
5. R*l*n* H*y*s.
6. L*c*l*e *e*i*i*.
7. F*s* J*b*l*e*i*g*r*.
8. M*m*e *m*t*'s *a*z *o*n*s.
9. H*n*y'* O*c*e*t*a *f *e*p*i*.
10. M*m*h*s *i*k*i*n* B*n*.
11. B*d*l* U*i*e*s*t* Q*a*t*t.

TRANSPOSITIONS

THE same four letters arranged differently spell the four missing words in the jingle.

The captain sat beside the helm,
Agazing at a ****,
He never called his comrades salts,
He always called them ****.
He never studied any ****,—
Painting nor sharps and flats,
But now he studies very hard
To rid his ship of ****.

"Hey!" cries Billy, "Hey!—If this is the last Brownies' Book, how 'bout the answers?"
"Look on page 356" answers the Judge, "but don't look until you've tried hard!"

Bingo

WINIFRED VIRGINIA JACKSON

I HAVE a dog named Bingo,
That dearly loves to play;
He runs about a-barking,
And has such fun all day!

One day he chased a kittie,
Who turned and said, "Scat-scat!"
He ran off crying, "Ki-yi!"
What do you think of that?

Good-Bye!

THE JUDGE

OYEZ ! O yez ! oyez ! All Brownies are herewith ordered on pain of not knowing to read page number 354, and to think about it five whole minutes before saying a single word.

"IT seems to me," says Billie, "mighty funny"——

"By which he means 'extremely curious'," explained Wilhelmina, complacently.

"Aw—I don't neither—I mean——"

"Well, what is it that is so extremely funny?" asked the Judge.

"Well, it's this way: here I've saved my money to pay for the BROWNIES' BOOK and now because somebody else didn't I can't have it any more."

"I don't call that a bit funny," said William. "It's pretty serious business and needs looking into. Here are 4000 Brownies who want the BROWNIES' BOOK awfully. Now, why on earth should it be any of our business if 16,000 other kids don't like it or don't see it or can't buy it?"

"It's life," sighed the Judge.

"It seems to be," snapped Wilhelmina, "that there are a lot of grown-ups who are extremely fond of laying the blame of everything disagreeable on life instead of on themselves."

"True," said the Judge. "Too true. From which fact, however, it does not necessarily follow that life isn't a considerably more complicated and mixed-up affair than even the wisest young ladies of 16 like to admit.

"For instance, Tommie Titmouse steps out of his door in Willipuswalipus City, and waits on the street corner. In five minutes a great giant of a wagon with driver and footman whirls by and for five cents carries him ten miles and puts him down at Smith's Toy Store, just where he wanted to go.

"Now, Sallie Dormouse steps out of her door at Skeesix Corners and she might stand on the corner two years and no street car or carriage would come by and carry her anywhere, even for five dollars if she had it, and she hasn't.

"All of which goes to show that life is not a matter of you and me and him, but rather of all of us together. Ten thousand people working together and living together can arrange to have cheap street cars and cheap newspapers while one person or a hundred persons could afford neither.

"If the Brownies of the United States want a BROWNIES' BOOK enough of them must want it and want it badly enough to pay for printing it."

"But," says Billie, "it doesn't cost any more, does it, for each Brownie to have 4000 Brownies' Books printed than it would to have four million?"

"Ah, there you're mistaken," says the Judge. "To print one BROWNIES' BOOK would cost $500. To print 1,000 BROWNIES' BOOK would cost $750. To print 5,000 BROWNIES' BOOK would cost $1000. To print 20,000, would cost $2500. In other words if only 1000 persons want the BROWNIES' BOOK it would cost them 75 cents a copy or nine dollars a year, while if 20,000 will buy it, it could sell for 15 cents a copy, or a dollar and a half a year."

"So the more you print, the cheaper it is?"

"Precisely."

"Then we ought to get busy and make everybody buy the BROWNIES' BOOK," said Billie.

"Oh, it isn't the Kid's fault—it's the Grown-ups—they're so busy with their own silly conferences and wars and autos they haven't time for real things," said William.

"Besides it's too late now," said Wilhelmina.

"It's never too late," said the Judge.

OLIVE PLAATJE

SARAH TALBERT KEELAN

IT is a far throw from New York to South Africa. A sad bereavement suffered by a well known native family in that far off country has reduced the circulation of THE BROWNIES' BOOK by one interested little subscriber, from Kimberley, South Africa—the diamond city of the world.

Olive Schreiner Plaatje, more intimately known as "Ngoetsi," died on the fourteenth of July, in Bloemfontein, South Africa, at the age of sixteen.

Ngoetsi did her life work at the age of thirteen, during the Fall of 1918—which, by the way, is the South African Spring—when the influenza epidemic swept over Kimberley, and killed in one month, 6,000 people, out of a population of about 30,000. October, 1918, has since been known as the "Black October." All the shops, churches, schools, theatres and market places were closed up and deserted. Drug stores alone were packed with customers, day and night. Nearly all the doctors were ill in bed, and pharmacists had to depend upon one general prescription for all sufferers. Throughout October, when the epidemic raged, the city looked like a huge hospital, for, according to official reports, all but five percent of the entire population of the city of Kimberley had the disease.

Only two Kimberley streets, I learn, were alive with traffic—the road from the City Hall to the hospital, and from the hospital to the cemetery.

The Plaatje household was among those stricken with the "flu" with the exception of Ngoetsi and her father, Mr. Solomon Plaatje, the Brotherhood lecturer, who is well known to many of us Americans. He himself at the time was looking after many of the other sufferers, often leaving his sick family alone with Olive, who, single-handed, was kept busy nursing a household of helpless patients, from her mother and cousins down—to be accurate, eight in all.

Nearly every house in the neighborhood had its funerals, but little Olive, like Mrs. Van Rooyen, over the road, saved every one of her patients.

Three months after the epidemic had passed away, when shops, schools, diamond mines and everything had reopened, and the people were glad it was all over, Olive was seized with an attack of rheumatic fever, which the doctors said was the after-effect of her nursing. She had to give up school and her piano lessons, and on the doctor's advice, her parents sent her to the Hot Springs of Aliwal, North Cape. Upon her arrival there, Olive was not allowed to use the waters, because her skin was not white. However, she eventually got better and resumed her studies at the Wesleyan Methodist High School for colored girls in Natal.

It was there that the rheumatic affection went through little Olive's heart and leakage developed. The teachers sent her home, but she got no further than Bloemfontein, where she died, about one hundred miles from home. Her mother hastened to her side; but her father, being in far off America, did not hear of the end until six weeks afterwards.

It is painful to learn that Ngoetsi most probably would have reached her mother's house but for the shocking "Jim Crow" system, which in British South Africa is even more rigorous than in the United States. It is charged that the sickness was aggravated by the harsh treatment accorded her by the white train men of the South African railways. At a railroad junction, where she waited hours for the Kimberley connection, her escort was not allowed to rest the sick girl in the waiting room or on the platform seats, which are at the disposal of white passengers only. The patient had to wait outside of the depot, without shelter or comfort of any kind.

It will thus be seen that while Brownies are a "problem" everywhere, in their own homeland—Africa—their troubles start rather early in life.

While we are enjoying the benefits of instruction in high schools, conservatories and colleges in New York, Massachusetts, etc., we should remember that in South Africa there are no public schools for colored children. The natives can only get elementary training in the rural and village mission schools. Native children who take advantage of these have to pay

their "tickeys" and "tanners" (English nickels and dimes), every week in the primary section, while the fourth and fifth grade pupils pay a quarter or more every Monday morning. In addition to these weekly school fees, the African Brownies have to buy their own books, pencils and slates, which in the South African public schools are supplied to white children free of cost. Therefore, we should appreciate the sacrifices made by Mrs. Plaatje and other African mothers to supply their children with training and strive to make the best use of our superior privileges.

Yet with all these difficulties, our late little Brownie friend had advantages which few of us on this side of the Atlantic will ever be privileged to have. Coming probably from the most polyglot family, of a polyglot country, Olive could write and converse in Sechuana, her father's language, as well as Sixosa, her mother tongue. Her parents, being of two different tribes, have separate languages. Besides these, Ngoetso could read and write English and Dutch.

Olive Schreiner Plaatje

Her uncle is chief translater in native languages for the Union Government. One of her cousins is interpreter to the South African Native Affairs Commission; another was until lately examiner for the Cape Education (Graduating) Department. To hold any of these posts, one has to be proficient in at least six different languages, and have a working knowledge of a few more dialects. One girl cousin is in training as a nurse at the Scottish Missionary Hospital, of Lovedale—the Hampton of South Africa.

The late Brownie was named after Olive Schreiner, a great South African authoress; "Ngoetsi" is after a native chieftainess in Africa.

I first met Olive's father at London, England, during October of last year. This summer I went to spend my vacation with my friend, Mr. and Mrs. Burton, of Ridgefield Park, N. J. Knowing that Mr. Plaatje was in New York, we invited him to spend a day with us, and on calling him over the telephone, to make the engagement, I learned of his sad bereavement, and of how Mrs. Plaatje faced the sorrow of laying to rest away from home, the dear little girl who, three years before, had saved her own mother from the "flu."

I feel certain that readers of THE BROWNIES' BOOK will sympathise with Mr. and Mrs. Plaatje, and especially with Violet "Teto" Plaatje, the surviving subscriber to THE BROWNIES' BOOK, for by the death of Olive, a promising yuong career has been brought to an end; family hopes have been dashed to pieces, and the Kimberley Women's Sisterhood has been deprived of one of their most useful junior members. Peace be to her ashes!

What Would the Dog Say If He Could Talk?

ONCE there lived a little baby who had no father. His father was killed in the war. One day the baby's mother went out and left the dog to stay with the baby. If the dog could talk he would say "I wish the baby's mother would come home so I could go out, but I must be faithful and stay with the baby." I know the dog will get some good meat. Soon after that the baby's mother came in and the dog got his meat and the baby got his milk. Then the dog went out doors.

WILLIAM VALENTINE (age 7).

"SAINT" GANDHI

The Greatest Man in the World

BLANCHE WATSON

ABOUT two thousand years ago there lived a man who said, "He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword,"—that is, He tried to make people see that war was wrong—that all killing was wrong—because *all* human life was sacred. The world, since that time, has listened to that message, but it has not understood it, or even tried to understand it—all of which means that this man came before the world was ready for Him, and (not being ready) it crucified Him!

When I say the world, I do not mean everybody in it. There were some few people who did understand what Jesus, the Christ, taught, and who tried to live by those teachings.

Now, today, on the other side of the world, in far away India, a man is preaching as did Jesus of Nazareth, "Love your enemies"; "Do good to them that hate you"; "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you". Like Jesus, he goes out under the blue sky and gathers the people around him. Like Jesus, he says "Follow me!" And the people follow him —not by the hundreds—but by the millions—for India is a nation numbering more than 300 million souls!

The people of India want the right to govern themselves as we govern ourselves in this country—as they governed themselves a great many years ago! Usually when a people decide that they want to be independent (as we call it) they "go to war"—that is, they gather together armies and go out and kill one another—forgetting what Jesus said—forgetting that we are all brothers and that God is our Father.

Now this man, who is leading the Indian people—"Saint" Gandhi as he is called—is giving to his people, after all these years, the message of the Man that we Christians call our leader. He, too, says: "He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword," and—if you will believe it—the British Empire, that has held India against its will for a hundred and sixty years, is more afraid of this man than any "general", that is, any fighting man—that has ever arisen during that time.

You ask me, "Why?"

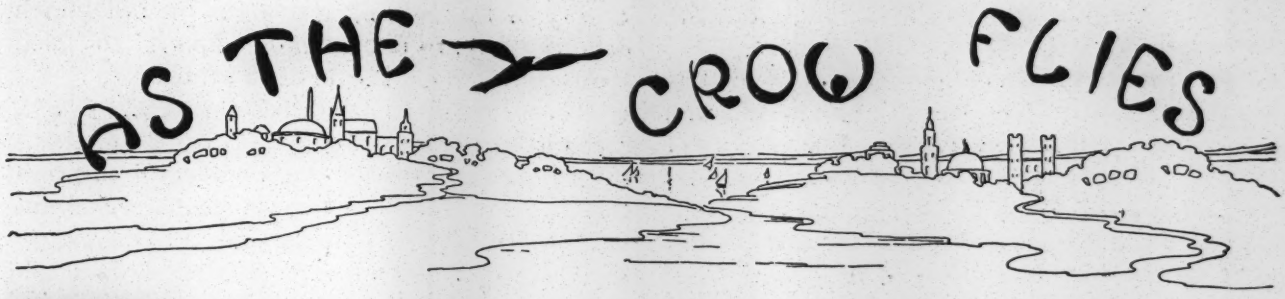
Let me tell you. Gandhi, this saint, says, "Don't have anything to do with this government and the people it sends here to rule us; but do not hurt them—do not lift a hand against them: just love them!" That is why the British government is so afraid of this great leader. When a man persists in loving you—in spite of all you do to him—you can't keep on hating and mis-using that man forever! More than that—any group of people that is held together by hate and bitterness *must* fall to pieces sooner or later. Hate is destructive—it kills! But a group of people held together by good-will, by love, is mighty—for love is constructive—that is, it builds.

Gandhi says to his people, "If you follow my way, you will be a free people; and when he speaks thus—this little brown man who has to sit in a chair on a table when he speaks—no one can disagree with him. No one can look in his wonderful eyes and even *think* that he is wrong. Do you know why this is? Because of the strength of his spirit. It is the spirit—the spirit of God himself that blazes there, and his word is the word of God.

The English government (and I do not mean the English *people*—that is a different thing) the English government may not know it, but they are afraid of Saint Gandhi simply because he is speaking with the voice of God, even as did Jesus, the Christ—by the Sea of Galilee—hundreds of years ago.

Will the people of India hold out? Will Gandhi succeed? Is the world to learn the lesson that war is murder—that Christ's way is the better way—that love is the "greatest thing in the world"?

Let us all watch India, and Gandhi!



I AM flying my last wide flight and am very, very sad. All the world lies dark beneath its snow and sunshine. Only the children are happy. Children are always happy. That is, most always.

¶ England and Ireland are still trying to make peace. The difficulty is first, Ireland does not trust England and claims that Ireland is a free and independent country. It happens that there is a little piece of Ireland called Ulster which does not want to be free and independent and especially does not want to be connected with the rest of Ireland. So the puzzle is how to make Ireland united and almost independent and yet keep her as part of the British Empire, and at the same time make Ulster satisfied as a part of Ireland. The job of doing this is so difficult that the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, has not been able to get away and attend the Disarmament Conference at Washington.

¶ In another part of the British Empire, Egypt, the natives, among whom are a number of colored people, want also to be free from the domination of England. England has promised that she never meant to annex Egypt and would give her her freedom; but recently when Egyptians came to England to arrange a treaty of independence they found that England was going to make her free except that she wanted to keep an English army anywhere in Egypt that she pleased, and that she wanted to make it impossible for Egypt to make any treaties with foreign countries without England's consent, and other provisions which made the so-called independence a farce. The Egyptians went home without arranging the treaty.

¶ Still further across the world in India several hundred millions of brown people are much incensed at the injustice of English rule. A large part of them are trying to secure their freedom, not by fighting but by refusing to "co-operate". That is, they will not pay taxes, they will not buy goods in the stores, they will not attend the courts or the English schools, etc. Their leader is named Gandhi.

¶ A Disarmament conference is sitting in Washington. The object of it is to see if the civilized nations of the world cannot spend less money in preparing to fight each other, especially as most of the people of the world do not want to fight. The president of the United States therefore has invited various nations to talk the matter over in Washington. When they got there, Secretary of the State, Hughes, proposed that the American, British and Japanese navies be cut down so that the first two should be equal to each other and Japan should be three-fifths as large. In addition to this they have been trying to talk about China; but the difficulty there is that Great Britain, France and Japan have already seized valuable parts of China, and valuable privileges, and do not want to give them up. The United States would like to have some of these privileges too and therefore is championing the rights of China. Meantime it looks as though China would get chiefly promises.

¶ Europe borrowed a great deal of money from the United States during the war and it is difficult to repay it because there is no international money and international debts have to be paid by goods. Europe cannot export goods to the United States in order to pay her debts unless she has raw materials out of which she can make the goods. The United States controls much of the raw material like cotton and food so the whole matter of paying these debts is very difficult.

¶ The peace treaty between the United States and Germany has at last been signed.

¶ There have been numbers of distinguished visitors to the United States recently; Marshal Foch, the leader of the allied army; Arthur

Balfour, the great English statesman, and Aristide Briand, Prime Minister of France.

¶ The Prince of Wales has gone on a visit to India and Japan. The English are afraid that the Indians will not want to see him.

¶ Two Italians have been sentenced to death for murder in Massachusetts. Many people think that they are not guilty and that they were sentenced because they had radical views of government. There is a wide-spread agitation throughout the world to save these two men.

¶ There has been a revolutionary movement in Portugal by which a new government has been installed and many prominent leaders killed. The former king and queen of Hungary, attempted to seize their former government. They arrived in an airplane but were compelled to leave and are now in exile on the island of Madeira.

¶ Great effort is being made to aid the famine stricken inhabitants of Russia. Sufficient food to feed a million people for five months is on its way and yet this is not enough.

GOODBYE, dear kiddies. I do not know whom I shall tell all I see hereafter. Nobody I suppose. Besides if I do not fly I shall not see. No, I am not crying. Crows cannot cry. It's a fine thing to be able to cry—sometimes.

¶ Senator Philander C. Knox of Pennsylvania, a prominent American statesman is dead.

¶ A proposed strike of the employees of the railroads has been stopped by the action of the United States Railroad Labor Board.

¶ United States will keep an army of 5,600 troops in Germany; the rest will be gradually withdrawn.

¶ President Harding made a speech in Birmingham, Alabama, where he asked for the right to vote for Negroes, just wages and education. He also said that he did not believe in "social equality," whatever that is.

¶ The extra session of Congress has adjourned and after a few days the same men came back to the regular session. President Harding addressed them on subjects for legislation.

¶ There are 54,421,832 persons 21 years of age and over in the United States, who are thus possible voters.

¶ President Harding has signed a bill which devotes seventy-five million dollars to good roads throughout the United States.

¶ There are in the United States 13,920,692 foreign born inhabitants.

¶ A great strike of clothing makers is in progress in New York because the employers want to pay by the piece instead of by the day.

¶ During the last election two states had colored parties who nominated candidates. In Louisville, Kentucky, colored men were nominated for Mayor and city officers while in Virginia the colored people nominated their own candidates for Governor and all state officers. 20,000 people voted for the colored candidates in Virginia.

¶ The Nobel prize for literature, which is given every year and amounts to about $25,000, has been given this year to Anatole France, a great French writer.

¶ Charges for freight on farm products have been reduced throughout the United States.

¶ People of Porto Rico, a large number of whom are colored, are trying to get rid of Governor Riley who seems to have made himself unpopular by injudicious remarks and actions.

¶ The tax bill recently passed by Congress will raise three and one-fourth billion dollars to pay the expenses of the United States government for the current year.

¶ A treaty has been signed between the United States, Great Britain, France and Japan to guarantee each other's possessions among the three thousand islands of the Pacific.

¶ Fifteen American war ships are to be sold at auction.

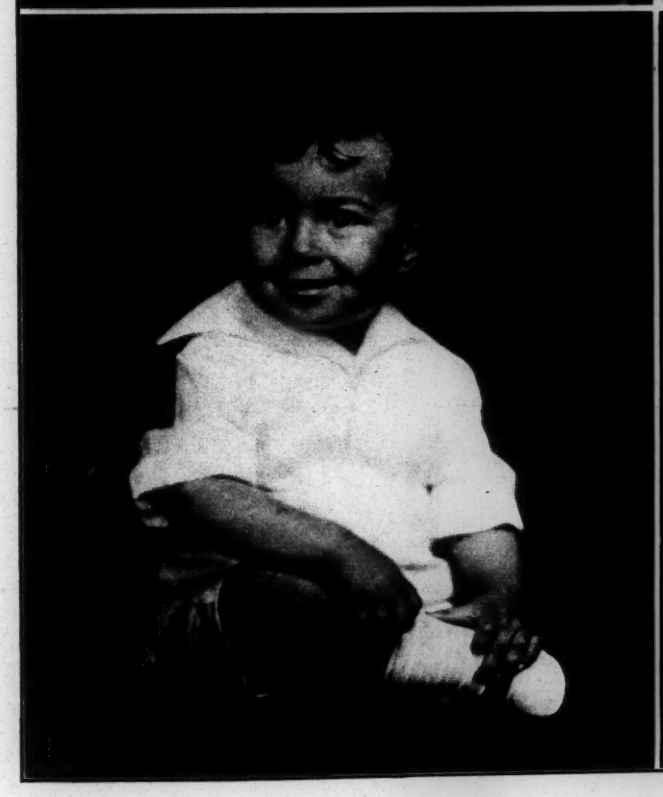
¶ A fire in Augusta, Georgia, destroyed two million dollars worth of property.

¶ We sent a military man to be governor of the Philippine Islands and very naturally he thinks that the Philippines should continue to be under the domination of the United States. The people do not agree with him.

¶ Marshal Foch, after visiting thirty States of the Union and being much impressed by the kindness of Americans, has returned to France.

¶ A French Negro, René Marin, who is an employee in the French Colonial service in Central Africa, has written a novel, "Batouala", which is about Negroes in Central Africa. It has received the Goncourt prize as the best French book of the year.

Our Little Friends



THE JURY

I AM a little girl nine years old, residing here now, having recently moved from Columbus, Ga. I am a dear lover of books, and every spare moment I am at the Dryades Street Library, reading.

Seeing THE BROWNIES' BOOK there, I was delighted to read it. For the past six months I've been trying to write little poems. One of them I was asked to send you for publication.

Should you think it not worth publishing in your next edition, please send it to me.

Let me hear from you.

I am in the fourth grade.

BEULAH MARTHA HOWARD,
New Orleans, La.

[This is Beulah's "poem".]

SPRING

Spring is here, Spring is here,
The time we children think so dear,
When the birds begin to sing,
And the flowers begin to grow,
Then you know that Spring is here.

Spring is here, Spring is here,
When all the children come so near,
When I can see
The little bee,
Then you know that Spring is here.

I AM twelve years and have been a little author in my home. I have been writing stories at home ever since the year 1917. But I have never sold them. I once wrote to the Author's Press for their six courses but I saw nothing in them which would do me any good because I was a gifted author. I have some of the most gorgeous stories that anyone would enjoy reading. I am very heart-broken. May I ask one small question? Will you pay me for my manuscripts? If so, I would like to appear at once. Everybody that hears I want to become a writer grants me a success and I hope you do too. I am waiting every moment.

Yours truly,
OBIETH HARDIN,
Gaffney, South Carolina.

THERE was once a little girl whose name was Lillian. She always played with her doll. It was a big, beautiful, brown doll with long black curls. Lillian loved it very much and took it everywhere she went.

One day while Lillian was in the yard playing her attention was attracted to a little bird singing in the tree above her. She was so busy watching this little bird that she dropped the doll and broke it. This made Lillian very sad, indeed, for she knew that dollie must go at once to the doll's hospital to be made well again.

With tears streaming down her cheeks, she picked dolly up, put her in her carriage and rushed her to the hospital. There she begged the doll doctor to make dolly well. The doctor told Lillian that dolly would have to have an operation and a new head. This frightened Lillian very much, but after asking him not to hurt her baby she went home.

At the hospital dolly made friends with several other dolls, a big French doll, a Japanese doll and a Scotch lassie. Her stay there was very pleasant. Lillian went to visit her often and carried her messages from the little Chinese doll who lived next door.

On Christmas Eve dolly was sent home in a Red Cross Ambulance. She brought back two of her friends, the French and Japanese dolls.

On Christmas day Lillian gave a beautiful party for all the dolls of the neighborhood. Soon, Lillian's doll married a big brown soldier doll and lived many, many happy years.

MIRIAM ANITA THOMAS (Age 8),
Washington, D. C.

Goodbye dear Brownies! How I shall miss your letters! JESSIE FAUSET.

THE MELODY MAN

JAMES ALPHEUS BUTLER, JR.

WHEN the autumn leaves whistle down to the ground, and Old Man Winter promises his arrival, the whole atmosphere of the forest seems to take on a golden aspect, and one finds it unnecessary to await the golden glow of the sunset to notice this. The reddish-yellow of the falling leaves, the dark branches of the trees fast becoming bare, the industriousness of the little denizens of the woods preparing for the long, bleak months to come, are all familiar sights. Yet only a visitor might enjoy the picturesque autumn of the little town of Avondale to the fullest extent, only a stranger might perceive and thoroughly enjoy the wonderful autumn atmosphere which envelops the entire town itself—even to the snug houses—for all of this was familiar to the inhabitants of the village.

Two little children—a boy and a girl—sat upon the porch of one of these snug little houses.

"I'm dreadfully tired of these old piano lessons," Emily Thomas said as she swayed back and forth in her little rocking chair. "Every Monday and Wednesday and Friday—Paul, I think that's too much, don't you?"

"Yes," said Paul, a robust little boy of twelve, "and I'm awfully tired of that old violin professor. He makes me tired with his 'do this, an' do that.' And he always wants me to count aloud. I think that is very silly."

"That's just the way it is with Miss Van Ness."

"And there's old Jack Smith—always guying me about playing ball whenever he sees me going to take my lesson. Always braggin' that he doesn't have to bother with any old stuck-up professor. It makes me angry to have to go in there with him—the professor, I mean—and all the other fellows are out having a good time."

Just then their mother's voice was heard from within.

"Children," she called, "you had better begin your practicing now. You know your teachers say you must devote at least one hour an afternoon to practicing."

Paul said "Pshaw!" but they both went in, for they were both obedient children, and Paul immediately began playing the scale of C Major on his violin, while Emily began her piano finger exercise.

II

ONE typical autumn day, not very long afterwards, there came into the little village of Avondale a tattered old man, almost dressed in rags. Yet from those garments shone a most benevolent old countenance which seemed to be kindness, and gentleness itself. The hat which he wore was minus a crown, and his shoes were much too large for him. His coat seemed mere drapery around him, for the sleeves were torn into shreds. Still this seemed not to alter in the least the impression which he gave to the few people he met as he came into the town. For, upon looking into his eyes, a strange, intense feeling seemed to come over you, it seemed as if you were gazing into the deep blue of a soul as mighty as the sea, as clear and pure as crystal, as humble as the Dove of Peace. And under his arm he carried a wooden box wrought in the semblance of an ancient violin case. Who knew what compelling melodies might emerge from the instrument which one was confident that the box contained!

At first no one paid very much attention to this little old man with the strange looking box which he held so tightly. It was true that whoever chanced to gaze into his eyes was struck with wonder and awe and often with a strange embarrassment—he gazed so sadly, his stare was so haunting. But these villagers, busy with other affairs, promptly forgot the torn old man, and gave their attention to their own pressing affairs.

No one knew from whence he came nor cared to take the trouble to find out. No one knew his purpose in entering the village, and no one knew where and how he lived while there.

On the second day of his stay in the village he chanced to be walking up Poplar Street, and his step was slow and uncertain. He seemed to be glancing at the houses as if trying to find out who lived in there by merely looking at them. Twice he stopped and seemed as if he would sit down, and twice he shook his head

and moved sadly on. Then suddenly a rock came sailing with intense speed from an alley and struck the violin case. Almost at the same time there came a "Yee--ho!" from the same alley and a boy with a sling-shot scampered away. The old man stopped and opened his violin box. And then he withdrew his old instrument, with four patched strings.

Now it was just about time for a school to dismiss. The children, happy at the thought of freedom, emerged in a joyous, boisterous crowd and came down the street in a jolly throng. Among them, leading in the laughter and play, were Paul and Emily Thomas.

Suddenly the crowd spied the old man looking fondly at his violin. Paul ran ahead and shouted in glee:

"Hark, hark, the dogs do bark,
The beggars are coming to town,
Some in rags, some in jags,
And some in velvet gown."

The crowd was elated. Every one shouted in glee. "Oh, look at the rag man." "Say, mister, want a coat?" "What a fine derby he has on. No crown!" "Ain't that head bald though." "He's got on rags now. His velvet gown must be in his fiddle-box."

But this did not last very long. Suddenly the old man put his violin under his chin and made several long strokes with his bow. Then he launched into a melody—the most wonderful melody the children had ever heard. They became quiet in an instant. They stared at him with large and incredulous eyes. Paul and Emily hardly knew what to think. A ragged man like that playing such wonderful music!

The old man seemed to have the charm of the Pied Piper. From one and two blocks around the children swarmed around him to hear the wonderful music. He seemed to carry their little minds off into the land of far, far away. It was as if some good wizard had come to them and suddenly crowded them into a crescent boat and sped them to the Land Where Dreams Come True.

But good things must end, and at last the old man finished his melody. When he stopped, it seemed as if the children had been released from a spell. As if awakening from a dream which ended too soon, they clamored around him and cried "More—more—oh, please, just one more piece."

But the Melody Man shook his head and, placing his violin back in his box, silently, sadly went his way.

III

EMILY and Paul saw no more of the Melody Man that day. Paul was rather quiet and thoughtful all of the afternoon. When he took his violin from his box he looked at it a long time before beginning to play. When he did finally begin practicing he drew long bows, and wondered if his violin, too, were capable of bringing forth the melodies which the old man had played.

He thought of the way he had led the crowd into making fun of the old man at their first sight of him. And something seemed to tell him that he had done wrong in doing this—he was almost sorry. All that afternoon he thought of the old man with the violin playing for the enchanted children. All afternoon there was before him the vision of the kindly old face, the bent, but firm, body covered with tattered clothes.

He did not rush out today to play with his little chums, as he usually did as soon as the hour which he was compelled to give to his daily practice ended. Instead he went to his mother who was sewing upon the front porch.

"Mother," he said, "I heard a most wonderful man today."

"Is that so?" asked his mother. "Who was he, Paul?"

"An old man, and he played a violin."

"A violin!"

"Yes, mother. All of the children were just coming from school and they met him, too. He was dressed almost from top to bottom in rags, and he had a violin that must be a hundred years old, and he played in the street for us. I liked it so very much!"

"And I thought my little boy didn't like a violin."

"When I heard the old man play I was sorry I had objected to practicing. If I could just play as he did! Oh, mother, do you think it will ever be possible?"

"Why of course, Paul."

"Will I be able to make people dream as he made us dream?"

"Of course."

"Will I be able to make people cry?"

"Yes, if you practice each day."

"And laugh, too?"

"Why, of course, Paul."

The little fellow jumped up and clapped his hands in glee.

"Oh, mother, I'm going to practice every day —every day! I'm never going to miss one. Maybe some day I can do just like the Melody Man!"

The next day was Saturday and since there was no school Paul set out to look for the Melody Man. Jack Smith had told him just that morning that he had seen him playing a "fiddle" further down the street, and Paul was anxious to hear him again.

He walked down Poplar Street and then turned down a sort of alley that led to the part of town where the poor little boys and girls lived. He hardly expected to find the Melody Man in that part of the town, yet it seemed as if something guided his footsteps in that direction. About a half an hour later he was glad he had come into that part of the town. For suddenly there came to him the soft notes of a violin!

With quickened footsteps Paul headed towards the spot from which the notes came. He turned a corner and seemed to burst upon a gathering which almost startled him.

For there, in the midst of a crowd of poor little girls and boys, was the Melody Man playing his violin. It was a beautiful and inspiring sight even though it was in the poor part of the town. The Melody Man was the center of the group and sat upon the dilapidated steps of an old house. His gray, long hair seemed to wave back and forth as he nodded to the rhythm of his music. He seemed to be in exactly the right atmosphere, and seemed to be filled with indescribable joy at the cheer and diversion he was bringing to the people in this crowded street. Even the grown people were listening to the notes which arose from the soul of the Man. From many windows wearied heads were thrust out, in many shop doors there suddenly appeared faces and bodies transformed and enthralled by the music of the Melody Man. Those notes of the Melody Man, seemingly so gentle and modest, rang out as trumpets in the environment of the slums so unaccustomed to such things.

Paul approached and watched and drank in the notes, until suddenly the man stopped and laid his fiddle aside.

"Little children," he said in a strange, feeble voice that gave the impression of being cracked, "do you want to hear a story?"

Everybody cried out as one, and the Melody Man, nodding his head, began his narrative. All the children settled around in comfortable attitudes.

"I am going to tell you a story," began the Melody Man, "that is not unlike my music. It is going to be a tale of one who set out on a noble mission and of what befell him. It is going to be a tale of cheer, and of sorrow." And the Melody Man stared ahead and seemed to be looking backwards into the past.

"Boys and girls," he continued, "there was once a youth, a fine lad, who had neither mother nor father. But his voice was as fresh as the morning, his brow was massive like the mountains and gave hint of a soul as big as life itself. When he smiled it was as if a thousand fairies cast a spell of joy upon you.

"The greatest ambition of the lad was to bring joy to people who knew not what joy was, to cheer those whose shoulders were laden with worry. And the Almighty had blessed him with a Gift with which he might carry out his noble desires. And this gift was a passionate understanding of the soul of music and its relation to human beings.

"So one day, with the light-heartedness of youth, the lad set out to serve humanity with a violin under his arm. It must have been that the very birds recognized in him a friend, for whenever he happened along the road they would always pour forth their most beautiful songs, and they even seemed not to fear him. And to reward them the lad would sit by the side of the road for hours playing for them and imitating their songs with his magic bow and fiddle.

"Time passed and the lad traveled far and wide with his fiddle playing for all and everyone he met, and especially for those who were poor and downcast and despondent. And there was many a heart which he raised from the mire and muck of despair and worry.

"The lad became an old man. He had traveled all over the land of his home and had seen foreign countries—even to the most remote corners of the earth where savages dwell. And during this time he had made friends with Princes, and Kings, and the Rulers of the earth, and even gathered enough of the world's riches to suffice him for the rest of his life. So he decided to build him a big house in which there could be seen the most splendid things

man could make, and live in it for the rest of his days.

"But when the old man went to live in his house a strange thing happened. He never felt at home in it. He had no people around him —no open-eyed children to play for, no worn and worried people of the slums to cheer and bring joy to. In his large, dreary house there was nothing but evidence of worldliness, of gold, and all of his life he had been a vender of dreams. It seemed to the old man that he would go crazy if he had to live there.

"So this old man went into his attic where he had thrown his ragged garments when he came to live in the big house and donned them again. And he found his old violin box which had accompanied him on his journeys, and once more he set out as he had done throughout his life. And to this day he has never returned to the big house that he built for himself."

At the end of his tale the Melody Man arose. His kindly countenance lit up in an all-embracing smile. The children clapped in glee. Then he spoke again. "And, now, my little children, I will have to go on my long journey again. For in some other town there are children just like you waiting on a Melody Man to come into their lives."

The children were sad when he said this. They clung to him and begged him with all the ardor of childhood not to go. But the Melody Man was firm, and sadly shook his head.

IV

THAT evening Paul and Emily sat on their porch with their mother and father. Paul was relating to his father the tale which the Melody Man had told that morning. His father was very interested.

"Well, Paul," he said, at its conclusion, "do you think the tale which the Melody Man told you might be true?"

"Why, no sir," answered Paul. "I thought he just told it for fun."

Mr. Thomas leaned back in his chair and smiled. And then he spoke. "As a matter of fact," he said, "the Melody Man is a great violinist. I knew of him when he was young and famous. At that time his name was on the lips of the world." Mr. Thomas paused. "Throughout his life," he said, "he loved to play for the poor folks who cared to listen. This was what brought him fame and fortune, and besides he seemed to enjoy influencing the poor, unlucky people. Recently, I heard, he left his mansion to continue his work—his great work. And that is your Melody Man, though few people recognize in him the great violinist of the last century."

"Why— —" began Paul.

But just then he stopped. For, trudging up the road, there was the Melody Man himself.

It was dusk. In the deepening gloom there could only be distinguished the bent figure of an old man, with a case clasped tightly under his arm. He held a staff in his hand with which he helped himself along. A hollow reverberation emanated from the violin case, because there were no plush linings within it and the violin was moving about because it did not fit. As he walked, the thump of his stick was followed by the thump of his boots on the pavement.

He passed under a glowing street lamp, and what the light revealed was an inspiration.

There was first of all the splendid figure—that of a man old but still possessing poise—the poise of one who is distinguished. And there was the countenance—a countenance radiating all that savors of the pathos of life, the joy of service, the grandeur of a life given to humanity and the uplift of children who have scant opportunity for witnessing the most beautiful creations of the mind of man. It was a countenance of contentment brim full of the noble happiness which comes from the consciousness that one has done something for his brother who hasn't had the same opportunities he has had. It was a countenance filled with the expectancy of the greater services which lay ahead to be performed, and which seemed to look forward to the performance of them with an eagerness to serve unparallelled.

And as his figure passed away into the dusk of evening and on, on into the distance, the Thomases felt as if something divine had passed before their vision.

Emily broke the silence.

"Mother," she said sweetly, "I'll never refuse to practice again in all my life."

Paul said, "I wouldn't miss another day of violin lessons for all the gold in the world."

And they all were soon silent with thoughts of the Melody Man who brought joy to inhabitants of this world of sordidness.

May they, too, be as faithful to humanity as the Melody Man!

THESE KIDDIES HAVE NO MOTHERS

If you want to help them send pennies to Miss Amy Chadwick, Leonard Street Orphans Home, Atlanta, Ga.

VALEDICTORY

MESSRS. DuBois and Dill announce with regret the discontinuance of THE BROWNIES' BOOK. Recognizing the great need which exists for literature adapted to colored children, and indeed to all children who live in a world of varied races, we have for two years made the experiment of publishing at our own expense, THE BROWNIES' BOOK. The experiment has cost us about $7,000. The total revenue has been about $4,000, leaving us some $3,000 in debt. The total number of subscribers to THE BROWNIES' BOOK has gradually risen to 3,500 and it is increasing very slowly. The magazine cannot, however, pay expenses with less than 15,000 subscribers. As there is no prospect of getting this number of subscribers within less than four or five years we cannot afford to continue the experiment.

The fault has not been with our readers. We have had an unusually enthusiastic set of subscribers. But the magazine was begun just at the time of industrial depression following the war, and the fault of our suspension therefore is rather in the times, which are so out of joint, than in our constituency. It is possible that at some future time we may see our way to republish THE BROWNIES' BOOK.

In the meantime we intend that no subscriber shall lose anything by the suspension. We can reimburse subscribers in several ways. *First,* by a direct return of the balance due in cash; *secondly* by arranging with the CRISIS magazine to transfer our indebtedness and fill out subscriptions with the CRISIS; *thirdly,* by letting subscribers invest the balance due in the purchase of books; and *fourthly* by letting the subscribers contribute to our debts and thus become co-workers with us in this beautiful venture of the balance in any other way in which they can suggest. We shall be glad to hear from our subscribers on this point.

In the meantime may we express to both parents and children our appreciation of their staunch support.

Little People of the Month

THIS month our little people consist of four high school students, one in Maine, 2 in Ohio and one in Oklahoma.

Doris Madeline Johnson who lives way up among the snows of Bangor, Maine, entered a competition for the music of her class ode. Eight of the nine judges declared her music was the best and when she graduated she conducted the orchestra of seventy pieces which played the ode. Of course Doris had a little advantage over some of the other folks because her family are all musicians. Both her father and mother, who came from Norfolk, Virginia, have musical ability; one brother is a violinist and a sister is a 'cellist while another sister won a gold medal as a drummer and xylophonist.

At the Martin's Ferry High School in Ohio, Kenneth Randall led his high school class with a grade of 95 in a class of 62, the next highest average being 91.

At Odena, Ohio, Alverna Blanchard was the only colored pupil in her high school class and made the highest average, 98.

Passing on down to Oklahoma we meet Miss Annie H. Coffey, who is only 15 years old. She completed the 8th grade at Wewoka at the age of 11 years and was valedictorian. She was the youngest pupil in the whole county, among both white and colored pupils, to take the 8th grade examination. As there was no high school at her home she went to the high school at Muskogee and there graduated in a class of 50 pupils at the age of 15. She is in college at Wiley University now.

Annie H. Coffey
Alverna Blanchard

Kenneth Randall
Doris M. Johnson

ANSWERS TO THIS MONTH'S PUZZLES

THE SLEEPY PRINTER

1. My Cherished Hopes, My Fondest Dreams.
2. That Rest so Sweet Like Rest Above.
3. Listen to the Mocking Bird.
4. Carry Me Back to Old Virgina.
5. The Light House by the Sea.
6. Grandfather's Clock Was too High for the Shelf.
7. Listen to the Lambs.
8. Since You Went Away.
10. The Rain Song.

FRACTIONS

1. Shaw. 2. Fisk. 3. Howard. 4. Allen. 5. Atlanta. 6. Wilberforce. 7. Morris Brown. 8. Payne. 9. Lincoln. 10. Biddle.

CENTRAL SYNCOPATIONS AND REMAINDERS

1. stAir. 2. maTin. 3. peTal. 4. hoUse. 5. peCan. 6. faKir. 7. haSte. ATTUCKS.

PRINTER'S PI.

Baby has a tooth at last,
Baby thinks he talks,
Baby stands upon his head
When he tries to walk.

NUMERALS

1. Beale St., Memphis, Tenn.
2. Wyley Ave., Pittsburg, Pa.
3. Druid Hill Ave., Baltimore, Md.
4. State St., Chicago, Ill.
5. South St., Philadelphia, Pa.
6. U St., N. W. Washington, D. C.
7. Lenox Ave., New York, N. Y.

STARS

1. Bert Williams. 2. Mamie Smith. 3. Noble Sissle. 4. Mary Stafford. 5. Roland Hayes. 6. Lucille Hegimin. 7. Fisk Jubilee Singers. 8. Mamie Smith's Jazz Hounds. 9. Handy's Orchestra of Memphis. 10. Memphis Pickaniny Band. 11. Biddle University Quartet.

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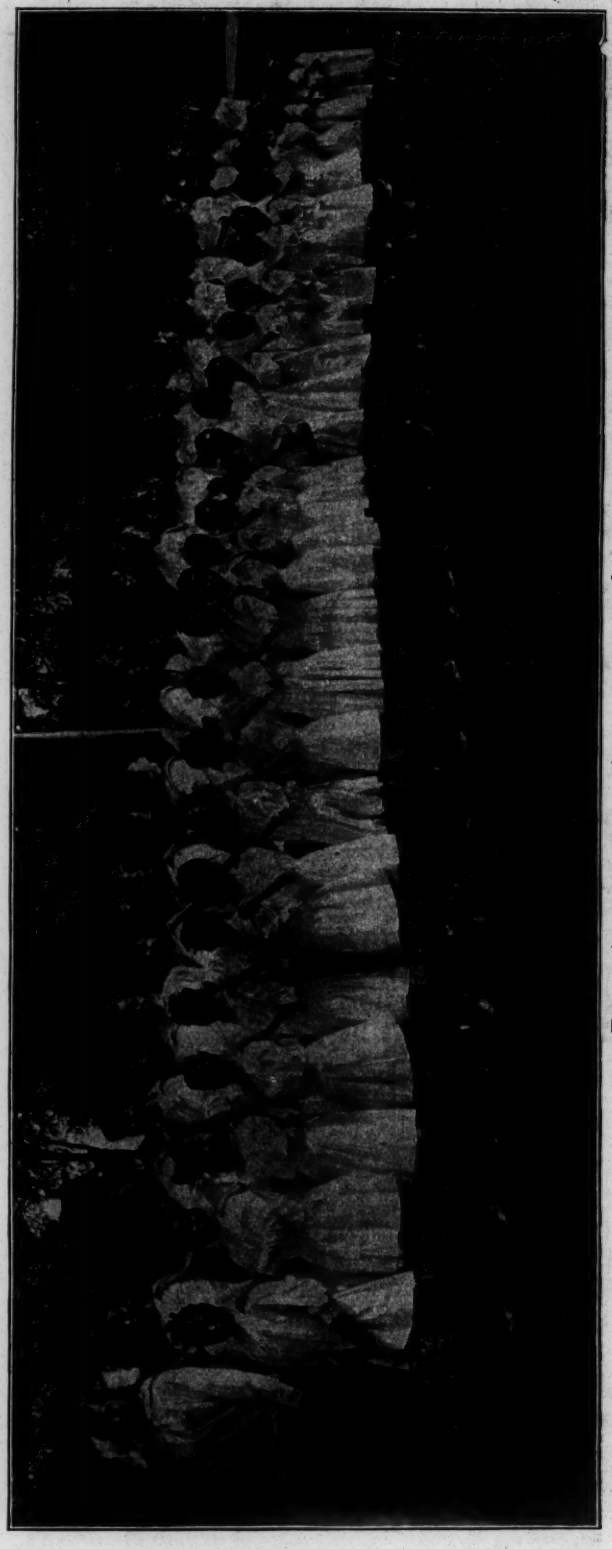

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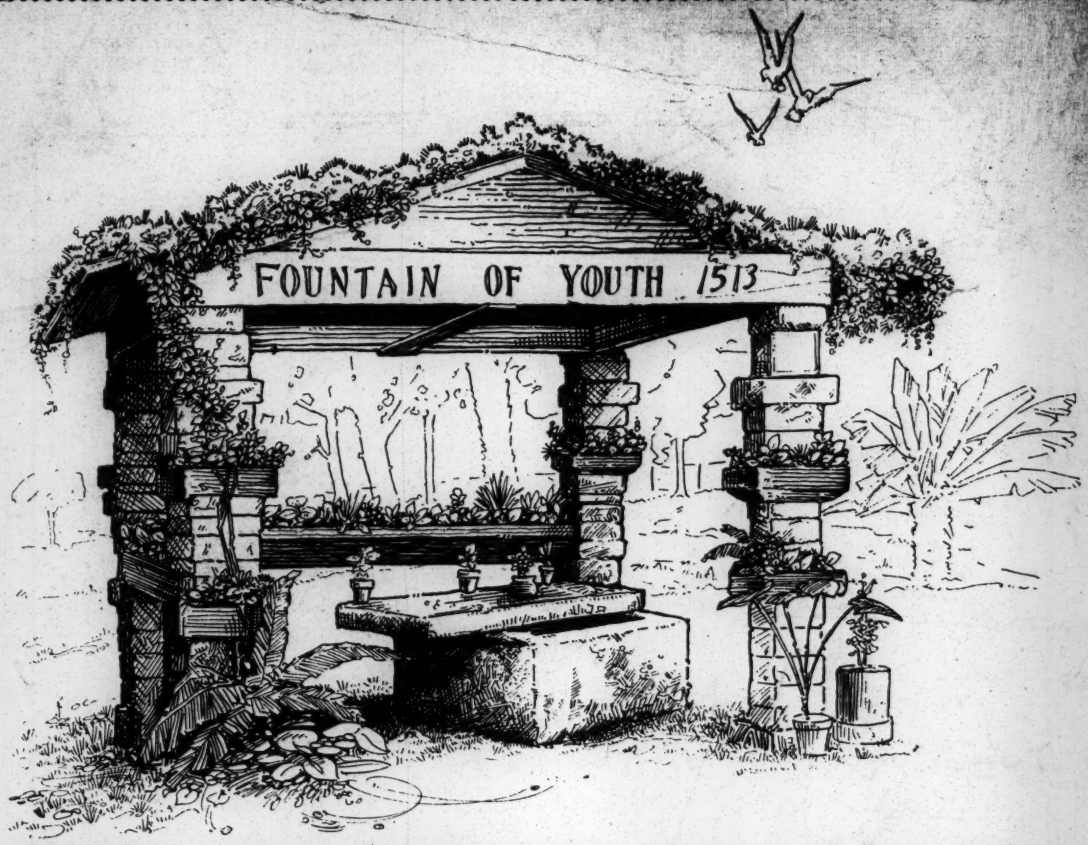

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New Republic, December 7, 1921

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Published Weekly

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Lots of people think that, Friend! But—well—

The Quakers are in Russia and they're feeding 50,000 hungry people every day. Without regard to race, creed or politics.

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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The Week

ALMOST all the news from Washington about the progress from day to day of the Far Eastern negotiations needs to be accepted with a large dose of scepticism. It is in general untrustworthy, although its untrustworthy character is by no means entirely the fault of the correspondents. They must have something rather definite to report even though the actual happenings are wholly indefinite and tentative; and there are, of course, many people connected with all the delegations who have ideas and purposes of their own to serve, different from those of their colleagues, who are only too willing to supply news which is more definite than true. This false or partly false news quickly spreads throughout the whole body of correspondents, who communicate anything they are supposed to learn one to another; and the next morning the majority of the Washington dispatches pass on to their readers the more or less erroneous account of what is supposed to have occurred. The reports are denied or modified the next day, but in the meantime it may have served the purpose of the person who had launched it on its career. In interpreting the Washington news the reader should, consequently, refrain from attaching much importance to the budget of any one or two days. It is only documents, official announcements and reports which are confirmed for many successive days which are entitled to count. Even they usually require a sophisticated interpretation.

UP to the time these lines go to press nothing very definite and authentic has emerged from the scrimmage. The play has started, but it remains obscure to the spectator on the bleachers which of the players is carrying the ball and whether or not he is or is not gaining his distance. In the beginning the Chinese took the initiative; but they did not hold it for long; and for a while there was a general impression in Washington that the game was up. It looked as if they had allowed the ball to pass to their opponents and as if their chance of winning a success was gravely compromised. But this gloomy view was certainly an exaggeration. The Chinese, it is true, are not strong enough to carry the ball except behind an extremely well-organized and vigorous interference, but they and their supporting interference are not yet broken up and they have not lost the ball. While it remains doubtful how much it will gain, the pro-Chinese party is still aggressive and is still pushing along.

IT was the four Root resolutions coming after the ten Chinese principles which created the impression of weakness and loss by the Chinese party. The Chinese principles were general, but if they were adopted they would have obligated the governments which accepted them to a revision of the worst clauses of the existing treaties and of the most objectionable of the customary practices of foreign governments in China. The Root resolutions, on the other hand, merely repeated the old phrases, except in the case of the fourth, which was

...ous; it looked consequently like an ... to prevent any beneficial principles of legislation about China which the Conference might achieve from being applied to past abuses. This interpretation was natural, but it was only partly correct. The Root resolutions were not any more final than the Chinese statement of principles. The latter expressed in general the maximum which the friends of China hoped to obtain. The former expressed the minimum which all members of the Conference were ready to concede. The final result would lie somewhere in between. But the Root resolutions do not supersede the Chinese statement of principles as a basis of discussion. The Chinese principles are being hung on the appropriate hooks provided by the agenda, and they continue to constitute in this form the order of business of the Far Eastern Committee of the Conference. There is a secure hook for all of them except the tenth, which provides for future conferences about the Far East. That proposal does not need any official pretext for being ultimately adopted. Either future conferences on the Chinese question will succeed the present conference or there will be war in the Pacific. Nobody except Hearst wants war.

THE outcome is still in doubt. It is in doubt for one unexceptionable reason. The public and probably the negotiators have no means of knowing (1) how firmly the American government will back up the Chinese (2) how firmly the British government will back up the Americans at the expense of offending Japan and (3) how much the Japanese are willing to yield without breaking up the Conference. The shrewdest and best informed observer can only venture a more or less plausible guess about the result which will follow from the interaction of these three incalculable forces. Recently the friends of China had considered the prospect less encouraging because the English official publicity played up the importance of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, but there is nothing conclusive about this symptom. It is still reasonable to anticipate that the Conference will bring into existence a beneficial change in the position of China. The benefit in specific agreements will not amount to as much as the friends of China would like, but whatever they are they will be clean benefits. The American government will not purchase them by conditions which will prejudice the future harvesting of a larger crop. In the meantime during the course of the negotiations Secretary Hughes is entitled to the confidence of his fellow citizens. He has earned it by his behavior up to date and as each successive crisis arises, he earns it more rather than less.

TAXATION is one matter that is not likely to be laid at rest for long by any action of Congress. When taxes are heavy, as they must be for a generation, there will necessarily be great discontent among those who think they are unfairly burdened, or that they have the power to roll the burden over to others' shoulders. Least of all is it to be expected that our recently enacted taxation law will enjoy long life. It is fully satisfactory to nobody. It denies substantial relief both to the lower income classes and the higher ones. It abandoned the profits tax, foolishly, we believe, and refused to levy a sales tax, wisely, in our opinion. Senator Penrose has declared that the present is to be regarded as merely a temporary measure, and that the question is to be reopened with a view to fixing permanent rates. A new drive for the sales tax is in prospect. It may succeed, but we see no reason why it should. The agricultural bloc remain coherent, and are gaining in self-confidence. By the time the Penrose group of tax reformers have got the tax question well opened up, it is quite possible that the agricultural bloc will have made up their minds that dropping the profits tax was a mistake, and that no opportunity is to be missed for putting it back on the statute book.

ONE feature of the tax law which should have received general commendation is strangely enough practically ignored by the press. That is the abolition of the tax on transportation, an impost that meant an effective increase in railway rates of five percent on freight and eight percent on passenger traffic. There was never anything to be said in favor of such a tax except that it afforded a substantial revenue. In criticism of the tax it was fairly to be urged that it acted to depress traffic, the very economic life of the country, and rested most heavily on those products and localities that are already discriminated against in the traditional structure of railway rates. Transportation taxes are an invention of the robber barons of the Dark Ages. They may properly be applied in time of war, along with similar inventions that are not too obsolete. Peace has no place for them. They are gone, we hope, forever.

SENATOR KENYON has introduced a bill which comes at such an emergency and is, as far as it goes, so sensible that one hopes it may soon be used as a beginning for the relief of unemployment. Senator Kenyon proposes the familiar plan of holding up necessary public works until a time of depression and unemployment. Department heads would be required to make plans for such work well in advance, and would be allowed

As for the United States's policy so far as revealed, the test question is whether Mr. Root's four points are meant to sanction the status quo in China. If events as they continue to develop show that such is their main intent, then we may be sure that the administration in order to secure itself politically with the American people, is willing to bargain with Japan and Great Britain at the expense of China. There has been a cryptic intimation that the recognition of China's sovereignty by these Root principles is equivalent to enforcing against her all the treaties and commitments which she has signed—for otherwise China would not be sovereign in her treaty-making power! This ingenious device is worthy of that type of American legal mind which has found that it is interference with the liberty of the American workingman to do anything to place him in a secure position of freedom. But it is almost inconceivable—unfortunately not quite—that the problems of the Far East should be approached in this spirit.

Of course it is something to improve China's condition for the future. But the forces which are operating because of the things that have been done in the past will not stop operating because a Conference of powers in Washington decides that such and such things shall be done in the future. The only successful way to regulate the future is by dealing with conditions that now exist. Diplomats are wont to square the circle and perform other impossibilities. To consecrate the status quo in China and then to resolve that things shall be done differently in the future is another of these miracles of diplomacy.

Is the American press going to feed that portion of the American public which requires a happy ending to every novel and drama? Or is it going to take the risk of offending American sentiment and pride by ceasing to proclaim every move as a great advance, and every remark of a foreign diplomat as a tribute to American success, and a reason for swelling American pride? The danger is the greater because our vanity got such a terrible prick at Versailles—a wound that had much to do with our withdrawal into our shell. Now that we have put our heads out again, we are looking for solace and compensation. There are foreign diplomats skilled enough to salve our wounds while they achieve in fact their own ends. If we are not too much inclined to spend our energy in gladsome cheering, we are more likely to attain that "happy ending" to the Washington drama which is so much needed by our mental habit and by our still sore pride.

JOHN DEWEY.

...and stra... ...on.

W. E. BUKO...

...cond Journey to Pan-Africa

IN 1919 Pan-Africa was a phase of war—a ...ing attempt to call the attention of a world in travail to the plight of a race. The cry was heard but hardly understood, for other and greater cries drowned it. But in 1921 there seemed to come a chance to test the depth and meaning of Pan-African consciousness.

Three sets of audiences gathered in London, Brussels and Paris for the Second Pan-African Congress. In the English gatherings were Negroes and mulattoes from West and South Africa, British Guiana, Grenada, Jamaica, Nigeria and the Gold Coast; Indians from India and East Africa; colored men from London and twenty-five American Negroes. The voices were outspoken after a rather timid and apologetic opening. The resolutions—strong and clear, with their plain leaning toward industrial democracy, went through without a dissenting voice, though some older representatives of white British philanthropy were evidently not content.

This British attitude showed itself best in a conference arranged by the Aborigines' Protection Society with Sir Sidney Olivier, former Governor of Jamaica, in the chair. Their secretary promptly put the burden of position on us by offering three resolutions for our adoption, on Land, Labor, and Conscription in Africa. Our committee replied that a demand for "sufficient lands" "to provide for the economic independence of the family units" in Africa did not go far enough; that we agreed with their opposition to the new slavery and did not agree that France had no right to conscript her black as well as her white citizens, so long as conscription was her policy, and so long as she recognized racial equality; and that France did come nearer this recognition than any other modern land. Then we in turn changed the subject and spoke freely of the future relations of philanthropy and the Negro problem, laying down the principle that Negro effort aided by white cooperation must be the rule rather than white effort carried on without reference to the opinion and wishes of black folk or with only casual consultation of picked representatives.

In contrast to this attitude was our conference with the foreign relations committee of the Labor party. There we sought to let men like Clynes, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Lowes Dickinson, Mrs. Philip Snowden, Leonard Woolf, C. P. Buxton, Sir G. Fordham and others, know the real oneness of black and white labor problems. They were not perhaps entirely convinced, but they were deeply

ympathetic and were plainly ...tion rather than hoping to give advic...

In Belgium the scene changed. We had here audiences predominantly white and local, but the Belgian Congo was strongly represented, the American group was increased, and the French colonies and Abyssinia appeared. Not only was this a change of personnel but the language difficulty was to the fore, leaving the thirty Americans for the most part linguistically stranded; and, too, a new spirit was in the air. We sensed the Fear about us in a war-land with nerves still taut. It had taken swift work with M. Frank, the Colonial Minister, and others, and probably some diplomatic interchanges, to keep us from being denied admission to Belgium, and particularly the use of the State building, the Palais Mondial. The opening session was palpitating with curiosity and the press tables were crowded. Two Generals graced the platform where presided the black Senegalese, Blaise Diagne, President of the Congress and French Deputy and High Commissioner of African troops. A white French deputy was also there, an Abyssinian, and an American colored woman; the Colonial Office was represented by two officials who pointedly declined platform seats; there were also present, a group of international students, several hundred white Belgians, and many black Congolese.

For two days the speeches went on smoothly—too smoothly, I felt, because nothing was being said but platitudes—not a word about the past in the Congo; not a word about the present; only a hint of a future with some education, some recognition of the chiefs, some industrial betterment. To this was added every effort to show what Belgium had done for the Negro. And here there was much to be said: we stood astounded before the crowning wonder of that museum at Tervurien. It was marvelous—the visible, riotous wealth of the Congo, the startling size of the vast African empire destined to make Belgium but a physical fraction of her own black colonial self; the beauty—the infinite, intriguing, exquisite beauty of Negro art. And yet in its midst and centre, at the end of the long, straight, beech-lined avenue of ten miles, sat Leopold II in ivory; while in the Congress he had not been mentioned!

It was in no spirit of trouble-making but as a simple duty that I rose the last afternoon and read in French and in English the resolutions of London. I did not dream of the consternation which I would cause; but even if I had, it was my evident and bounden duty to read our adopted charter of complaint and hope, even in Belgium. I had previously made it plain in correspondence that we came not for "revolution" but certainly for calm and reasoned complaint, and I was unprepared to hear the word which London received without protest, called "Bolshevist" and "absolutely inadmissible" in Brussels.

Diagne, the Senegalese Frenchman who presided, was beside himself with excitement after the resolutions were read; as an under-secretary of the French government, as ranking Negro of greater France, and perhaps as a successful investor in French colonial enterprises, he was undoubtedly in a difficult position. Possibly he was bound by actual promises to France and Belgium. His French was almost too swift for my ears, but his meaning was clear: he felt that the cause of the black man in Belgium and France had been compromised by black American radicals; he especially denounced our demand for "the restoration of the ancient common ownership of the land in Africa" as rank communism. Panda, the young black leader of Negro Congo in Belgium, was curiously perplexed, and my heart went out to him. White friends—his foster mother, a Belgian general, several members of philanthropic bodies—eddied about him and about Diagne with advice and warning, while several Belgian officials made speeches and reporters hunted for copy.

Meantime, the colored Americans were pressing rather peremptorily for the appointment of a committee on the question of our London resolutions—forgetting the almost unlimited power of a French presiding officer. I was both alarmed and cheered. At least the question had been laid before Belgium and the world. We would not leave a Negro World Congress without really mentioning the truth of our problems. On the other hand, if it could be said that our Congress ended in an uproar—or if our French and Belgian colleagues could be induced to withdraw, the Pan-African movement would receive a severe, perhaps fatal, check. Paul Otlet, a white Belgian, "father of the League of Nations" and co-secretary with Senator La Fontaine of the Palais Mondial, sought to calm the waters by a harmless proposal which Diagne rushed to a vote, even allowing guests and visitors a voice, and swamping Pan-Africa momentarily under the opinion of white Belgians. Mr. Otlet's proposition declared Negroes "susceptible" of advancement from their present backward condition and that their development would rid humanity of a weight of 200 millions of ignorant incompetents, and that collaboration between races on a basis of equality was an urgent duty today. He proposed, therefore, a federation of all uplift agencies of Negroes and their friends centring in the Palais Mondial, Belgi...

aragraphs but consented to hav especially marked as being the opinion of Black America but reserved by Black France for consideration at the next Congress.

Back of this serious internal difference of opinion and policy, which future Congresses must thresh out, lay a subtler and more fundamental problem: Europe asked, What do these hundred, more or less, persons of near and far Negroid ancestry really represent? Is this a real Pan-Negro movement or the work of individuals or of small groups enthusiastic with an idea but representing little?

And we ourselves could not answer. Of the hundred and fifty millions of African Negroes, few were conscious of our meeting. But a few were: in South Africa—even in far Swaziland—in Kenya, East Africa—in the Egyptian Sudan, in Angola, in Liberia and British West Africa, in Nigeria and the Gold Coast, in the French and Belgian Congo and throughout the Americas, many black men knew definitely of our meeting and some attended. But how far did we really represent and voice them and how far were we merely floating in the air of our dreams and ambitions?

We were undoubtedly an intelligentzia—a small group of intellectuals interpreting to some extent but more certainly seeking to guide the public opinion of our group. Was our interpretation honest and clear, and would our guidance be followed? Who shall say until Time itself tells? But certainly there is today no gainsaying the ground swell in the Negro race—the great, unresting, mighty surge; it is reported by every colored official, it is feared by every colonial power, it is sensed by every intelligent Negro in every part of the world. What is it? Sometimes it is revolt against slavery; sometimes revolt against land theft; sometimes complaint against low wages, always a chafing at the color-bar.

What part did the Pan-African Congress play in this worldwide feeling? It did not cause it, as many accuse; it but partially and fitfully voiced it. But it did do three things:

1. It brought face to face and in personal contact a group of educated Negroes of the calibre that might lead black men to emancipation in the modern world.

2. It discovered among these men more points of agreement than of difference.

3. It expressed the need of further meetings and strengthened the permanent organization.

W. E. Burghardt DuBois.

The Ambush

He sat in the hedge on the field side, thinking. He had lots to think about, and it was a grand, early summer's day. He took his wife's letter from his pocket; it was the last he had had from her.

They were all well at home, they were trying not to fret about him. The boy was growing great and had lots of talk. Did he hear about Crowleys, she asked. She was afraid to put more in the letter about it, but the lads from Kerry would tell him. She thought she'd give up the house and go and live in the town with her mother. Dunne's house was burned, and theirs was searched four times in two weeks. Bride Flaherty was taking this letter to Tralee and maybe he'd get it somehow. He was to keep his head up, and not forget what Bride had told him.

He laid the letter down. In a few minutes he must tear it up. Yes, he remembered what Bride had told him. He looked at his hand—there it was, a great long life line.

"Begor, boy, ye'll never die on the field of battle!"

Bride was a great one for the fortunes. Well, well, he was glad his wife put him in mind of it. Tomorrow they'd be in action, he was making for the place now, he had lots of time so he could sit and think. His home, it rose before his mind. He'd made a good choice of a wife anyway. There were few who had so snug a home. She was great entirely for the flowers, well he remembered the rows of sweet peas, rambler roses. Yes, she was all for them. Flowers weren't the whole thing . . . Lord! how he longed to be back, as he remembered how she fed him. He hadn't eaten food as good since he left home.

Ah well, well, he must turn his thoughts from these things yet a while, from the thought of his fine young son. He'll have the Irish on him from his cradle, please God. He smiled as he thought of himself in years to come telling the boy of the fights they made for freedom, of the life of a man on the run. Ah well, please God, the boy will never have to endure it.

He stood up, stretched himself. This thinking hurt. He'd made up his mind he'd make for Costelloe's for a bit of dinner. The Costelloes were his wife's third cousins. The boys were in the movement and he knew he'd find a welcome there. He carried no equipment, he wore no uniform, to do either meant death on sight—if a lorry chanced to pass. There was a chance of that without either. Sure, wasn't there a price on his head?

Diagne's precipitate acceptance of this program pleased neither its promoters, like the aged General Sorelas, former pupil of the great Cardinal Lavigerie—nor yet the American Negroes who envisaged a bigger, stronger movement and who saw little to encourage them to hope that Belgium was ready to lead in the restoration of Negro civilization. Their strong but calm stand finally brought order out of threatened chaos: the Otlet resolutions were declared adopted, but the London manifesto was held for further consideration, to be debated on and finally voted on in Paris. After adjournment, groups of whites and blacks stood about until dark, discussing in French, Flemish, Spanish, Portuguese and English, the meaning of that whirl of deep feeling which flared before adjournment.

32-40-39

We came to Paris with a sense of strain and apprehension, only partially allayed by a long, frank conference with Diagne who acknowledged that his methods in Brussels were high-handed but contended that he had only sought to prevent the "assassination of a race!" The Paris meeting was different from both London and Brussels. It was not "official"—it had clear and determined elements of revolt. It was outspoken and it was bitter with complaint. The variety of groups represented was larger than in London or Brussels, and included besides the United States, the former German colonies, the Portuguese colonies, French Senegal, Congo, and the West Indies, British West India, the Philippines, and Annam. There was no attempt to control the Congress in the interests of any one point of view. None of the colored deputies of the French Parliament attempted to have their way exclusively. Every attempt at smooth platitude was thwarted. "We are a little France," cried the Haitian Minister diplomatically. "Yes, but France did not give freedom to Haiti —Haiti took it," answered the Americans amid the wild applause of young Haiti; and they added that when America seized Haiti, it was not France but Black America which made the only effective protest.

"We are getting on all right in the French Congo," cried a black Congolese in halting phrase, but he was followed by a white Frenchman, Challaye, with circumstantial denunciation of French methods in her Congo.

French and English officials, two ex-governors from Africa, and many prominent whites watched the proceedings and reporters questioned us; above all one thought was uppermost: What did this Congress mean? What was back of it? What were our objects? Especially we were asked re- West Indian "Africa for the Africans" movement, which apparently proposed the forcible expulsion of the whites. It was not easy to explain at first that this Congress was a meeting for conference and acquaintanceship, for organization and study; that it did not as yet represent any complete, settled and adopted policy, but that its members almost unanimously repudiated any policy of war, conquest, or race hatred. On the other hand, we did agree on an unalterable belief in racial equality and on the general proposition that the government and policy of Africa must be designed primarily for the good of the Africans themselves and not primarily for the profit of colonial powers.

Here it was that we encountered the central Fear of France: the main reaction of that organized thrift of Central Europe which is today governing and leading economic reorganization after the war. France recognizes Negro equality not only in theory but in practice; she has for the most part enfranchised her civilized Negro citizens. But what she recognizes is the equal right of her citizens, black and white, to exploit by modern industrial methods her laboring classes, black and white; and the crying danger to black France is that its educated and voting leaders will join in the industrial robbery of Africa rather than lead its masses to education and culture. This is not yet true, but men like Diagne and Candace, while unwavering defenders of racial opportunity, education for blacks, and the franchise for the civilized, are curiously timid when the industrial problems of Africa are approached.

For instance, they asked us to omit from the French version of our English manifesto, seven paragraphs which emphasized and particularized our arraignment of predatory capital in Africa. The gist of the paragraphs lay in these words:

> If we are coming to recognize that the great modern problem is to correct maladjustment in the distribution of wealth, it must be remembered that the basic maladjustment is in the outrageously unjust distribution of world income between the dominant and suppressed peoples; in the rape of land and raw material; the monopoly of technique and culture. And in this crime white labor is particeps criminis with white capital. Unconsciously and consciously, carelessly and deliberately, the vast power of the white labor vote in modern democracies has been cajoled and flattered into imperialistic schemes to enslave and debauch black, brown and yellow labor, until with fatal retribution, they are themselves today bound and gagged and rendered impotent by the resulting monopoly of the world's raw material in the hands of a dominant, cruel and irresponsible few.

The Americans insisted upon including th...

The World Tomorrow

A Journal looking toward a Christian World

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The Negro and the White

The Negro's Contribution to America
The Negro in Industry
The Myth of Racial Inferiority
The Poison of Race Prejudice
The Black Man's Burden
Social Equality and Race Mixture
Approaches to a Solution

Articles by

Sarah N. Cleghorn, W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Jessie Fauset, Leslie Pinckney Hill, Charles S. Johnson, Eugene Kinckle Jones, Florence Kelley, Mary E. McDowell, Herbert Adolphus Miller, John Nevin Sayre, Edward T. Ware and L. Hollingsworth Wood.

Also a Story by

Dorothy Canfield

32-40-47

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Social Equality and Racial Intermarriage

W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS

THERE is no doubt but that at the bottom of the race problem in the United States is the question of "Social Equality": and the kernel of the "Social Equality" question is the question of intermarriage.

These questions moreover are made almost impossible of rational discussion because of the intense bitterness and hatred which their mere mention gives rise to: one party hotly begins the discussion by intimating in plain terms that blacks are degenerates and prostitutes, commerce with whom on any plane is monstrous. The other party retorts with a record of millions of mulattoes and mixed bloods, the deliberate degradation of black womanhood and the criminal lust of the white race the world over. With such beginnings there is no rational end of discussion, no reasonable enlightenment.

Let us here, however, seek to forget a moment the hateful and hurtful and set down in cold phrase the main elements of the problem.

1. The sexual intermingling of race groups and more particularly of the lightest and darkest races is regarded by many folk as physically monstrous.

As a scientific dictum this is false. From earliest records racial mixture has been the rule and not the exception and there are today no pure races and no scientific line can be drawn between races. There is no scientific proof that the intermingling of any and all of the branches of the present human family does not produce normal human beings.

2. It is, however, believed by many that while race mixture is not physically monstrous, nevertheless certain strains of blood are superior to others; that the darker races have a larger number of inferior strains and that the preservation of the best human culture calls for the survival of the white race in as pure a state as possible.

There is undoubtedly vast difference in heredity, strains of blood leading to the rise of individuals of great ability here and others of criminal and degenerative tendencies there. It is also undoubtedly a great human duty to improve the human stock by rational breeding and by eliminating the unfit and dangerous. But our knowledge of human heredity is at present extremely vague and inexact and it is a monstrous perversion of our proven scientific knowledge to assume that the white race is the physical, mental and moral superior of other races, and that it has a right to secure its own survival and the death of the majority of men by any and all methods. It is quite possible that science will eventually show just as many superior strains in black and yellow as in white peoples, and just as much innate degeneracy in Europe as in Asia and Africa.

3. Racial intermingling, while neither monstrous nor necessarily deleterious, is regarded by many as at present inadvisable:

(a) because of widespread and deep seated racial antagonisms and hatreds.

(b) because of the necessity of group solidarity as a means of transmitting human culture.

(c) because of the value of the group in initiating human culture.

(d) because of differences of taste as to human types of efficiency and beauty.

Here we come to a much more reasonable basis of argument. Humanity always has worked in groups and while these groups have gradually increased in size from the patriarchal family to the nation and even to the "empire" and the race, there is little likelihood that in the next millennium race lines will wholly disappear and we shall emerge as one undifferentiated humanity. Undoubtedly groups and races can and will do much to initiate culture and to transmit tradition. Moreover racial repulsions and antagonisms, within bounds, have their uses and incentives. No one can envisage a dead level of sameness in human types. There is the blue and blonde beauty of the Nordic race; the golden glory of the yellow world; the soft and sensuous allure of the brown people and the starry midnight beauty of the blacks; outside of the mere physical appeal there is every shade of method and conception and thought in differing groups of human hearts and minds, and the preservation and development of this interesting and stimulating variety in mankind is a great human duty.

But how are racial variety and human differentiation to be encouraged?

1. Some think that races can be kept from mingling only by force; that force should take the form of law even if this involves the prostitution of women of the darker races.

This cost is too great. If the only method of keeping races from intermingling is to force them into degradation and inferiority then it is far better to let them intermingle indiscriminately.

2. Some folk would depend on slander and gossip to discourage intermarriage. They would spread the rumor that dark races are diseased and abnormal, make impossible mates and so should be avoided.

This is simply a campaign of lies and again is socially too costly to maintain.

3. Most people depend on social exclusion—the denial of social equality to those with whom intermarriage is for any reason undesirable.

Can Democracy Tolerate Exclusion?

But can democracy and wholesale exclusion co-exist? Our present perverted sexology leads us to regard our every social equal as a prospective husband or wife; and, *vice versa*, we want to insult and kick anyone whom we may not wish to marry. How singular an attitude this is and how it explains much of our modern marital muddle inside the white race as well as without. Every proposal of increased democratic control in the world has been met by the objection that the excluded classes will seek intermarriage with the privileged classes if they are allowed to rise. The answer has always

been: marriage, within certain wide limits. is an individual contract which calls for the consent of the two contracting parties; without that consent, it cannot be consummated. With that consent its legal prevention leads to sexual immorality, as the millions of mulattoes and Eurasians attest.

Moreover, democracy and human culture demand social contact. The white race has been chiefly instrumental in breaking down racial barriers and territorial segregation. Unless human beings meet and meet on a plane of understanding, friendship and courtesy, modern culture is impossible. Social equality, therefore, is a necessity of modern human intercourse. Does it involve intermarriage? Not necessarily. If growing contact of men and women of different races in government, education and art lead to marriages, then this is proof of mutual attraction and mutual consent. Doubtless the social contact of strange groups and races will lead to some such marriages. But it is certain that these marriages will be far fewer in number, and far less deleterious in effect than the illicit sexual relations that have long been the rule.

On the other hand so long as racial and group separation has any adequate reason, in scientific fact, in cultural efficiency, in human taste and beauty, the great mass of individuals of the races will not intermarry, and their attitude will be maintained not by crime, lying, prostitution and personal insult, but by knowledge, courtesy and mutual respect.

"But of Course No Social Equality!"

SARAH N. CLEGHORN

OFTEN when I take children to the Museum of Natural History, and note how they shriek and run away from the painted Indian masks exhibited there, I think of our characteristic American reaction to the question of social equality with Negroes. The children are at the same time fascinated and frightened; they are fascinated by their own fright. They are not intellectually, but emotionally deceived; their judgment is stampeded; they are mesmerized. After a time the braver ones creep back, scurry away, creep back again; they look more closely, they see the grain of the wood, the smearing of the pigments; they even begin, in time, to discern the human intention behind the mask.

Would it be possible for us also to come back after our first startled and excited recoil, and search out some of our reasons for screaming and running away every time we hear or think the words "social equality"? The first thing we should notice, I think, in such an examination, would be that we have no particular dislike for inter-racial contact, as such. "These Southern men, that can't eat in the same restaurant with a colored man," an old Jacksonville doctor once said to me, laughing, "go and pay a colored barber to sozzle his soapy hand all over their mouths." In a Pullman sleeper a colored man is extremely welcome to everybody as long as he is a porter. His black velvet hand smooths down the pillow on which the white cheek is presently to lie. And the last three seats on which the Negroes have to sit in Southern street cars become the first three seats as soon as the car starts on its return journey.

It can't be fear, either, of being eclipsed by the genius of the black race. Against any such fear our undented ignorance of Negro achievements protects us, like a coat of mail. If we see Tanner's pictures in an exhibition, or read James Weldon Johnson's or Claude McKay's poems in a magazine, we assume that the authors are white. I should describe our attitude toward Negro culture as one of mere dull incredulity, mere weakness of the organs of appreciation.

If then we don't mind meeting Negroes, but indeed rather like it, as long as we don't have to meet them on equal terms, but can depend upon a fixed caste advantage over them in every encounter, can we perhaps trace our violent recoil from this dread social equality to some economic motive? Here we are, of course, upon the trail of the universal serpent. But observation of white psychology, either in the North or in the South (for the difference is only one of degree, and perhaps not so many degrees as the white people of both regions imagine) indicates that in this case the economic motives work very obscurely, and work either through, or with, other very powerful springs of action; springs which seem, at all events, more powerful than the economic ones.

The Bugaboo of Intermarriage

Race contempt I believe to be such a cause. But the moment we touch this swollen muscle in human nature, we find that we have touched something more exciting to us than social equality. We find that social equality itself is only a frontispiece for the spectre (to us it always seems a spectre) of intermarriage between white and black. For while we whites are beginning to realize, through all our provinciality, how much we are losing by not seizing the chance to mingle socially with Negroes, and while every time that some frank European comments on our national brusqueness and hard-headedness, our driving, hustling habits, our unimaginative ungraciousness, we think, perforce, of the Negro genius for fun and frolic, the Negro wit and charm, the natural gracefulness of Negro manners, the Negro taste for music and pictorial art; still we believe we must remain fixed forever in our social inequality, because so many voices have so weightily pronounced the doom,

"You can't have social equality without intermarriage."

Intermarriage! Here we are shrieking and scurrying away again. But let us try creeping back and looking at this spectre, just as we did at the other apparition; perhaps we shall be able to discover that it is made of wood and pigment too.

For surely we either have, in both races, a deep and

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The Third Part

Why We Need It
EDITORIAL

The South Holds the Power
W. E. B. DU BOIS

Henrik Shipstead
ROBERT LITTELL

Jan 1923

The Great Confusion
A Reply to Mr. Terman
BY WALTER LIPPMANN

Why Borah's Economic Conference Won't Work

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The South and a Third

THERE has been no real Third Party movement in the United States for fifty years. The main reason for this is the political position of the South. This condition ought frankly to be discussed, in no partisan spirit and without reference to anyone's attitude toward or belief concerning the Negro race. The election of 1920 coincident with a decennial census gives us an unusual opportunity.

Before the Civil War, the Southern part of the United States had a white population whose political power was, man for man, larger than the political power of the North. The reason for this was that the white South in 1860, for instance, not only cast votes for a population of 5,931,483 whites, but also voted three-fifths "of all other persons" that is, of 3,953,760 slaves, amounting politically to 2,372,256 persons. This, however, did not upset democracy in the United States as much as it might have, because the white votes of the South, even with their added power, were distributed on the whole fairly evenly among the dominant parties; so that the Whig appealed to voters North and South with almost as fair a chance of success as the Democrat. But this situation made a Third Party possible only at the cost of the Civil War!

The result of the Civil War, a result which most people have overlooked, was to increase the political power of the white South. This has been partly neutralized in the North by the political power built upon the basis of the unnaturalized foreign born; but on the whole the net result of these facts has been to increase the political power of the South very largely and of the East considerably as against the political power of the Centre and West. This can be proved by the following facts:

If we compare the possible voters (native born persons 21 years of age plus naturalized foreigners) with the votes cast in the presidential election of 1920 we have these percentages:

PERCENT OF POSSIBLE VOTERS DISFRANCHISED

South Carolina	92%	Pennsylvania	58%
Mississippi	91	North Carolina	56
Georgia	89	Vermont	
		Oregon	48%
		Massachusetts	46
		Wyoming	46
		Michigan	45
		Nebraska	45
		South Dakota	44
		New York	44
		Colorado	44
		Kansas	43
		Connecticut	43
		Rhode Island	42
		Minnesota	41
		New Jersey	41
		Illinois	39
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		Utah	
		North Da	
		Kentucky	
		West Virgi	
		Indiana	
		Delaware	

It may fairly be said with regard to these ... First, in the South the vote at the Dem... "white" primary is often larger than the v... the regular election. However, the discrepan... not as great as one might suppose. For insta... in the democratic primary election held in the st... of Georgia, September 8, 1920, there were 230,76... votes cast for United States senator, in an un... usually bitter contest with Tom Watson running against Hoke Smith and Hugh Dorsey. This re... ord vote is 55 percent larger than the vote cast ... the regular presidential election; but even in t... primary election, nearly 84 percent of the possibl... voters were disfranchised. And this 84 percent in... cludes not only 100 percent of the possible Negro voters but nearly 72 percent of the possible white voters. And too, whatever the discrepancy may be, the primary vote is under party control which allows disfranchisement not only for race but for any other reason. Under no circumstances can such a vote be recognized as democratic. Second, undoubtedly women in 1920 voted in smaller numbers in the South than in other sections. In som... Southern states, women, black and white, we... almost entirely disfranchised. Third, large nu... bers of Negroes in the South and many pers... elsewhere, are disfranchised by educational ... property tests applied fairly and unfairly. Fin... a large part of this disfranchisement is volu... —the result of voters not being sufficiently in... ed to go to the polls, or being kept away by we... conditions. How...

32-40-44

[illegible]e not wheth[illegible]n American lives Nor[illegible] West or Sou[illegible] whether he loves or hates [illegible]bes, whether [illegible]elieves in the Fifteenth or [illegible] the Thirteen[illegible] Amendment or not, he must [illegible]ee that this co[illegible]dition and free republican [illegible]overnment in the United States cannot co-exist.

How did it come to be tolerated at first? It must be remembered now that the acquiescence of the North in the policy of wholesale disfranchisement in the South which began in Mississippi thirty-two years ago, was based on the following argument: The white voter of the South is faced by an overwhelming amount of black ignorance, which, because of prejudice, votes solidly against the white man—against Property, against Civilization. If now, the Negro is removed from politics, this will leave the white voter free: first, to divide on national issues according to his intelligence and conscience; second, to take up the problems of social development and uplift in his own locality in accordance to the best interest of all, white and black. It was a plausible argument and it gained and still holds the majority of thinking people and it will hold them until they ask, "How far has the result justified the means?"

There has been in the South practically no division of the white vote, except as a matter of political patronage. Third parties like the Populists, the Socialists and the Progressives have made futile appeal now and then, but they have gained no real standing. The Southern states not only have failed to consider great national issues on their merits, but have lamentably failed in their local legislation. There remains in them a state of lawlessness which shames the nation; this is the only part of the civilized world, where men are still publicly burned at the stake, and where mob law is so prevalent that state after state has acknowledged itself practically helpless. Murder in the South outruns the record of all civilization; education, while making noticeable and commendable progress, still lags so far behind the nation, that the South is still the seat of greatest ignorance even among white Americans; and in the face of this the Southern Congressmen almost to a man oppose any federal aid either to stop lynching or scotch the Ku Klux Klan.

[illegible]only put a premium on disfranchise- [illegible]day in the same representation. Underwood and Heflin of Alabama represent a state whose 241,070 votes equal in power the 735,838 votes of Minnesota.

Moreover the subject is sacred. The South is today the seat of political privilege to a degree that would stagger an Englishman, but we must not discuss it. It is bad form. Our wildest and most earnest radicals may propose reform on every subject but this. On this they must become reactionary on pain of public disfavor. But worse than all this, when the United States seeks, by a third party movement, to rearrange its political power in such a way that it can bring to bear political pressure and carry out political ideas, what does it find?

It finds that in the South the policy of disfranchisement has made democratic popular government impossible, even among the whites. It has put into the hands of the Southern whites such astonishing political power that a premium is given secret political manipulation which holds, not simply the Negro, but a large number of whites themselves who are also thus disfranchised, and it allows the remaining rump electorate to threaten political life throughout the country.

No one wishes to "punish" the South. No one wishes to "wave the bloody shirt." No one desires to minimize for a moment the gravity of the problems of race, or ignorance and crime which the South faces. If the only way to cure the social ills of the South was to nullify temporarily popular government in the land, many might contemplate even this enormous sacrifice. But to sacrifice all and get nothing and nowhere is idiotic. It is not the twelve million Negroes who suffer most in this impasse. It is the nation with its hundred million whites. It is particularly the white South. Here not only is political disfranchisement a fact but intellectual disfranchisement follows because of the sinister propaganda which supports politics. The mob mind, the herd instinct is triumphant. Again and again we see the individual tragedy: a young white man, Southern by birth, tradition and belief, sees one matter he would reform, one point of disagreement. He is tolerated a while and then the herd turns and tramples him in fury. It is worse than lynching. The South lynches the bodies of black men, but the souls of white. Behold a nation, which, at the command of rotten [illegible] not allowed in its highest

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solute protection [of private thout payment] is found to olice power, the natural tendency o extend the qualification more and rivate property disappears. . . . In ain that a man's misfortunes or neces- his shifting the damages to his neigh-

urt concludes that since "private mmunities have seen fit to take the ring only surface rights, we cannot see t that their risk has become a danger he giving to them greater rights than ght." It did not hold that the state was s to prevent mining under cities, but that dertook to do so it must pay the coal owners eir loss.

his dissenting opinion, Mr. Justice Brandeis ceeds from the point of view of the power of community to protect itself, the police power. He points out that the rights of an owner to use property as he pleases are not absolute; that nothing is better settled in the law than that an owner hall not use his property so as to commit a public isance; that this abridgment of his right is in substance a taking of part of the value of his property for which the law has never required payment; and that the rights of the community are not less in cases where it has purchased property than where it has not.

But Justice Brandeis's most telling argument, on the law, is when he comes down to the specific application of the principles which the majority of the Court would not deny. He reminds the Court that it has sustained state laws which were so drawn as absolutely to forbid in the circumstances before the Court the use of oil tanks, brickyards, livery stables, billiard halls, an oleomargarine factory, and, best known of all, liquor, because their use under the circumstances was deemed detrimental to the public interest. And yet in none of these cases did the governments compensate the owner—unless the compensation be, he says quietly in his last sentence, "the advantage of living and doing business in a civilized community."

that the invasion of the

kly did here and in the Child Labor Case—call a halt in the trend of the law's development based solely upon its own conceptions of public policy. It is a supreme act of statesmanship, which under the Constitution has become the function of the Court, and it is far more important for the American people to recognize this and insist that the men who are to exercise this power truly represent the American democracy than it is to criticize any particular exercise of the power.

In the present case Justice Brandeis's view seems the superior statesmanship. It is frankly a qualification of a property right, but as this spinning globe comes to have living upon it more and more human beings, it is inevitable that the freedom of action of these individuals must become more and more limited. For property rights of the kind here in question are, as Justice Holmes has himself well said, merely rights to course of conduct. Of course, in this process it is essential that the burden of transition be not so thrown upon the individual as to discourage his productive effort—as, for instance, it was for a time thrown upon the food producer of Russia. But it is equally important that the cost of transition be not too heavy for society in its organized capacity.

In the present case it would seem that the social risk involved in suspending mining operations under cities until the development of science permitted it to be safely done would be less than in burdening the government with the cost of buying outright all rights in the subsoil. Taxes as well as the limitation of conduct discourage individual initiative. In many previous cases similar to this the Supreme Court found the balance in favor of not burdening the government. We agree with Justice Brandeis that there is nothing in this case to alter the balance.

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folk. There are 390,039 white folk twenty-one years of age and over in South Carolina. Yet South Carolina cast but 66,140 votes in 1920 and some of these were Negro. In that state voluntarily and involuntarily over 300,000 white voters were disfranchised. Moreover of the 376,930 Negroes twenty-one years of age and more, not all were debarred by ignorance. Only 205,819 of these were reported illiterate in 1920, leaving 171,111 who can read and write. Allowing for inaccurate census reports there must be 100,000 Negroes in South Carolina, quite intelligent enough to vote, who were disfranchised by compulsion, along with the 300,000 whites. Moreover 54,339 by census report and in all probability 75,000 of the 300,000 whites could not read and write.

If we take ten Southern states (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia) we find a voting population of 11,088,224. Of these 3,508,061 are Negroes, leaving 7,580,163 white voters. The total votes cast in 1920 were 2,175,007. Allow for non-voting women, and primary voters who were not interested further, and also for Negroes who did vote, and we must conclude that from three to four million voters of the South are disfranchised; or in other words, every time a black man is denied a vote in the South a white man is also voluntarily or involuntarily disfranchised.

We may also sense difficulties in the Eastern states although not so clearly because of lack of data. For instance in California, Iowa, Ohio and Kansas the possible voting population is between 55 and 60 percent of the total population, while in Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania half or less of the population are voters showing probably the political power accruing to the East over the West by the presence of foreign born who are not encouraged to become naturalized citizens.

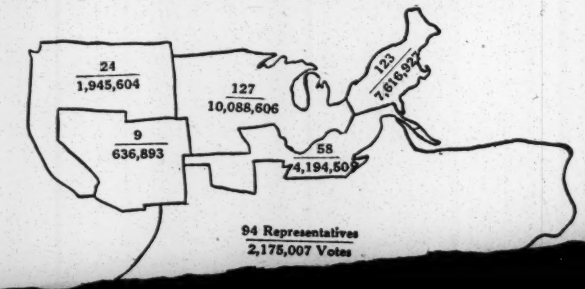
If we group the states we get even more striking results. The South (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia) cast 2,175,007 votes in the presidential election of 1920, electing 94 representatives to Congress or 23,138 voters per representative. New England and the Middle Atlantic states cast 7,616,927 votes for 123 representatives or 61,927 per representative. The So[illegible]

[illegible] representatives or 92,319 [illegible] representativ[illegible] the great Middle West [illegible]ois, Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, Minne[illegible] Nebraska, [illegible] Dakota, Ohio, South Dak[illegible] Wisconsin) 10,088,606 votes for 127 representatives or [illegible] 439 per representative. Finally the Northwe[illegible] (California, Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Washingto[illegible] and Wyoming) cast 1,945,604 votes for 24 representatives or 81,067 per representative. If we take the votes cast per representative in Congress in the Presidential election of 1920 we have these results by states:

VOTES CAST PER REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS

South Carolina	9,449	Idaho	67,471
Mississippi	10,312	North Dakota	68,592
Georgia	12,394	Maryland	71,211
Louisiana	15,737	Kansas	71,278
Texas	22,973	Connecticut	72,802
Virginia	23,100	Utah	72,914
Alabama	24,107	Colorado	73,013
Arkansas	25,801	Minnesota	73,584
Nevada	27,194	New Jersey	75,333
Florida	36,706	Illinois	77,425
Tennessee	42,863	Washington	78,719
Vermont	44,965	New Hampshire	79,372
Maine	49,383	Oregon	79,505
Pennsylvania	51,380	Michigan	80,406
North Carolina	53,874	Iowa	81,281
Rhode Island	55,795	Missouri	83,165
Wyoming	56,199	Kentucky	83,519
South Dakota	60,373	West Virginia	84,990
Oklahoma	60,572	California	85,759
Massachusetts	61,882	Montana	89,502
Wisconsin	63,753	Ohio	91,795
Nebraska	63,776	Delaware	94,756
Arizona	66,687	Indiana	97,108
New York	67,338	New Mexico	105,131

This shows not only the political advantage which the East has over the Middle West, Northwest and the Southwest, but also the tremendous and unbelievable power of the South. If we arrange this as a map, we shall find the United States looking somewhat like this, distorted according to the political power of the various divisions:



appealing to it, is repeatedly a tremendous failure, and the only thing we are at present able to do, is to give overwhelmng and sweeping majorities, now on this side and now on that, tearing down in our impotent rage both the good and the bad, in order in some blind way to rebuke the bad. No sooner are Progressives or Farmer-Labor voters able to split the reactionary Republican party than they find themselves able to do nothing but to put the Democratic party, just as reactionary, into power; and the result is that in sheer desperation they then have to turn and throw the Democrats out by giving up the third party movement and acting with the Republicans. This has been our political program for fifty years and it is going to be our political program for fifty years longer unless we openly and frankly face the problem. It is the wide-flung custom to sneer at democracy in the United States. But before we condemn it, let's try it.

There is, of course, a bare possibility that sometime a tidal wave will utterly upset the Republicans and substitute the third party as chief opposition party, repeating the revolution of 1860. But this third party will find itself between the devil and the deep sea: if it keeps itself progressive and ever so slightly radical it will have to fight not only the conservatism of many former Republicans but also the entrenched oligarchy of the Southern Democrats. If on the other hand, in order to avoid this contingency, it makes overtures to the conservatives, it has two paths open to it: To gain the Northern conservatives, it must give up its progressive thought; to gain the Southern oligarchy, it must agree to sustain the present political power of the South. This is precisely the rock upon which the "Bull Moose" split.

The Farmer-Labor party and the new Congressional "Bloc" are facing the same thing. Imagine the progressive Western Farmers' group joining hands with Pat Harrison of Mississippi! Pat Harrison represents a constituency where 10,000 people wield as much power as 90,000 people in Ohio. And Mr. Harrison will work with a progressive party only on condition that this balance of political power be not t. ached.

The call for pr. gressive elements to meet in Washington had among its prominent signers, Huddleston of Alabama, where 24,000 people have as much voice in government as 75,000 people in New Jersey.

Inside th Wall

SINCE Marco Polo brou the gifts of K Khan to Venice many rs ago, foreig have been explaining China each other. all the world no other and has had s much interpretation. China's r moteness and complexity, its reluctance to swing promptly into line, all tempt the alien visitor to try his hand. No doubt the temptation is keenest in its first stages. If you are a foreigner, say the Chinese, and do not write a book your first two weeks in China, you may not write a book at all.

You start, perhaps, with Canton. Your first bit of China is the floating city on the river. Your first five minutes produce two bright-eyed little men squatting on a shaky deck, playing dominoes; an old lady drinking floods of tea from the curved spout of her kettle; a young girl kneeling on her heels beneath a rattan awning, combing her hair before a two-inch pocket mirror; a busy mother fastening a block of wood to her baby's back, so that she can haul it back to safety when she hears the splash. . . . You see these people, and assure yourself that they are normally complex human beings, that all of them have hopes and fears and secrets, different each one of them in some manner from another; that there are a hundred thousand of them on the river, and four thousand times that many on its shores.

Yet it is easy, despite the best resolutions, to come away from China and talk about these people as if each one of them were identically like all the others. "The Chinese," millions of them lumped together, are avaricious, or they are generous to a fault; they are great cowards, great heroes, or just too proud to fight; they want a Manchu emperor on the throne again, or they would fight to the last ditch for their republic. . . . So two equally earnest foreigners will testify, at the end of the same number of weeks' or months' or decades' observation. Men who would scorn to generalize about steamships or typhoons will generalize like troopers when they talk about four hundred million Chinese people.

II.

An incision into any alien brain at the end of its first week in China would certainly

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other name: hang Shu Yuan and Yuan
Ki, or Chang Lin and Lin Chang Ming.
Chinese names are troublesome. And news from China would be easier reading, in the West, if Chang were Jones and Ming were Smith. Putting names into convenient English would make the cables less mysterious. To be sure, that innovation would scarcely unravel the intricacies of Chinese politics for us, and perhaps not measurably increase our interest in them. For we are none too interested in politics at home. Still, though we understood no better, we might feel less resentment. And China would be the gainer if that happened. What one nation finds baffling in another it frequently associates with what it does not like. Some day a monument may rise in Peking, to that inventive spirit who finds the right equivalent for Chang and Lin and Ming.

III.

Chinese politics are none too prosperous. And one reason is certainly because the country is so poorly hooked together: immense distances everywhere, with nothing modern spanning them. Here, for instance, are China's two chief ports, Hong Kong and Shanghai. No railway links them, and no highway on which travel is anything less than an adventure. The only open road is a wide curve at sea.

Railways will be developed slowly. Meantime a speculative foreigner may wonder how much the radio would help. Railways are intricate and expensive, but the radio costs next to nothing, needs no engineering, is no more intricate than a folding opera hat. To be sure, remote parts of China speak different dialects; but subject only to that disadvantage, why not a thousand sending stations scattered through the country, a hundred thousand receiving sets, villages instantaneously in touch with one another, the ether humming with messages back and forth, messages explaining away misunderstandings that cause friction, messages convincing the North of its common interest with the South, messages persuading China to a new national unity?

That is one way the radio might be used, but would be. Whoever has spent a radio his

Soo Koo: How I Killed my Mother-in-Law. . . ."

Inventions that approach the sublime seem destined to contribute incidentally to the ridiculous. Yet he is a poor nationalist who scorns the stale joke and sentimental ditty. In the long run national unity is less a matter of noble declamations than a common appreciation of what is funny and what noble. Station W.L.B., at Tientsin, may yet come to China's rescue, broadcasting Silver Threads Among the Gold.

IV.

Soochow is as good a place as any, to wonder whether China wasn't sovietized a thousand years ago. It is a little city on the Yangtze River, fifty miles from Shanghai, cut up with canals like Venice —its St. Mark's an open square before a Buddhist temple, with chow dogs instead of pigeons, shops selling crockery cats and whistles, young girls with bangs and ear-rings buying cotton blouses, crowds of boys around the phonographs playing faint gay records in the peep-shows.

Soochow has no city council, no city manager, no budget experts and no budget. It gets along without most of the appurtenances of public effort common to the West. Government neither begins nor ends in City Halls and Voices of the People. No one thinks instinctively of mayors and police chiefs if a bolt of silk is stolen, or a street needs paving, or two men come to blows about a singing girl. Government is rather the affair of heads of families, heads of clans, heads of guilds and temples. It is impersonal and impromptu. And in some ways, perhaps because it is so old that it is coming into vogue again, it looks ultra-modern. For it is "decentralized." It is partially constructed on economic lines. And it is what the modern scientists of politics call "pluralistic": the state itself is not supreme; even in the most modest state affairs it shares authority with the church, the family and the trade association. Soochow is run by little half-official soviets. And so, apparently, are most Chinese cities. If China were suddenly to adopt the system it already has, what has been archaic for ten centuries might seem a great experiment.

V.

Shanghai has all of New York's machinery for enjoying Sunday afternoons. Westerners have built race-tracks, baseball parks and movies for nt; but there are always Chin-

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GLENN FRANK, *Editor*

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tions. Therefore it is somewhat funny to my friends that in Connecticut I am officially classified as a farmer. When my wife and I got back from a year or so in war-torn and peace-torn Europe, we found that New York was even worse, and we fled up to the country, and in a corner of Weston township found a farm of fifty acres or so, two thirds of which is rocks, cliffs, trees, river, and impenetrable thicket. Thus we are relieved from necessity of much authentic farming, but we have had a lot of fun converting a corn-crib into a garage, transporting stone fences somewhere else, damming the river to make a swimming-pool, and converting an old house into something livable. These things are so fascinating that the difficulty is to get any writing done at all.

CAROLINE SINGER

From a drawing by C. LeRoy Baldridge

Witter Bynner ("Chinese Procession") was associate editor of "McClure's Magazine" for four years after he was graduated from Harvard. Later he gave this up and devoted himself mainly to writing. When Mr. Bynner visited China he went not into the China of tourists, but into the real China, living in Chinese hotels, consorting with natives. Mr. Bynner, who is living at present in Santa Fé, was recently adopted into the Hopi Indian tribe, receiving the name of "Mountain Antelope."

W. E. Burghardt DuBois ("Back to Africa") is a graduate of Harvard, and represents those negroes who do not believe in emigration, but who purpose to fight for full political, civil, and social rights in the United States. He is editor of "The Crisis," a magazine which is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Many negro leaders in the past have proposed that the negro race return to Africa. In the eighteenth century the Negro Union of Newport proposed it. Later an actual start was made by Paul Cuffee, who in 1815 and at his own expense and in his own ship took a score of negro families to West Africa. The first negro college graduate, John Russworm of Bowdoin, went to Africa to teach, and finally comes Marcus Garvey, a Jamaica negro, with a new proposal to-day.

When Dr. DuBois returned the proofs of this article to us, he asked that the word negro should be capitalized. We should have been glad to do this in the circumstances if word had reached us in time, but, unfortunately, it did not arrive until after the pages had been cast.

CENTURY MAGAZINE usage, governed by the Century Dictionary, has always been to capitalize racial names; but negro has been classed as a color designation, which we would no more capitalize than we would capitalize white man. The negro leadership of our country, however, feels that a principle is at stake here, and that usage has made negro a racial name.

Adriana Spadoni ("The Wax of the Abruzzi") will be remembered by readers of THE CENTURY MAGAZINE for three other stories of the Italian district of New York City. She claims that she has no biography, no past, and no future; nothing but a seething present, with an unfinished novel and a broken type-writer. However that may be, she is the author of two successful novels, "The Swing of the Pendulum" and "The Noise of the World." She has been a settlement-worker in Chicago, in New York, and in San Francisco, which is her native city, although her father was born in Bologna, her mother in London, and they met in China. In speaking of this story, she suggests that we try to find for ourselves "the pleasure which you can so easily have by walking through Little Italy, upper or lower, next July at the Feast of Our Lady of Carmel. Be sure to buy a candle, one of those with scarlet saints and azure virgins, tipped and shod with gold, winging upward to the wick. Make the pilgrimage of the church afoot or a-knee, but be sure that you make it all the way up to the high altar, where the arms and legs and bank-notes and jewelry heap beyond credence."

Back to Africa

By W. E. Burghardt DuBois

It was upon the tenth of August, in High Harlem of Manhattan Island, where a hundred thousand negroes live. There was a long, low, unfinished church basement, roofed over. A little, fat black man, ugly, but with intelligent eyes and big head, was seated on a plank platform beside a "throne," dressed in a military uniform of the gayest mid-Victorian type, heavy with gold lace, epaulets, plume, and sword. Beside him were "potentates," and before him knelt a succession of several colored gentlemen. These in the presence of a thousand or more applauding dark spectators were duly "knighted" and raised to the "peerage" as knight-commanders and dukes of Uganda and the Niger. Among the lucky recipients of titles was the former private secretary of Booker T. Washington!

What did it all mean? A casual observer might have mistaken it for the dress-rehearsal of a new comic opera, and looked instinctively for Bert Williams and Miller and Lyles. But it was not; it was a serious occasion, done on the whole soberly and solemnly. Another might have found it simply silly. All ceremonies are more or less silly. Some negroes would have said that this ceremony had something symbolic, like the coronation, because it was part of a great "back-to-Africa" movement and represented self-determination for the negro race and a relieving of America of her most difficult race problem by a voluntary operation.

On the other hand, many American negroes and some others were scandalized by something which they could but regard as simply child's play. It seemed to them sinister, this enthroning of a demagogue, a blatant boaster, who with monkey-shines was deluding the people and taking their hard-earned dollars; and in High Harlem there rose an insistent cry, "Garvey must go!"

Knowledge of all this seeped through to the greater world because it was sensational and made good copy for the reporters. The great world now and then becomes aware of certain currents within itself,—tragedies and comedies, movements of mind, gossip, personalities,—in some inner whirlpool of which it had been scarcely aware before. Usually these things are of little interest or influence for the main current of events; and yet is not this same main current made up of the impinging of these smaller swirlings of little groups? No matter how segregated and silent the smaller whirlpool is, if it is American, at some time it strikes and influences the American world. What, then, is the latest news from this area of negrodom spiritually so foreign to most of white America?

§ 2

The sensation that Garvey created was due not so much to his program as

to his processes of reasoning, his proposed methods of work, and the width of the stage upon which he essayed to play his part.

His reasoning was at first new and inexplicable to Americans because he brought to the United States a new negro problem. We think of our problem here as *the* negro problem, but we know more or less clearly that the problem of the American negro is very different from the problem of the South African negro or the problem of the Nigerian negro or the problem of the South American negro. We have not hitherto been so clear as to the way in which the problem of the negro in the United States differs from the problem of the negro in the West Indies. For a long time we have been told, and we have believed, that the race problem in the West Indies, and particularly in Jamaica, has virtually been settled.

Let us note the facts. Marcus Garvey was born on the northern coast of Jamaica in 1887. He was a poor black boy, his father dying later in the almshouse. He received a little training in the Church of England grammar-school, and then learned the trade of printing, working for years as foreman of a printing plant. Then he went to Europe, and wandered about England and France, working and observing until he finally returned to Jamaica. He found himself facing a stone wall. He was poor, he was black, he had no chance for a university education, he had no likely chance for preferment in any line, but could work as an artisan at small wage for the rest of his life.

Moreover, he knew that the so-called settlement of the race problem in Jamaica was not complete; that as a matter of fact throughout the West Indies the development has been like this: most white masters had cohabited with negro women, and some had actually married them; their children were free by law in most cases, but were not the recognized equals of the whites either socially, politically, or economically. Because of the numbers of the free negroes as compared with the masters, and because of their continued growth in wealth and intelligence, they began to get political power, and they finally either expelled the whites by uniting with the blacks, as in Haiti, or forced the whites to receive the mulattoes, or at least the lighter-hued ones, as equals.

This is the West Indian solution of the negro problem. The mulattoes are virtually regarded and treated as whites, with the assumption that they will, by continued white intermarriage, bleach out their color as soon as possible. There survive, therefore, few white colonials, save new-comers, who are not of negro descent in some more or less remote ancestor. Mulattoes intermarry, then, largely with the whites, and the so-called disappearance of the color-line is the disappearance of the line between the whites and mulattoes, and not between the whites and the blacks or even between the mulattoes and the blacks.

Thus the privileged and exploiting group in the West Indies is composed of whites and mulattoes, while the poorly paid and ignorant proletariats are the blacks, forming a peasantry vastly in the majority, but socially, politically, and economically helpless and nearly voiceless. This peasantry, moreover, has been systematically deprived of its natural leadership because the black boy who showed initiative or who accidentally gained wealth and education soon gained the recognition

of the white-mulatto group and might be incorporated with them, particularly if he married one of them. Thus his interests and efforts were identified with the mulatto-white group.

There must naturally arise a more or less insistent demand among the black peasants for self-expression and for an exposition of their grievances by one of their own group. Such leaders have indeed arisen from time to time, and Marcus Garvey was one. His notoriety comes not from his ability and accomplishment, but from the Great War. Not that he was without ability. He was a facile speaker, able to express himself in grammatical and forceful English; he had spent enough time in world cities like London to get an idea of world movements, and he honestly believed that the backwardness of the blacks was simply the result of oppression and lack of opportunity.

On the other hand, Garvey had no thorough education and a very hazy idea of the technic of civilization. He fell easily into the common error of assuming that because oppression has retarded a group, the mere removal of the injustice will at a bound restore the group to full power. Then, too, he personally had his drawbacks: he was inordinately vain and egotistic, jealous of his power, impatient of details, a poor judge of human nature, and he had the common weakness of untrained devotees that no dependence could be put upon his statements of fact. Not that he was a conscious liar, but dream, fact, fancy, wish, were all so blurred in his thinking that neither he himself nor his hearers could clearly or easily extricate them.

Then came the new economic demand for negro peasant labor on the Panama Canal, and finally the Great War. Black West-Indians began to make something like decent wages, they began to travel, and they began to talk and think. Garvey talked and thought with them. In conjunction with white and colored sympathizers he planned a small Jamaican Tuskegee. This failed, and he conceived the idea of a purely negro organization to establish independent negro states and link them with commerce and industry. His "Universal Negro Improvement Association," launched August 1, 1914, in Jamaica, was soon in financial difficulties. The war was beginning to change the world, and as white American laborers began to be drawn into war work there was an opening in many lines not only for Southern American negroes as laborers and mechanics, but also for West-Indians as servants and laborers. They began to migrate in larger numbers. With this new migration came Marcus Garvey.

He established a little group of his own Jamaica countrymen in Harlem and launched his program. He took no account of the American negro problem; he knew nothing about it. What he was trying to do was to settle the Jamaican problem in the United States. On the other hand, American negroes knew nothing about the Jamaican problem, and they were excited and indignant at being brought face to face with a man who was full of wild talk about Africa and the West Indies and steamship lines and "race pride," but who said nothing and apparently knew nothing about the right to vote, the horrors of lynching and mob law, and the problem of racial equality.

Moreover, they were especially incensed at the new West-Indian conception of the color-line. Color-lines

had naturally often appeared in colored America, but the development had early taken a far different direction from that in the West Indies. Migration by whites had numerically overwhelmed both masters and mulattoes, and compelled most American masters to sell their own children into slavery. Freedom, therefore, rather than color, became the first line of social distinction in the American negro world despite the near-white aristocracies of cities like Charleston and New Orleans, and despite the fact that the proportion of mulattoes who were free and who gained some wealth and education was greater than that of blacks because of the favor of their white parents.

After emancipation, color caste tended to arise again, but the darker group was quickly welded into one despite color by caste legislation, which applied to a white man with one negro great-grandfather as well as to a full-blooded Bantu. There were still obvious advantages to the negro American of lighter hue in passing for white or posing as Spanish or Portuguese, but the pressing demand for ability and efficiency and honesty within this fighting, advancing group continually drove the color-line back before reason and necessity, and it came to be generally regarded as the poorest possible taste for a negro even to refer to differences of color. Colored folk as white as the whitest came to describe themselves as negroes. Imagine, then, the surprise and disgust of these Americans when Garvey launched his Jamaican color scheme.

He did this, of course, ignorantly and with no idea of his mistake and no wit to read the signs. He meant well. He saw what seemed to him the same color-lines which he hated in Jamaica, and he sought here as there to oppose white supremacy and the white ideal by a crude and equally brutal black supremacy and black ideal. His mistake did not lie in the utter impossibility of this program,—greater upheavals in ideal have shaken the world before,—but rather in its spiritual bankruptcy and futility; for what shall this poor world gain if it exchange one race supremacy for another?

Garvey soon sensed that somewhere he was making a mistake, and he began to protest that he was not excluding mulattoes from his organization. Indeed, he has men of all colors and bloods in his organization, but his propaganda still remains "all-black," because this brings cash from the Jamaica peasants. Once he was actually haled to court and made to apologize for calling a disgruntled former colleague "white"! His tirades and twistings have landed him in strange contradictions. Thus with one voice he denounced Booker T. Washington and Frederick Douglass as bastards, and with the next named his boarding-house and first steamship after these same men!

§ 3

Aside from his color-lines, Garvey soon developed in America a definite and in many respects original and alluring program. He proposed to establish the "Black Star Line" of steamships, under negro ownership and with negro money, to trade between the United States, the West Indies, and Africa. He proposed to establish a factories corporation which was going to build factories and manufacture goods both for local consumption of negroes and for export. He

was going eventually to take possession of Africa and establish independent negro governments there.

The statement of this program, with tremendous head-lines, wild eloquence, and great insistence and repetition, caught the attention of all America, white and black. When Mr. Garvey brought his cohorts to Madison Square Garden, clad in fancy costumes and with new songs and ceremonies, and when, ducking his dark head at the audience, he yelled, "We are going to Africa to tell England, France, and Belgium to get out of there," America sat up, listened, laughed, and said here at least is something new.

Negroes, especially West-Indians, flocked to his movement and poured money into it. About three years ago he had some 80,000 members in his organization, and perhaps 20,000 or 30,000 were paying regularly thirty-five cents a month into his chest. These numbers grew in his imagination until he was claiming 4,500,000 followers, and speaking for "Four hundred million negroes"! He did not, however, stop with dreams and promises. If he had been simply a calculating scoundrel, he would carefully have skirted the narrow line between promise and performance and avoided as long as possible the inevitable catastrophe. But he believed in his program and he had a childish ignorance of the stern facts of the world into whose face he was flying. Being an islander, and born in a little realm where half a day's journey takes one from ocean to ocean, the world always seemed small to him, and it was perhaps excusable for this black peasant of Jamaica to think of Africa as a similar, but slightly larger, island which could easily be taken possession of.

His first practical step toward this was to establish the Black Star Line, and here he literally left his critics and opponents breathless by suddenly announcing in 1919 that the *Frederick Douglass*, a steamship, had been bought by his line, was on exhibition at a wharf in New York, and was about to sail to the West Indies with freight and passengers. The announcement was electrical even for those who did not believe in Garvey. With a splendid, audacious faith, this poor black leader, with his storming tongue, compelled a word of admiration from all. But the seeds of failure were in his very first efforts. This first boat, the *Yarmouth* (never renamed the *Frederick Douglass* probably because of financial difficulties), was built in the year Garvey was born, and was an old sea-scarred hulk. He was cheated in buying it, and paid $140,000 for it—at least twice as much as the boat was worth. She made three trips to the West Indies in three years, and then was docked for repairs, attached for debt, and finally, in December, 1921, sold at auction for $1625!

The second boat that Garvey bought was a steam yacht originally built for a Standard Oil magnate. It, too, was old and of doubtful value, but Garvey paid $60,000 for it, and sent it down to do a small carrying trade between the West Indies Islands. The boat broke down, and it cost $70,000 or $80,000 more to repair it than Garvey paid for it. Finally it was wrecked or seized in Cuba, and the crew was transported to the United States at government expense.

The third boat was a Hudson River ferry-boat that Garvey bought for $35,000. With this he carried excursionists up and down the Hudson dur-

ing one summer and used it as a vivid advertisement to collect more money. The boat, however, ran only that summer, and then had to be abandoned as beyond repair.

Finally, Garvey tried to buy of the United States Shipping Board the steamship *Orion* for $250,000. This boat was to be renamed the *Phyllis Wheatley*, and its sailings were advertised in Garvey's weekly paper for several months, and some passages were sold; but the boat never was delivered because sufficient payments were not made.

Thus the Black Star Line arose and disappeared, and with it went some $800,000 of the savings of West-Indians and a few American negroes. With this enterprise the initial step and greatest test of Mr. Garvey's movement failed utterly. His factories corporation never really got started. In its place he has established a number of local grocery stores in Harlem and one or two shops, including a laundry and a printing-press, which may or may not survive.

His African program was made impossible by his own pig-headedness. He proposed to make a start in Liberia with industrial enterprises. From this center he would penetrate all Africa and gradually subdue it. Instead of keeping this plan hidden and working cautiously and intelligently toward it, he yelled and shouted and telegraphed it all over the world. Without consulting the Liberians, he apparently was ready to assume partial charge of their state. He appointed officials with high-sounding titles, and announced that the headquarters of his organization was to be removed to Liberia in January, 1922. Such announcements, together with his talk about conquest and "driving Europe out," aroused European governments to inquire about Garvey and his backing. Diplomatic representations were made to Liberia, asking it how far it intended to coöperate in this program. Liberia was naturally compelled to repudiate Garveyism, root and branch. The officials told Garvey that he or any one else was welcome to migrate to Liberia and develop industry within legal lines, but that they could recognize only one authority in Liberia and that was the authority of the Liberian Government, and that Liberia could not be the seat of any intrigue against her peaceful neighbors. They made it impossible for Garvey to establish any headquarters in Africa unless it was done by the consent of the very nations whom he was threatening to drive out of Africa!

This ended his African program and reduced him to the curious alternative of sending a delegate to the third assembly of the League of Nations to ask them to hand over as a gift to his organization a German colony in order that he might begin his work.

§ 4

Thus the bubble of Garveyism burst; but its significance, its meaning, remains. After all, one has to get within Garvey to know him, to understand him. He is not simply a liar and blatant fool. Something of both, to be sure, is there; but that is not all. He is the type of dark man whom the white world is making daily, molding, marring, tossing to the air. All his life whites have laughed and sneered at him and torn his soul. All his life he has hated the half-whites who, rejecting their darker blood, have gloried in their pale shame. He has stormed

and fought within, and then at last it all burst out. He had to guard himself before the powers and be careful of law and libel and hunger, but where he could be free, he snarled and cursed at the whites, insulted the mulattoes with unpardonable epithets, and bitterly reviled the blacks for their cowardice.

Suppose, now, for a moment that Garvey had been a man of first-rate ability, canny, shrewd, patient, dogged? He might have brought a world war of races a generation nearer, he might have deprived civilization of that precious generation of respite where we have yet time to sit and consider if difference of human color must necessarily mean blows and blood. As a matter of fact, Garvey did not know how to approach his self-appointed task; he had not the genius to wait and laboriously learn, yet he pompously seized the pose; he kept extremely busy, rushed hither and thither. He collected and squandered thousands, almost millions. He would, he must, succeed. He appeared in the uniforms of his dream triumphs, in 1921 with an academic cap and gown, weird in colors; in 1922 with cocked hat, gold lace, and sword—the commander-in-chief of the African Legion! He did not quite dare call himself King Marcus I, but he sunned himself awhile in the address of "your Majesty." He held court and made knights, lords, and dukes; and yet, as he feverishly worked, he knew he had failed; he knew he had missed the key to some dark arcanum. He grew suspicious, morose, complaining, furious at the "fools" and "scoundrels" who were "plotting" his ruin and the overthrow of his cause. With all the provincial backwoods love of courts and judges, he rushed into and reveled in litigation, figuring in at least fifty suits, suing for libel, breach of contract, slander, divorce, assault—everything and anything; while in turn his personal enemies sued him, rioted against him, and one shot him, so that to-day he dares not stir without a sturdy body-guard.

Beaten and overwhelmed with loss and disappointment, he will not yet surrender, and seeks by surrounding himself with new officials and by announcing new enterprises—a daily paper, a new line of steamships, and the like—to re-form his lines. So he sits to-day. He is a world figure in minute microcosm. On a larger field, with fairer opportunity, he might have been great, certainly notorious. He is to-day a little puppet, serio-comic, funny, yet swept with a great veil of tragedy; meaning in himself little more than a passing agitation, moving darkly and uncertainly from a little island of the sea to the panting, half-submerged millions of the first world state. And yet he means something to the world. He is type of a mighty coming thing. He voices a vague, formless, but growing, integrating, human mind which some day will arrest the world.

Just what it has cost the negro race in money to support Garvey it is hard to say, but certainly not less than a million dollars. And yet with all this there are certain peculiar satisfactions. Here has come a test to the American negro which he has not had before. A demagogue has appeared, not the worst kind of demagogue, but, on the contrary, a man who had much which was attractive and understandable in his personality and his program; nevertheless, a man whose program any-

body with common sense knew was impossible. With all the arts of the demagogue, Garvey appealed to crowds of people with persuasive eloquence, with the ringing of all possible charges of race loyalty and the bastardy of the mulatto and the persons ashamed of their race, and the implacable enmity of the whites. It was the sort of appeal that easily throws ignorant and inexperienced people into orgies of response and generosity. Yet with all this, coming at a critical time, when the negro was hurt at his war experience and his post-war treatment, when lynching was still a national institution and mob-law a ready resort; when the rank and file of ignorant West-Indian negroes were going wild over Garvey, the American negroes sat cool and calm, and were neither betrayed into wild and unjust attacks upon Garvey nor into uncritical acceptance.

His following has ebbed and flowed. Its main and moving nucleus has been a knot of black Jamaica peasants resident in America as laborers and servants, mostly unlettered, poor, and ignorant, who worship Garvey as their ideal incarnate. Garvey is bold. Garvey lashes the white folk. Garvey downs the mulattoes. Garvey forever! no matter what he does. Does he steal? Better let him steal than let white folk. Does he squander? It 's our money; let him waste. Does he fail? Others have failed.

It is this blind and dangerous nucleus that explains Garvey's success in holding his power. Around these are a mass of West-Indians, resident in the islands and in the United States, who have honestly supported Garvey in the hope that this new leader would direct them out of the West-Indian *impasse* of low wages, little educational opportunity, no industrial openings, and caste. Especially they seized upon the Black Star Line, as isolated islanders would, as a plan of real practical hope. This group reached sixty or seventy thousand in number during Garvey's heyday, but with the failure of his enterprises it is rapidly falling away.

With these groups have always been a number of American negroes: the ignorant, drawn by eloquence and sound; the grafters who saw a chance of sharing spoils; and with these some honest, thinking folk who paused and inquired, "Who is Garvey, and what is his program?" This American following, though always small, grew here and there, and in centers like Norfolk, Chicago, and Pittsburgh reached for a time into the thousands. But, on the whole, American negroes stood the test well.

Garvey's proposal of such a new, autonomous, and hostile black world in league with the brown and yellow peoples brought from American negroes a simple Missouri "Show us." They asked: "What are you doing, and how? What are your concrete and practical proposals?" They did not follow the more impatient counsels of "Garvey must go." They did not slander or silence or ignore him. The two hundred negro weeklies treated him fairly, and audiences listened to his words and read his literature. And right here lay his undoing, for the more his flamboyant promises were carefully compared with his results, the sooner the utter futility of his program was revealed.

Here is a world that for a thousand years, from the First Crusade to the Great War, had been breaking down

the barriers between nations and races in order to build a world-wide economic unity and cultural solidarity. The process has involved slavery, peonage, rape, theft, and extermination, but it is slowly uniting humanity. It is now proposed to turn back and cut out of this world its black eighth or its colored two thirds. Not only is this virtually impossible, but its attempt to-day would certainly involve the white and colored worlds in a death-struggle whose issue none can surely foretell. The power of the yellow, black, and brown worlds to-day is the economic dependence of the white world on them, and the power of the white world is its economic technic and organization. The super-diplomacy of race politics to-morrow is to transmute this interdependence into cultural sympathy, spiritual tolerance, and human freedom. Not in segregation, but in closer, larger unity lies interracial peace.

Not with entire clearness and yet with a certain fundamental and tremendously significant clarity the American negro realizes this, and as yet no demagoguery or pipe dreams have been able to divorce him from the facts. The present generation of negroes has survived two grave temptations, the greater one, fathered by Booker T. Washington, which said, "Let politics alone, keep in your place, work hard, and do not complain," and which meant perpetual color caste for colored folk by their own coöperation and consent, and the consequent inevitable debauchery of the white world; and the lesser, fathered by Marcus Garvey, which said: "Give up! Surrender! The struggle is useless; back to Africa and fight the white world."

It is no ordinary tribute to American negro poise and common sense, and ability to choose and reject leadership, that neither of these programs has been able to hold them. One of the most singular proofs of this is that the latest support of Garveyism is from the notorious Ku Klux Klan. When Garvey saw his Black Star Line disappear, his West-Indian membership fall off, and his American listeners grow increasingly critical, he flew South to consult the Grand Cyclops of the Invisible Empire. Whether the initiative came from him or from the Klan is not known, but probably the Klan invited him. They were indeed birds of a feather, believing in titles, flummery, and mumbo-jumbo, and handling much gullible money.

Garvey's motives were clear. The triumph of the Klan would drive negroes to his program in despair, while the Klan's sympathy would enable him to enter the South, where he has not dared to work and exploit the ignorant black millions. The Klan's object was to encourage anything that would induce negroes to believe that their fight for freedom in America was vain. Garvey's secretary said that the Klan would probably finance the Black Star Line, and Garvey invited the Grand Cyclops to speak at his convention. But Garvey reckoned without his host. A storm of criticism rose among negroes and kept Garvey explaining, contradicting, and repudiating the unholy alliance, and finally drove it under cover, although Garvey openly advertised the Klan's program as showing the impossibility of the negro's remaining in America, and the Klan sent out circulars defending Garvey and declaring that the opposition to him was from the Catholic Church!

Again it is High Harlem, with its music and laughter, its conversations shouted aloft, its teeming, bantering, pushing crowds, its brown and black and cream-like faces, its crisp and curling hair. As the setting sun sends its last crimson light from the heights that hold the Hudson from the Harlem, it floods 138th Street and lights three blocks. One is a block of homes built by the Equitable Life Assurance Society, but now sold to negroes, some crowded, some carelessly kept, but most of them beautiful, even luxurious, perhaps as handsome a block as middle-class America, white or black, affords. Next the sun softens the newness of a brick block on Seventh Avenue, stretching low and beautiful from the Y. W. C. A., with a moving-picture house of the better class and a colored five-and-ten cent store built and owned by black folk. Down beyond, on 138th Street, the sun burns the raising spire of Abyssinian Church, a vast and striking structure built by negroes who for a hundred years have supported one organization and are now moving to their newest and luxurious home of soft carpets, stained windows, and swelling organ. Finally, the dying rays hit a low, rambling basement of brick and rough stone. It was designed as the beginning of a church long ago, but abandoned. Marcus Garvey roofed it over, and out of this squat and dirty old "Liberty Hall" he screams his propaganda. As compared with the homes, the business, the church, Garvey's basement represents nothing in accomplishment and only waste in attempt.

Yet it has a right to be. It represents something spiritual, however poor and futile to-day. Deep in the black man's heart he knows that he needs more than homes and stores and churches. He needs manhood—liberty, brotherhood, equality. The call of the spirit urges him restlessly to and fro with all men of the despised and forgotten, seeking, seeking. Misled they often are, and again and again they play in microcosm the same tragic drama that other worlds and other groups have played. Here is Garvey yelling to life, from the black side, a race consciousness which leaps to meet Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard and other worshipers of the great white race. It is symptomatic and portentous. If with a greater and more gifted and efficient Garvey it sometime blazes to real flame, it means world war and eternal hate and blood. It means the setting of the world clock back a thousand years. And yet the world's Garveys are not solely to blame, but rather every worshiper of race superiority and human inequality. On the other hand, back of all this lurks the quieter, more successful, more insistent, and hopeful fact. Races are living together. They are buying and selling, marrying and rearing children, laughing and crying. They are fighting mobs and lynchers and those that enslave and despise, and they have not yet failed in that fight. Their faith in their ultimate and complete triumph are these homes, this business block, this church, duplicated a hundred thousand times in a nation of twelve million. Here, then, are the two future paths, outlined with a certain sullen dimness in the world's blood-crimson twilight, and yet to be descried easily by those with the seeing hearts. Which path will America choose?

A STATEMENT BY WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

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Making a Living: What the Negro Faces

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The Segregated Negro World

W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS

THERE is a singularly widespread feeling of complacency in the United States, among both white and colored people, at the development of the American Negro in business and industry. This is looked upon partly as the natural result of the economic propaganda of the late Booker T. Washington and partly as a result of the philanthropic attitude of those white employers who are willing " to give the Negro work."

In truth, there are two quite different tendencies manifest in this economic development of Negroes.

On one hand, there is the spread of Negroes in national industry conducted by the whites. From the earliest times, the Negro has been a decisive factor in American economic life. He was the industrial foundation of the four great crops which made modern international trade—rice, sugar, tobacco and cotton. Especially in the sugar and cotton kingdoms he was and is indispensable. His status here was for three and a half centuries chiefly that of a slave laborer. Before emancipation, however, he began to expand both as slave and freeman into general labor and skilled industry. Since emancipation, this tendency has continued, although it has met opposition and has been a halting and uncertain development. From the earliest times, white labor has opposed Negro labor in America. But the opposition before emancipation usually took the form of opposition to slavery, although in the West, and in the fifties, this began to be transmuted into opposition to Negro labor, slave or free, because of the naturally low economic social status of the free Negro.

Today, a half century since emancipation, the Negro worker still has his difficulties. In the first place, he usually enters the lowest and worst paid positions with the most difficult working conditions and with little or no chance of advancement. One has but to view the housing offered Negroes in the employ of the companies in the newest steel merger: well-bred pigs ought not to be housed as colored workers are housed in and around Coatesville, Pa., by the Midvale, Bethlehem and other steel companies. Then, too, there is the modern attitude of white labor: In the South, carrying over into emancipation the economic rivalry between whites and blacks in slavery days, the newly enfranchised white laborers have disfranchised colored laborers and united by law, mob rule and secret organization to reduce black labor to as low an economic status as is possible. In the country districts this has resulted in the convict-lease system and in widespread peonage. In the cities it has been less successful, but still keeps the wages of black laborers down and restricts their economic opportunities. In the North the labor unions have, by direct enactment as in the case of railway unions, or by national policy or the votes of local bodies, kept the number of Negroes admitted down to a minimum so that the fight for the union shop has meant practically a fight against Negro labor as well as for better wages and better conditions of work.

The war has changed conditions partially, and by restricting immigration has made the Southern black labor the reservoir for common labor toward which the great basic industries are more and more turning. Laborers, therefore, from the South are coming North in large numbers and finding employment in the steel and iron industries, in coal mining, in brick-making and as general laborers in dozens of industries. Continuously there has been a demand for colored women as servants, and this now is being gradually enlarged by openings for them in certain sorts of industries and some factories.

There are, then, in general American industry today some three million farm laborers and farmers in agriculture; one million and a quarter general laborers and washerwomen; seven hundred thousand servants and five hundred thousand artisans. The economic advance of the Negro here indicated is clear, but it has been a most difficult and heart-rending battle, and it still leaves the black folk dissatisfied, protesting and eager for change. It involves usually segregation and limited opportunities for advancement.

A Closed Economic Circle

On the other hand, and contrasted with this, there is another kind of economic development into which the Negro is entering in small numbers, but with breathless eagerness. This is an attempt to form in the United States, a closed economic circle for and by colored people. According to this plan, colored people employ and are employed by colored people, so as to form reciprocal service, covering as completely as possible, all economic activities. I have described this tendency elsewhere,* as " the Group Economy." It consists of such a co-operative arrangement of industries and services within the Negro group that the group tends to become a closed economic circle largely independent of the surrounding white world. The recognition of this fact explains many of the anomalies which puzzle the student of the Negro American.

" You used to see numbers of colored barbers; you are tempted to think they are all gone—yet today there are more Negro barbers in the United States than ever before, but also at the same time a larger number than ever before cater solely to colored trade where they have a monopoly. Because the Negro lawyer, physician, and teacher serve almost exclusively a colored clientele, their very existence is half forgotten. The new Negro business men are not successors of the old; there used to be Negro business men in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore catering to white trade. The new Negro business man caters to colored trade. So far has this gone that today in every city of the United States with a considerable Negro population, the colored group is serving itself with religious ministration,

* Atlanta University Studies, No. 12, 1907.

medical care, legal advice, and education of children; to a growing degree with food, houses, books, and newspapers. So extraordinary has been this development that it forms a large and growing part in the economy in the case of fully one-half of the Negroes of the United States and in the case of something between 50,000 and 100,000 town and city Negroes, representing at least 300,000 persons, the group economy approaches a complete system."

Increased Self-Sufficiency

This was in 1907. Today, sixteen years later, the movement has been tremendously accelerated so that among the colored people of New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Richmond, Chicago, Indianapolis and St. Louis and a hundred or more other cities, as well as in thousands of towns, the colored man employs a Negro physician and a Negro dentist; he buys some part of his goods at Negro stores, especially drug stores and small groceries; he educates his children wholly or in part in his own schools; he gets his amusement in halls owned or rented by Negroes, in moving picture houses conducted by them, and, now and then, in theaters owned by them; almost invariably he goes to a Negro church, served by a Negro minister; and usually to a colored Y. M. C. A. with a colored secretary; often, too, to a colored Y. W. C. A.; he reads carefully a colored weekly newspaper and usually a colored monthly magazine; he more and more often hires, for repairs, colored carpenters, plasterers and painters and automobile mechanics; he lives in a colored neighborhood, either owning his own house or, in a considerable number of cases, renting from a colored landlord; he carries life insurance in a colored organization; if he eats outside of his home, it is usually in a colored restaurant; in the annual election, he votes for one or two colored candidates or for white candidates who categorically promise to make appointments of colored policemen, street-sweepers, and, now and then, appointments of higher grade. All the organizations, fraternal, social, philanthropic, to which he belongs are, with very few exceptions, composed of colored people. He has almost no social contact of any sort, even casual, with white folk.

All of the above activities are quite usual, but others are coming to the fore—larger groceries and some dry-goods stores are demanding his patronage. To a rapidly increasing extent, he is being employed by colored corporations or organizations as executives, clerks, stenographers, laborers and janitors. This is still a very small percentage of the total Negro employment, but it is an appreciable percentage and a growing one, and one with a significance far beyond its facts and with peculiar psychological results.

For instance, I received this morning in the mail two circulars—one is from "The Afro-American Food and Drug Company," located at Columbus, Ohio, with an "authorized capital of $1,000,000." It says, among other things: "It is one of the policies of this company, outside of its purely commercial features, with its great money-making possibilities for the shareholders, to give employment to colored men of ability as officials, employ all factory help from colored men and women, and do all in its power to allow the Negro producers of the United States to control their own products and better their financial condition. One of the by-laws suggested by Dr. Berry and approved by the board of trustees is that the colored citizens be given first chance to purchase these shares and therefore keep the profits within the race."

The other circular is from "The Progressive Realty Company, Inc.," owners of the "Shady Rest Club and Golf Grounds," Westfield, N. J. This says: "The Progressive Realty Company, owners of Shady Rest Club House, Golf Grounds and Amusement Park, is distinctively a Race Organization and is incorporated under the laws of the State of New Jersey. It is officered and directed by some of the most prominent and sagacious business men of New Jersey and New York City. The company is striving in every possible way to make Shady Rest the "Playground" of the Race in the East, and you are assured that it will be conducted on the highest plane of decorum, and a certain degree of exclusiveness will be maintained at all times in order that members of the club may be enabled to enjoy to the fullest extent the privileges for which they pay."

In all this development (and I have simply sketched its main outlines and sought no complete picture), Negroes are evincing tremendous energy and *esprit de corps*. Pictures of new organizations and buildings appear in their pictorials, groups of officers and employes, figures of income. White people, too, express, on seeing and hearing of such enterprises, great gratification, and, upon the slightest pretext, make glowing speeches to prove that this is the way to the millennium.

Is the Outcome Likely to be Good or Bad?

In truth, the development is not nearly as satisfactory and inspiring as such persons say or think. It is not a direct advance, it is a great flanking movement entailing hard work, long effort and industrial war. What we have shown in these two industrial developments of the black man is the same thing which we see in Negro life throughout the United States; the attempt of the Negro to develop as an American citizen, and the attempt, on the part of his whie fellow-citizens, to stem that development and hold it within definite and unyielding limits of low wage and semi-peonage; the consequent escape of the ambitious and talented and venturesome, together with a large and larger following of the black masses into a segregated economy.

The segregation is developing, and its future development is going to be tremendous. There is no reason in the world why under a regime of law and order, American Negroes should not raise raw material, fashion and manufacture it, sell it to themselves and to others and, at the same time, furnish each other all sorts and varieties of personal service. All this is going to be very costly; it is going to mean duplication, ruinous competition, and new race enmities and rivalries; but the compensation offered is escape from prejudice and slavery and with it a chance to develop industry, talent, artistic sense and executive ability.

The point which white America needs to consider is this: When this group has once built itself into a great self-sufficing and self-protecting organism, a mighty eco-

nomic fist, impenetrable and sternly closed so as to be aggressive and immune to punishment; and when Negroes thus build up an economic power and patriotism beside which philanthropy and national patriotism fades into nothing—what then? Just as race prejudice and religious fanaticism drove the medieval Jew into an economic organization which still remains one of the most complete and invulnerable on earth, in the same way the present economic attitude of America toward the working Negro may develop an economic monster.

Of course, much depends upon the Negro himself. Most white folk have a simple faith that he is always going to be too idiotic and too ignorant, too torn by internal jealousies, to effect any organization which they need respect or fear. I would not advise such white Americans to be too sure of their assumption. I have always had a good deal of faith in black folk. But in twenty-five years of active work among them, they are astonishing even me, at the ability, tenacity and dogged determination with which they are organizing themselves in economic and social lines. And I have a feeling that the results in these matters in the next twenty-five years are going to jar the complacency of those who are counting on the eternal exploitation of cheap Negro labor, and of those who think they are settling any human problem by segregating it and then trying to forget it.

The Negro "In His Place"

LESLIE PINCKNEY HILL

IT ought to be possible to realize in this world a civilization built upon the principle of interchange of service. Every civilization whose story we have, from Herodotus to Wells, has attempted to raise a lasting structure upon the opposite principle of competition. All of these attempts have ended in disaster. Competition, with its corollaries of self-interest and of individual and group isolation, has everywhere led to the might-makes-right doctrine, and to those forms of short-sighted capitalism that foster civil strife within nations and international conflict.

There can be little hope of a settled peace on earth until individual nations are willing to think and act in terms of the general good rather than in terms of self-interest. But no nation can be in itself competent to contribute to the new social order of the world that does not look well to those modes of thought and conduct within its own boundaries by which its public opinion is formed and its moral influence determined. Only in this broad light can our domestic problems take on their true significance and reveal their relationship to the whole world problem. Capital and labor, employer and employe, white race and black race, these antagonisms become within each nation in some degree the measure and touchstone of its power and its will for peace.

At present we have cause for great misgivings. Within our nation there is still one broad social judgment that is sure to lead to inter-racial antagonisms and destructive competition rather than constructive co-operation. This judgment, destined to work increasing evil, is the false judgment about the place of one-tenth of our own population—the Negro tenth. Throughout the South the Negro has a *place* to keep, and that place is to be determined by the surrounding white group. It is, frankly and brusquely, the place of the menial. The Negro who *"keeps his place"* is, in the South and in much of the North, acceptable. The Negro bent on self-improvement and self-expression, who, in other words, will not keep his place, becomes at once the "problem."

The whole race question of the South revolves about this judgment. It is this judgment that restricts the colored citizen not only to menial labor alone, but to a narrow and degrading social environment. The Jim Crow car, the "peanut" gallery, the exclusion from public libraries, the short-term ungraded school, the segregated districts in which Negroes dwell, and the crowning horror of lynching—all these are but the natural features of one destructive judgment. In China and Japan, in Turkey and India, this attitude of the dominant white group in America toward the minority black group is well known. Not infrequently the Germans, the Turks and the Japanese have expressed an unwillingness to believe without reservations in the disinterestedness of a nation in world affairs whose domestic conduct—American lynching pre-eminently—belies its professions.

Now at bottom it is probably nothing more than the fear of Negro competition that hardens the South today in its anti-Negro expressions, and explains that recrudescence of the Ku Klux Klan which exploits in garish manner the idea of white supremacy. The land and all the fruits thereof, the kingdom and the glory and the power of it, must forever be the safe possessions of white people. Here riving the nation from within is that corrupting thought that keeps the word at strife without. Mr. Geroid Tanquary Robinson, in that stimulating study of *Civilization in the United States* by thirty eminent Americans, says: "It is perhaps safe to say that the long preoccupation of the American majority with the development of its material inheritance has brought to the majority a heavy heritage of materialism. One may hazard the statement that the prejudice of America's native white majority against the Negroes, the Indians, the Jews and the Asiatics, is now and has always been in some sense attributable and proportional to the majority's fear of some action on the part of the minority which might injure the material interests of the majority."

Here the case is plainly stated. It is not at all any question merely of color or of inferiority, of race stock or of race traditions, that causes the white South to prescribe for Negroes the menial rank. It is fear of that competition

which race prejudice so powerfully stimulates at the very time it denies the existence or the possibility of it. There is in the South today the same fear of competition that wrecked Germany and swept all of Europe into the world war. And this fear has long ago revealed a certain fundamental and progressive weakening of the national strength at the very moment when the whole world needs to be assured that we are strong, and growing stronger. Says Mr. Robinson again: "Today the white South is still under the influence of a system of life and thought that is far more enduring than the one institution which gave it most complete expression. The Emancipation abolished slavery, but it did not rid the master of the idea that it is his right to live by the labor of the slave. The black is not yet relieved of the duty of supporting a certain proportion of the white population in leisure; nor does it appear that the leisured Southerner of today makes a better use of his time than his ancestors did before him."

The South, with the Negro under its feet, lulls itself into a sense of false security by merely prescribing an inferior place for that vast black human mass upon whose sacrificial labor its social and its economic structure is built. The Negro, chafing under these assumptions, is doubly determined to throw them off, to disprove them. He is set with all his energy to get land, to build up homes, schools, and churches, to develop business, to learn the lessons of organization, to achieve political freedom, and to measure his stature in all things by the standard of the American citizen. This means keener competition on a higher, broader plane than ever before. It means the widening of the breach between the races indefinitely with all its consequent unhappy implications. It becomes clearer and clearer that black man and white man are destined in this land to "march to fate abreast." That fate may yet be bright. The way is still open to peace.

Let the place of the Negro in our citizenship be determined by his energies and his intelligence, by his ability to assimilate American culture, by the positive contribution he makes to the progress of the nation. Let the South encourage him in self-respect, in education, in business, in the discriminating exercise of the ballot. No race or nation has yet been found worthy or capable of setting metes and bounds or of prescribing any *place* for any other race or nation.

When the Negro Migrates North

CHARLES S. JOHNSON

THE sudden migration of a half million Negroes from Southern and Northern States within the three year period following the outbreak of the World War was neither a social accident nor the expression of a distinctive racial peculiarity. It was significant for reasons that lie even deeper than the sentimental revulsion from an hostile environment. The factor of repression was indeed present and for the past thirty years there has been a normal yearly movement of about ten thousand Negroes to the North. But the mobility of the white population up to the period of the World War exceeded even that of the Negroes. During the past thirty years the increase in the population of cities has been three times that of the country districts, and among Negroes the increase has been twice as great. In both instances the increase has been due to migration. Strange as it might seem, in 1910, nearly fifty years after the theoretical privilege had been granted Negroes to live where they pleased, 95.2 per cent. of the Negroes born in the South still lived there, many of them in bitter spiritual revolt against their traditional status. Further, the migration of Northern Negroes to the South as late as 1915 was increasing. In 1900, 27,000 Northern Negroes were living in the South, and in 1910, 41,000. The reason for this was by no means remote. They could not earn a living in the North.

As one of the heritages of slavery the chief occupation of Negroes in the North has been domestic and personal service. In New York City twenty years ago nearly sixty per cent. of the Negro men and ninety per cent. of the Negro women in gainful occupations were forced to seek employment in some form of domestic or personal service. In Chicago as late as 1910, sixty-one and eight-tenths per cent. of all the Negroes were so engaged. In industry they were unessential and consequently were given no consideration whatever. The unskilled work for which they might have been employed was willingly accepted by recent immigrants. The yearly immigration to the United States consistently exceeded the entire Negro population of the North.

Out of about five hundred occupations listed by the Bureau of the Census in 1910, three-fourths of the Negro population were limited to two. The intensive competition among Negroes themselves for jobs, the extremely small margin of advancement and the hidebound income limitations are immediately apparent. The cessation of immigration during the war and the enactment of restrictive legislation offered the first opportunity for Negroes to break out of their old economic stockade and out of the South. The use of Negro workers in industry made necessary by the reduction in the volume of immigration not only evidenced the indisposition of employers generally to give them an equal chance with other labor when white labor was available, but limited, as might be expected, their work to the positions for which recent immigrants were used—unskilled labor. In Pittsburgh a study of the Negro Migrant by Abraham Epstein revealed that ninety per cent. of those employed were doing unskilled work. In sixty-six Chicago plants visited by the investigators for the Chicago Commission on Race Relations in 1920, of 12,500 Negroes working 11,300 were doing unskilled work. These are typical of every Northern industrial community.

Sowing the Wind in Turkey: the Chester Grant—*an Editorial*

The Nation

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by M. W. Royse

32-40-84

Religion in Revolutionary Russia

by John Haynes Holmes

Black Labor Moves North

by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

Lo, the Poor Railroads!

by William Hard

Near-Journalistic History

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WE may tire of "inspired news" but some sorts of inspiration are better than others and the recent news that has come out of that source of all true inspiration, the State Department at Washington, has obviously been aimed at the rapid conversion of the American people to the idea of the recognition of Mexico. The Government announces the appointment of a commission to discover, in cooperation with a Mexican commission, bases of "mutual understanding" between the two countries. Simultaneously we are told that President Obregon is now showing an admirable tendency to protect foreign property-holders just as faithfully as other governments protect them. We are told that President Obregon has "attracted attention" by his earnest efforts to restrain the activities of "extreme agrarians, Socialists, and Reds" and has brought pressure on the more radical governors of states. We are told various other things, all calculated to explain any otherwise inexplicable amiability or fairness toward Mexico exhibited by our Government. We think the apologists of the State Department protest unnecessarily. The American people are willing to be decent without excuse; they are glad that their Government is ready to recognize a friendly neighbor. The high standing of our commissioners—a former Ambassador to Japan and a former Secretary of the Interior—shows that the Administration intends its action seriously.

IN the name of self-respect and common political honesty, how can Charles E. Hughes and Herbert Hoover remain in Mr. Harding's Cabinet? They were of the thirty-one Republicans who signed their names to an appeal to advocates of the League of Nations to vote for Mr. Harding as the surest way of getting the United States into the League. Now Mr. Harding comes out again most positively on the subject, declaring that we shall not enter the League by the front, back, side, or cellar door, that the question has been passed upon and adjudicated by the Executive, the Congress, and the electorate, and that it is forever closed. There is no mention even of the once-promised association of nations, merely the most flat-footed assertions that, so far as the Harding Administration is concerned, the League question is settled. This leaves Mr. Hoover and Mr. Hughes, it seems to us, much in the position of confidence men who buncoed certain people into voting for Mr. Harding upon bogus pretensions. Surely decency dictates their prompt retirement with the best excuses they can possibly make? But the old Cabinet guard never resigns or retires. And what makes Mr. Hughes's position the more amazing is that he is now busily engaged in explaining that adhesion to the world court will *not* put us into the very League he told the country we would surely enter if Mr. Harding won.

INSPECTOR GOTTFRIED is a German official at Ludwigshafen. He was ordered by a French officer to send a telegram reporting a runaway train. He refused, giving as justification the order of his Government not to obey French officers. The train was derailed. No one was hurt, but a French court-martial has just sentenced Gottfried to *twenty years* imprisonment at hard labor. One can imagine the sympathy our papers would have had for Gottfried if he had been a Belgian in 1914 or 1915. Newspapers carry brief dispatches—"Passive Resistance Intensified." The personal dramas behind the phrase are of epic quality but we are too dulled by war emotions to comprehend. When ten thousand families are expelled because their wage-earners obey the orders of their own distant Government rather than of the foreign soldiery at their doors it is heroic tragedy to every one of them. Six or eight years ago the details of such personal dramas filled our newspapers and thrilled their readers. The Ruhr is daily repeating the story of Belgium, the age-old history of military occupation—high-handed officers, assaults on girls, deportations, imprisonments, twenty-year sentences—but we are too dulled to listen. After all, these are "only Germans."

DE VALERA may still be free, but with Liam Lynch dead and Dan Breen captured the heart of the military resistance to the Free State is gone. Republicanism is of course not dead—the opposition to Republicanism justified itself only by the belief that a Republic now would mean war with England. *The Nation* believed, when the Free State treaty was signed, that it was better to accept it for the time than to risk more war. We deplored the resort to arms of the militant minority, which apparently

reach. The present air strength of Great Britain totals but thirty-eight squadrons, and the completion of the 1925 program will increase that to only forty-seven squadrons. The French program calls for 220 military squadrons with a grand total of 2,000 machines. On the other hand England is just commencing to fortify her "royal route to India" by building up squadrons for Egypt, Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and India. In Constantinople, during the arrival last September of British troops, every other British officer was an Air Service man. In October, after the Mudania armistice, they melted away, going not back to England, but to various points throughout the empire.

Italy, with a powerful post-war airplane and airship industry, has lately had a complete reorganization of its air service. Premier Mussolini, in order personally to supervise this work, has assumed the direction of the recently created Bureau of Aeronautics with the title of High Commissioner of Aeronautics. This is the first time in history that a Prime Minister has taken the portfolio of minister of aviation, and the act indicates the importance that Italy attaches to her air strength. With a natural mountain barrier on the north, and with two long coasts protected by adequate auxiliary armaments, Italians believe they will be immune from attack by sea or land. In rehabilitating her huge 1918 air strength, Italy has provided for a 1923 expenditure of 280 million lire. Seventy squadrons are to be built up.

Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, under French tutelage, each with twenty-seven squadrons, are rapidly developing a powerful air force as an offset to the Russian armies. But Russia is not neglecting her air service. Early last summer a shipment of fifty latest-type Fokker war planes arrived in Moscow, together with a complement of Dutch and German pilots and mechanics. How many such shipments had preceded this one was not disclosed, but it is known that cadre and depot organizations exist for seventy active-service squadrons.

Japan, of course, profits most from the use of auxiliary arms. Both military and naval men point out that a large program of auxiliary armaments makes her master of the Orient, and Japan, fully appreciating her position, has adopted these auxiliary arms on a tremendous scale. Japan is said to have under construction more light cruisers than there are in all the countries of the world. She is also rapidly turning out submarines of short and long range. With the French building up her army aviation (which already includes thirty-four squadrons) and the British her naval aviation, and with the establishment of aircraft factories in different parts of the country, Japan has advanced more rapidly than any other country in aeronautics. A year ago our Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce announced that aircraft manufacturers in this country were having difficulties in obtaining spruce for aircraft because Japan had bought up the year's available supply. Last year's naval aviation appropriations alone approximate $20,000,000.

Nor has the United States neglected her air forces. With very little publicity, the United States air services have built up an active military air force of fifty-three squadrons, which places the United States second in military air strength, and nearly 40 per cent stronger than Great Britain.

[*The second section of The Next War in the Air will appear in next week's issue of* The Nation.]

The Hosts of Black Labor

By W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS

AMERICAN industry is slowly beginning to awake to the fact that there is in this country a great reservoir of labor which has been only partially tapped. The South has nine million black folk of whom five million are productive workers. As a mass they are ignorant and unskilled, but they are ambitious, willing to learn, and for the most part at present wretchedly underpaid. Lynching, lawlessness, lack of schools, and disfranchisement have slowly but surely made them ripe for change.

What is America doing with these black laborers? We may envisage four hosts who must deal with them—the planter, the manufacturer, the union laborer, and the Northern Negro. The planter inherits a tradition from which he seldom escapes. This tradition regards the Negro laborer as a serf, without a vote, with little education, low wages, and medieval conditions of work. The manufacturer, North and South, has as his ideal a surplus of common labor, whether black or white, which will keep wages low by severe competition and periodic unemployment. The union laborer proposes so to restrict and monopolize skilled labor as to compel the employer to grant a living wage. These three hosts are pretty well known; but there is a fourth who is not so often thought of. He is the Northern Negro, the representative of the 1,725,141 Negroes established in the North either a generation or more ago or by more recent migration, who have, except in the case of the newest comers, found an industrial place and a racial philosophy and who are the first to be affected by a widespread migration from the South.

These, then, are the four hosts waiting to welcome or repel the Southern black laborer. What has been the result of their and his interactions? We can perhaps best trace it by noticing the gyrations of a little black dot on the map of the United States. This little black dot represents the center of gravity of the Negro population in the United States. This little dot was near Petersburg, Virginia, in 1790. It moved south and then west until 1910, when suddenly and for the first time in American history it struck eastward, and in 1920 was nine and one half miles farther east and nineteen and one half miles farther north than ten years before.

What does this mean? It means that between 1870 and 1910 the Negroes sought economic salvation in the free land of the West and Southwest and that the migration in this direction offset the considerable migration north and east; but that with the beginning of the World War there occurred the greatest revolution in migration which the Negro has known for a century; and that by actual census figures, the net gain of the North and West and loss of the South between 1910 and 1920 was 334,526 black folk.

This northward movement of the Negro population was renewed in the fall of 1922. The great Northern industrial plants sent out a call for semi-skilled and unskilled labor. Just as the cutting down of immigration during the war made a scarcity of common labor, so the new immigration laws together with expanding business are having the same effect at present. The result can be felt all through the South; not as a sudden movement, but as a gradual and expanding tremor.

It is emphasized by the attitude of the white South.

There is still the slave-holding psychology. The Commissioner of Labor in Georgia openly declares that his department is going to stop the "enticing" of Negroes away by arresting "labor agent parasites" and "heavily fining" them; and by other methods of law and force. Can he keep Negroes in the South by these methods? A colored spokesman for five families talked last December to a reporter of the Memphis *Commercial Appeal:* "They claimed to have been kept in debt year in and out by landowners. One man, who refused to give his name, said he had worked ten years on one plantation, and this year in settling up he had only $50 coming to him. He claimed this would not pay for clothing for his family, let alone buying provisions. What live stock they had in the year 1921 was sold to help them through the crisis when cotton was at its lowest price." To this debt-peonage have been added in recent years the ravages of the boll-weevil. The secretary of the American Cotton Association notes the depopulation of cotton plantations by both white and black farmers on this account and notes that no young mules have been shipped to the cotton belt since the spring of 1920.

The result of all this may be easily conjectured. A colored minister of the Methodist Episcopal church writes: "As district superintendent for seven years, touching twenty-five counties in Mississippi, the State which had, according to the census of 1910, almost one-tenth of the Negro population of the United States of America, my observation and experience lead me to state that the exodus is still on and will no doubt continue gradually toward the North and West for some years. In many places hundreds have gone within the last few months. Many churches have depleted memberships because of the exodus. Seventy-five were counted that left one community within twenty-four hours." The Memphis *Commercial Appeal* of December 24 declared that within ninety days more than 12,000 Negroes had left the cotton fields of Mississippi and Arkansas for the industrial plants of Chicago, St. Louis, and Detroit. It stated that on an average 200 Negroes leave every night from Memphis northward on the Illinois Central, taking with them not only their household goods, but often several months' provisions.

The Columbia, S. C., *State* notes the departure of Negroes from South Carolina, and W. P. Conyers, a white citizen of South Carolina and former member of the State Board of Pardons, said in a recent speech: "We have educated many Negroes, and it is from this class of educated, intelligent, industrious, thinking Negroes that the emigrants are coming. It is from the very class of Negro that the South can least afford to lose. But the thinking Negro, the Negro with some education, some ambition, a desire to better care for his family and educate his children, is going North in large numbers. And he doesn't come back."

From Georgia we learn that some "13 per cent or 32,000 of the total number of Negro farmhands in Georgia is estimated to have moved North during the last twelve months." South Carolina and Florida offer figures almost as startling, while the migration during one recent week of more than 5,000 unskilled Negro laborers from North Carolina has resulted in the shutting down of some fifty highway construction projects. From Arkansas, one gentleman writes us, "there is a certain alarm in all circles over the large outflow of Negroes to Northern points. It amounts to a veritable exodus and there seems to be no means of stopping this migration.

This is the crux of the matter. To be sure it is reported that thousands of the newcomers are finding employment at relatively high wages, but this does not settle the matter. First of all there is no sign that even this continued migration of its labor force is really impressing the South. There is no real diminution of Southern lynchings; there is no disposition to let the Negro vote; there is some improvement in schools, but this is usually in cities and seldom in the country districts; and above all there is the sinister growth of the Ku Klux Klan. Despite this, little Southern papers continue to declare fatuously—we take the words from the Gaffney, South Carolina *Ledger:* "The South is the home of the Negro and nowhere on earth can he receive the consideration he does at the hands of Southern white men!"

These statements are not true and Negroes know they are not true. They know too that in the long run the South cannot keep them from migrating in spite of offensive measures of various sorts. And the Negro is increasingly determined not to submit to Southern caste rule.

This does not minimize his difficulties in the North. First he must find a job, and between him and the better jobs stand the labor unions. Undoubtedly in the North the attitude of the labor union has reflected the attitude of the white public. There has been a determined effort to keep the black laborers out of the skilled unions, and while the unions have had to give in here and there, there has been little real change in this policy of exclusion. No Negro today can belong to any of the railroad unions and the various "full crew" laws were simply methods of driving out Negro competition. Whenever there is an attempt to unionize labor beyond the highly skilled field immediately the race problem comes to the fore as in East St. Louis and in the late steel strike. In the South in the same way the unionized white laborer is willing to furnish mobs to keep the black field hand "in his place."

But with common labor scarce and semi-skilled labor unorganized the Negro can gain a foothold, although often this involves "scabbing" and increased hatred and prejudice. He accepts low wages and long hours because even these are better than Southern peonage. And with this situation the Northern industrial barons are perfectly content and congratulate themselves.

In addition to this the new Negro laborer is immediately forced upon the established Northern Negro group. Now the position of this group is not strong economically nor socially. Its security depends largely upon the non-agitation of the race problem. If racial differences are not emphasized by newspapers or by new facts the Northern Negro becomes gradually a citizen judged by his individual deserts and abilities. If, however, there comes a sudden new migration, the level of intelligence and efficiency in these newcomers is almost inevitably below that of the Negro already established in the North. Public opinion lumps the new with the old without discrimination. New racial irritation, hatreds, and segregations arise. The problem of new dwelling-places becomes severe and it is a double problem, for not only must the new black men have homes to shelter them, but the white home owners must, as far as possible, protect the beauty, moral level, and value of their homes.

The Northern Negro, therefore, faces a peculiar dilemma. He knows that his Southern brother will and must migrate just as he himself migrated either in this generation or

of personal investigation in Russia last summer, are simple and definite:

1. The idea of sequestration originated not with the Government, but with a group of priests and their parishioners in the famine areas who petitioned the Soviet Government, in the name of Christ, to use their idle properties for the saving of human lives.

2. Precedent for such action was found in the uniform practice of the Czar's Government in taking church treasures for public uses whenever necessary or convenient. I was shown records in Moscow of requisitions on the churches by different Czars of 7,000 rubles for a canal, 8,000 rubles for ammunition, other thousands for bridges, army horses, a gate in Moscow, etc. In 1916 the Archbishop recommended to Petrograd that the treasures of a certain very rich monastery should be seized for the support of "the war against the heathen," i.e., the Germans. This recommendation was indorsed by the Holy Synod, and duly approved by Czar Nicholas; but before the Government could act, the revolution had ended its power.

3. Sequestration of church properties was placed in the hands of a special commission. Articles were not to be seized until after a careful inventory had been made of all treasures available, and only under the following conditions: Nothing to be taken which was necessary to religious uses; nothing to be taken which had artistic value; nothing to be taken which had historic value. In every case final authorization had to be given by a member of the Moscow commission. I was told personally by a provincial governor of two instances where his recommendations that certain articles be seized for famine relief were vetoed by the commission. One concerned a huge silver chest, containing the bones of a saint; this was ordered preserved because the silversmith had attempted to copy in his work the design of the former sepulcher, and the chest, therefore, had historic value. The second veto concerned a bishop's cap, adorned with 1,800 matchless pearls; this, also, was left untouched by order of the commission, because it was adjudged to have historic and artistic value. The commission's control of the sequestration policy was so strict that returns were exceedingly disappointing. Famine relief planned by the Government on the basis of this policy was halted badly for sheer lack of resources.

The conflict with the Roman church, as bitter today as ever, has centered upon no one specific issue. It is to be remembered, in this connection, that the Soviet order of January, 1918, gave the Roman Catholics a degree of religious liberty which they had never enjoyed under the oppression of the old regime. They were recognized as on an equal level with all other religionists, and given freedom to use their churches and practice the observances of their faith. From the beginning, however, the Romanists carried on a campaign against the Government. Thus they refused to recognize the nationalization of church property, holding that the buildings and all they contain are the property of the Pope. They also refused to obey the laws against the teaching of religious dogmas to minors. It is because of the recalcitrancy of the priesthood in these matters that the Soviet Government has closed the Roman Catholic churches until the law shall be obeyed. The celebration of the mass, however, is entirely legal, and is going on regularly in parish buildings and private houses.

What we have, in all these instances, are open conflicts over matters of ecclesiastical rights of property and procedure. Only in the case of the denial to the churches of the right to teach their children the doctrines of their faith can we find anything even remotely suggesting persecution. In all other matters the laws have been written in terms of freedom and executed in the spirit of tolerance.

Lastly, there is the spiritual phase of the present situation. I refer here to the awakening within the Orthodox Church itself of long-buried forces of enlightenment and liberation, which are gradually shaping themselves into various movements of revolt, parallel to the Protestant movements which everywhere appeared in the era of the Reformation. The most conspicuous of these movements is known as the Living Church, and is headed by the two distinguished prelates, Antonin and Krasnitsky.

The libels against the Living Church and kindred groups are becoming familiar. We who are the spiritual descendants of exactly similar groups of three and four hundred years ago seem to take especial delight in defaming these men in Russia who are trying now to do what our fathers did under like circumstances. Thus it is said that Antonin, who has suffered martyrdom for years in the spirit of a Savonarola and a Huss, is half-witted. It is said that Krasnitsky, who is doing his work today as Luther did his yesterday, is ambitious. It is said that these men and all their associates in the Living Church are the paid tools of the Soviets in the work of breaking up the church and extinguishing religion. No slander is too vicious to hurl against these Protestant reformers of our modern day. But I attended the first Congress of this Living Church in Moscow in August last. With the exception of my interpreter I was the only non-Russian present, so far as I know. I watched proceedings, listened to speeches, talked with priests—and this is what I believe:

These men in the Living Church are reformers of true apostolic courage, zeal, and sincerity. They have revolted against the corruptions and oppressions characteristic of a hierarchy bound hand and foot to the interests of a tyrannical dynasty. They have their roll of martyrs, for in the dark days of the Czar they were not afraid to speak. Now, with the overthrow of the Czar and the establishment of religious freedom under the Soviets, they see their opportunity come at last to purge the church of its ills and restore something of the purity and simplicity of the religion of Jesus. I saw them with the dust and weariness upon them of long journeyings from the Caucasus, the Ukraine, Siberia. I watched them as they sang and prayed and debated. I heard them talk of ending the hierarchal organization of bishop, archbishop, patriarch, etc., and restoring the churches to the people; of simplifying the ritual and the services, that the people might participate in devotions unto God; of revising the creeds that superstitions and dead dogmas might be done away, and truth be sought again. Always there was discussion of the "living church"—a church that should be alive in thought, in service, in love for humankind.

Sincere, courageous, devoted, these living churchmen still knew all too little how to move forward effectively to the goal they saw so clearly. From the long-established Reformation of the West must come the leading and sympathy they so sorely need. Hence the satisfaction with which I read of American Protestants who are even now in Moscow lending a hand to these Russian brethren.

The attitude of the Communist toward the Living Church and similar protestant movements is various. Few are sym-

pathetic, for few have any interest in religion and the church. Many are openly contemptuous, regarding this movement only as an attempt to save what cannot and should not be saved. Still others are cynical; these sectarian movements are embarrassing to the Orthodox Church and therefore exceedingly convenient to the Government. All are at the worst indifferent, at the best eager to help a movement which represents inside the church the revolution which has taken place outside the church. So the Government at the least keeps hands off; at the best, as on the occasion of the Moscow Congress, lends aid and comfort. A new protestant reformation is well under way, and the Government is not unfriendly!

In surveying the situation in Russia, as thus presented, it is well to remember what the revolutionists have in mind when they talk or act upon religion. They do not see religion as we see it, or understand it as we understand it. What they see and well understand by religion is the Orthodox Church, the old established hierarchy, the greatest compound of ignorance, superstition, and corruption that the world has ever known. Final judgment on this church, which has masqueraded all these years in Russia as religion, was passed by Leo Tolstoi in his Reply to the Holy Synod on the occasion of his excommunication in 1901. He wrote:

> I am convinced that the teaching of the church is theoretically a crafty and injurious falsehood, and practically a conglomeration of gross superstitions and sorceries beneath which true Christianity has utterly disappeared. . . . If one ventures to remind men that all these prayers, masses, candles, images have no connection with the teachings of Christ, that he simply commanded men to love one another, not to return evil for evil, not to kill their fellows, then immediately all those who profit by the lie burst into indignation and protest with incredible boldness that Christ taught none of those things. . . . If there exists anything sacred it is not their pretended sacraments, but this obligation to denounce religious imposture as soon as we perceive it. . . . If Christ should return today and see what is done in his name in the churches, he would not fail to fling far away from him, with a great and most righteous anger, their communion cloths, banners, crosses, chalices, candles, and images, all the instruments of their sorcery, all that helps them to turn men aside from God and his teaching.

It is against this abominable perversion of religion that a revolution is now well under way. The vast upheaval of the reformation, in other words, has just now come to Russia. In the cataclysmic circumstances of such a phenomenon it is not surprising that fanatical errors are sometimes made, as in the case of the law forbidding the teaching of theological doctrines to minors; and occasional outrages committed, as in the case of the execution of the Vicar-General, Butchkavich. But to interpret such events in terms of widespread and deliberate persecution, to declare that the revolutionists of Russia inside and outside the church seek the extermination of religion, is ridiculous. As we have been told for years that the Bolsheviki are anarchists seeking to destroy society, and the refugees the true representatives of order and progress, so we are now told that the Bolsheviki are atheists seeking to extinguish religion, and the Orthodox Church the true representative of Christianity. Such solicitude for this church, especially from Protestants enjoying centuries of emancipation from the influences it represents, is touching in the extreme! But the vile deceit cannot succeed. True religion is coming to its own in Russia; the days of darkness are drawing to a close.

Lo, the Poor Railroads!

(The Nation's Weekly Washington Letter)

By WILLIAM HARD

IF there is anybody in this whole wide, wide world to whom I venture to offer the indignity of pity, it is the executive manager of almost any American railroad.

Senator Cummins tells me that if the railroads do not meekly accept the consolidations which the Interstate Commerce Commission will suggest to them, he will bring in a bill which will outrightly force them to do it.

Senator La Follette tells me that the "Progressive Bloc" in the Senate and in the House will undoubtedly be ready next winter with a bill, or bills, which will teach the railroads to do a great many things very much better in the "progressive" sense.

Senator Couzens is sitting in his office in the Senate Office Building with streams of data on railroads flowing across his desk in preparation for the happy days when Senator La Follette in the next Congress will attack the railroads and when the railroads will attack Senator La Follette and when Senator Couzens will come crashing onto the field against them like Blücher at Waterloo.

The "official White House spokesman"—the journalistic marionette through which the President ventriloquizes his views to the American public—says that the railroad question will be "a paramount question" in the next Congress.

Meanwhile in railroad managerial circles I learn that in the course of the last ten years the railroads of this country have been able to increase their total stock issues from the sum of $8,500,000,000 to the sum only of $8,900,000,000.

I simultaneously learn that our population and our agricultural productivity and our industrial productivity have increased so rapidly, and our present prosperity has expanded so exuberantly, that the railroads feel obliged this year to contemplate and to undertake unprecedented expenditures for new equipment.

They must meet these new expenditures almost exclusively out of earnings or out of borrowings and not out of any new full-risk investment by any new stockholders. Interstate Commerce Commissioner Eastman, who seems to have a special interest or a special duty in such matters, tells me that since the passage of the Transportation Act of 1920 there have been only two instances in which important railroads have got out any important issues of new stock.

The situation thus illustrated has been succinctly and poignantly described by Mr. Robert S. Binkerd, vice-chairman of the committee of Eastern railroads on public relations. He observes that the railroads are in this year 1923 authorizing an expenditure of more than a billion dollars for cars and locomotives and trackage and other facilities; and he observes that investors will buy equipment trust certificates on which they get a stated interest but will not buy new stock on which they would have to take an unstated chance; and he says:

> "The railroads are being obliged to increase their creditors without increasing their partners. They are being obliged to increase their percentage of fixed charges and to decrease their margin of safety for solvent operation."

They are pushed into this position while our oil companies have accumulated such enormous surpluses of profits that they are abundantly able to prosecute a most desirable but highly expensive search for petroleum in foreign fields in South America, in Asia, in Africa.

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EDITORIAL

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The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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The Week

HIRAM JOHNSON has done himself no good and Mr. Coolidge no harm, by suggesting that the President has purchased the support of Henry Ford with Muscle Shoals and tax revision. If Ford really desired to be President, no such arrangement would mean anything to him; and in any event, Mr. Coolidge has too much common sense to offer such a bargain. It is much more likely that Ford on impulse decided that he had had enough of the peculiar sort of publicity he has been getting for the past year or two, and followed the dictates of his momentary allegiance. Ford's radicalism was never very deep nor wide. Someone had pumped into his head a theory about fiat money, just as someone else once made him believe that he could stop the war with his Peace Ship. But the true test of a man is in the way he conducts his private affairs; and nothing in Ford's business career is incompatible with [illegible] conservative Republican [illegible] that he is the sort of in- [illegible] bribed with an offer of [illegible] to make the most stupid [illegible] reading of his character.

IF Mr. Ford "stays put" (and there is of course nothing to prevent his suddenly changing his mind again at any moment from now until the election on the ground that the President is not the man he thought him) he aids Coolidge only by removing the possible menace of a third party, and not by bringing voters to his aid. Probably not one percent of the people who wanted Ford for President would take his advice as to voting for some one else. They followed Ford, not as an ordinary political leader, but as mystical, half-magical superman. They are willing to believe that he could have accomplished miracles in the White House; but not even he can make the figure of the President appear other than what it is, to them. As matters now stand, the Ford sentiment will have no effect on the politicians who will control the two conventions. If the Democrats select a liberal, such as McAdoo, to make the race against Coolidge, undoubtedly a majority of the former followers of the automobile man will be found in the Democratic camp.

ON principle we are opposed to the bonus. Granting that most of the soldiers were set back financially by their terms of service, we can yet see no reasonable ground for adjusted compensation. When the nation is at war good citizens must expect to take risks and losses. It may be argued that the government pays the full price for the money and material taken for war purposes and should therefore pay the full price for man power, that is, the equivalent of what the men would have earned if they had stayed at home. This reduction of men and materials to a common basis has something abhorrent about it. If it were made, however, we should not arrive at a flat rate bonus. The farm hand returned from the war lost li[illegible] in comparison with the small dealer who found [illegible] business divided up among his competitors. [illegible] bonus bill passes, there will still remain a [illegible] class inadequately compensated for their lo[illegible] We see no reason why they should [illegible] with ad[illegible]ional de[illegible]mands [illegible] assurance [illegible]

hat they receive under the pres
ss for more on the ground that the
compensation needs further adjustment.

ET we are not warranted in exaggerating the nancial consequence of the bonus, as Secretary Mellon seems to do. An annual charge of $225,-00,000, or even of $250,000,000, will not ruin nation which in a year of modest prosperity has surplus revenue of $300,000,000 at the very east, after deduction of an ample sinking fund the public debt. We can pay the bonus and main perfectly sound, financially. What we lose the chance to cut the income tax. We have in effect a struggle between the income tax payer and the ex-service men for the millions that the Treasury does not need. The income tax payer is backed by most of the press of the country, but the ex-service men control directly and indirectly a colossal vote. Each side professes the purest public spirit, and each side is perfectly aware where its self-interest lies. When one looks at the matter in this light, neutrality appears to be the proper attitude. Who shall say that the income tax payers, mostly in comfortable circumstances, have a better right to the Treasury surplus than the ex-service men, a majority of whom are poor?

THE contest would not have been so evenly balanced if the alternative to the bonus had been, not reduced income taxes, but the more rapid payment of the public debt. We have eight billions coming due within five years. If we have to refund most of this debt, it will be done at a relatively high interest rate. Leaving taxes where they are and rejecting the bonus would enable us to pay off at least half of the eight billions, and give us correspondingly better terms on the rest. Nor would the case for the bonus be strong if the alternative were a reduction in the customs duties which enable the manufacturers of the Eastern states to make large profits at the expense of the farmers and laborers. As we showed in our last issue, prosperity is most unevenly distributed, at present. The purely agricultural sections are suffering severely from the tariff, not only because it raises the price of everything the farmer has to buy, but because it keeps out foreign goods that would be sent here to pay for our surplus agricultural produce. But Secretary Mellon advances no such salutary program of tariff reduction. He is squarely backing the income tax payer against the ex-service man. If he gets beaten, there will be small reason why the average citizen should be deeply concerned.

AT France intends to do about the approach-famine in Germany is now fairly clear. The man r... that a $70,000,000 loan for for... priority over ...parations ... govern-

ents, which will defer action te...
n investigation by Reparations Commission e
perts into the present situation in Germany
to cereals and fats. There is every reason
believe that when the question of the loan come
up to a vote, France will interpose the one neg
ative ballot necessary to prevent action. Her of
ficial propaganda about "large sums of German
money abroad" which could be used to rescue the
starving millions is, of course, nonsense. M. Poincaré knows perfectly well that such sums as do exist are private, not public funds; and that the government has neither the legal right nor the extra-legal power to seize them. The suggestion is as fantastic as it would be to propose that the United States should seize the New York bank balances of French business houses to apply on the debt France owes us. No; the French attitude has a specific purpose. When the necessary priority has been refused and Germany is desperate, France will offer to relent in exchange for additional concessions as to the Ruhr. M. Poincaré, in other words, will gamble with the lives of millions of innocent men, women and children to gain for his government further temporary advantage in the course upon which it is embarked.

THE coming Labor government in Great Britain is casting its shadow before. It has already caused the abandonment of the huge, costly and needless naval base at Singapore which would have undone much of the work of the Washington Conference and would certainly have provoked retaliatory enterprise on the part of Japan, against whom it was aimed. The present lull in continental affairs must be attributed to the necessity for marking time until Mr. Macdonald and his associates have taken control. Probably the present demand that France come to terms with the Russian government is due to the realization that an agreement with Moscow will be one of the corner-stones of the new British policy. The Nationalist bloc in Paris has every reason to be apprehensive also over the prospect that the Labor government will carry out its indicated intention of calling a general conference of the nations to consider the European muddle. Such measures as this probably indicate the scope of the important activities of the laborites in the near future. Asquith, putting Lloyd George firmly in his place, announces that the Liberals will form a coalition neither with the Conservatives nor the Labor party. The latter, therefore, cannot hope to do much during its first tenure in office. Before the capital levy or the nationalization of public utilities can be considered seriously, the party must secure from the country a far clearer mandate than it now possesses.

WHETHER or not th...
republic should be eviden...
National Assembly mee...

32-39-161

incompatible with its exercise. If the organization is necessary, and no one will be bold enough to deny the necessity in this case, individual rights must be withheld. Equity offers, however, to continue the exemption to members of the Actors' Fidelity League who were in good standing September 1, 1923. In other respects the document submitted by Equity is an admirable one. It guarantees that it will not interfere in the casting of plays; or dictate to authors as to matter, plot or text; or attempt to regulate salaries. Further it agrees to remain open to all actors who desire to join, and not to raise its initiation fee. Sympathetic strikes are barred. Arbitration of differences is provided for. Certain other provisions are inserted for the benefit of the actor, which do not seem to involve hardship to the management.

These proposals formed the basis of discussion between Messrs. Emerson and Gillmore representing Equity, and Messrs. Lee Shubert, Lawrence Weber, and Winthrop Ames representing the Producing Managers' Association, in September and October. The discussions have hitherto proved fruitless. The essential point at issue remains the Equity shop, which a Producing Managers' Association refuses to cede. It is this point which will cause a strike or lockout in June, 1924, unless it is settled. Public opinion will play an even more decisive part in this than in other industrial disputes, because the theatre is so directly dependent on public favor. A guide to its verdict is afforded by the decision of Judge Julian W. Mack who, as arbitrator, in 1921 passed upon the lawfulness and expediency of the application of the Equity shop to producers not formally exempted by the agreement of 1919.

> I should be setting myself against the broad current of opinion of the great majority of the Courts in this country, and the body of informed and impartial public opinion, if I held that the Union Shop or the Equity Shop is in itself unlawful or against public policy. Nor would my own study of industrial problems, and such experience as I have had in arbitrations between employers and unions in various industries, prompt me to reach any such conclusion.
>
> ROBERT MORSS LOVETT.

32-39-160

The Negro Takes Stock

CHIEF AMOAH III of the Gold Coast spoke at the London session of the Pan-African Congress. He is small, black and earnest, a descendant of ancient rulers of the Gold Coast, never enslaved; and now a cocoa merchant resident in London many years. He was a significant figure.

For Mr. Hutchinson, a London mulatto barrister, also from West Africa, told us one night how, a quarter of a century ago, he himself planted the first cocoa tree in that region and how today Nigeria and the British West Coast are the greatest cocoa-producing areas in the world. But singularly enough the economic development there has not been at all according to modern theory. It has not been a case of the advent of foreign-owned capital with captains of industry driving native slaves, but a development of peasant proprietorship on small plantations with black owners working in a leisurely way as they wish, being their own masters, and yet turning out this mass of products.

It was at this point that Sir Sidney Olivier, former Governor of Jamaica, impressed upon us, in his remarks, that just here Africa could teach the modern economic world. The independence of the black worker, his demand for leisure and art, the word of the newer science as to the possibilities of his normal human developments—all this emphasized the need of an international Pan-African movement to conserve African genius and power and to fight for the black man's freedom.

All is not well in West Africa, we were again and again told, because the black man there has so limited a voice in his own government. His is a crown colony of the restricted type with only figureheads and favorites appointed to the advisory council of the governors, and these councils without decisive power. In the great Imperial Conference in London there was not a single black face and perhaps the greatest fact brought before the Pan-African Congress was this disfranchisement of fifty million Negroes in the British Empire.

Yet all hope is not lost: there was no direct voice from South Africa in our counsels—to reach the natives there is not only a matter of distance but of intervening white opinion—but all over England and Europe the presence of General Smuts, Premier of the Union of South Africa, forced this problem continually to the fore; for if the black man is still confined beneath the service of imperial politics, the brown man of India has found voice and power. Again and again Smuts was compelled to interrupt his Sermon on the Mount about the naughty and stubborn French to explain that any effort in South Africa to recognize the manhood of Indian or Negro would overthrow "white civilization" at the Cape.

The sinister influence of this intransigeance of South Africa is seen in Mozambique. The new Portuguese Colonial Code is most liberal and recognizes the full Portuguese citizenship of educated natives with the right to vote. Until recently, the magistrate [illegible] of

pleasure who meets a company
n the train is not aware of the bla
h often rides with them. Any one-nigh
ay mark the final disaster which leaves
without resources and far from home.

t must not be inferred that all producing man-
rs took advantage of all possible methods to
ploit the actor, any more than that all producing
anagers went broke between Omaha and Ogden;
t the evils were general and Equity, by its
omulgation of the Equity contract, has done
uch to mitigate them. This contract stipulates
at the actor shall not be called on to rehearse
ore than four weeks without salary, and that he
hall be guaranteed two weeks of paying work.
Within the first ten days of rehearsal he may be dis-
missed without penalty; after that he is entitled
to two weeks' notice. The number of performances
a week, on regular salary, is limited to eight.
Costumes are provided by the management. As
insurance against stranding, the producer is bonded
to an amount sufficient to bring the company back
to its starting point. Equity itself advances the
money; for the fiscal year of May 1, 1921, to
April 30, 1922, when productions fell in scores by
the wayside, it spent $14,202.22 for stranded com-
panies. Equity not only acts as attorney for
the actor in adjusting his claims with his employ-
ers; it also undertakes to guarantee the rights of
the employer. If a member breaks his contract
without notice, it is responsible for his penalty of
two weeks' salary. It has reduced contract jump-
ing by two-thirds. In short, Equity is concerned
not merely with the question of hours and wages
—with the latter it has, in fact, nothing whatever
to do—but with regulating the working conditions
of its members and preserving their morale—a
fundamental necessity, one would say, to artistic
success.

The matter of morale is at the root of two
factors in the policy of Equity which have been
most subject to questions and attack. One is the
Equity shop, the other, affiliation with the Amer-
ican Federation of Labor. Both are matters of
labor policy. The Equity shop is a provision by
which members of Equity will work only in an all-
Equity company. This does not mean that a man-
ager is bound to employ only Equity members. He
may send out as many non-Equity companies as he
likes, but within the same company he may not
have both union and non-union actors. Undoubted-
ly this rule operates as a means of pressure to in-
duce actors to join Equity. It is, however, far
from compulsion. And it is to be noted that as
all actors, whether members or not, profit by the
improvement of conditions and especially by the
general use of the Equity contract, it would be a
real danger to the organization to have its rank
and
onstant c
with f
llow actors who,
esponsibilities,

y the same privileges and status. Up to the
esent time, however, the Equity shop has not
been obligatory upon the members of the Produc-
ing Managers' Association—the strongest body of
theatrical employers with which Equity has had to
deal, of which more must be said later. It
was this alignment of employers which forced the
issue of Equity's affiliation with the Federation of
Labor, and also brought organized labor to recog-
nize the right of the actor, as a fellow worker, to
its protection. By this association Equity gains
support for legislation for the benefit of actors—
who, few in numbers and largely disfranchised by
the necessity of travel, possess little political in-
fluence. Above all it secured the intervention of
a powerful ally in the critical moment of its
history.

Equity did not secure its present position with-
out a long series of negotiations and a fight. It
was founded in May, 1913, at a meeting of some
300 actors. In 1914, it had 760 members; in
1915, 2,000. In 1916, application was made for
membership in the A. F. of L., but was refused.
In 1919 Equity was strong enough to demand not
only the acceptance but the fulfillment of its con-
tract by the leading producers. Committees were
appointed, meetings were held. At one of them
a leading manager was asked: "Do you consider
this contract fair?" He answered: "Absolutely."
"Will you use it?" "Yes, when you make me."
In this temper negotiations were broken off. A
lockout was ordered and a strike called. Accord-
ing to the Equity view the lockout came first. In
any event when Equity offered to arbitrate, and
in a commendably generous spirit submitted the
names of Messrs. Taft and Hughes as arbitrators,
the managers refused. Then it was that the appli-
cation to the Federation of Labor was renewed
and accepted, and with the generalship of trained
industrial strategists the battle was won.

Equity's settlement with the Producing Man-
agers' Association was, however, a compromise.
By its terms the member firms of the Association
were excepted from the operation of the Equity
shop clause, and they do not have to bond their
road companies, the guarantee of the Association
being accepted. There is thus a certain inducement
to producers to join the Producing Managers'
Association, as for the actor to join Equity—a cir-
cumstance which should tend to stabilize conditions
in the industry. The present agreement, however,
expires in June, 1924, and already the lines of a
new conflict are drawn. The chief point of oppo-
sition is in the proposal of Equity to end the ex-
emption of the Producing Managers' Association
from the Equity shop agreement. The reasons for
the Equity shop have already been stated. Wha
ever may be said of the right of the individual
work without refere
to his fellow worke
history shows clearly
industrial organizat

ere black or colored; and s
effort, while scarce, were
the members of the Mozambique
nglish concern—have by economic
land on a weak, distracted Port-
fifty-year franchise in the colony
t make them absolute masters of
can and do oppose and suppress
ions; they virtually enslave native
it for their mines of South Africa;
made the colony pay dividends in-
the impoverished mother country.
ingdom of Capital!

force of world public opinion be
n such outrages? Many Euro-
Laski are still hoping for much
of the League of Nations. Mr.
e Pan-African Congress on No-
de the striking suggestions that
tions send to each of the man-
like Tanganyika, Southwest
and Togoland an accredited
ague; that this minister should
some other country than the
late; that he should be a trained
that he should have the right to
ons and report regularly to the

huddle in British Kenya emphasizes the
ssity of some international action. Here is
eat, fertile and rich territory; our Congress
continually reminded by voices within and
out that an astonishing piracy on a huge scale
ere being deliberately perpetrated. England is
g the land from the natives, enslaving and
ning them to native reserves and mistreating
hem outrageously. One speaker said, "There is
ample evidence to show that flogging and shoot-
ing of natives in that region have developed into
a system. For trivial, imaginary and suspected
offences a varying number of lashes with the 'reim'
or the 'kiboko' is inflicted on the helpless and in-
articulate natives. From time to time death ensues
as a result of these brutalities. The verdicts in-
variably returned by the jury (composed exclusive-
ly of white settlers) are a scandal and the sentences
imposed by the judges are in consequence utterly
inadequate."

On top of this, the East Indians, pushing in here and demanding a share of this vast theft of land and exploitation of labor, are through the influence and fears of South Africa disfranchised politically and economically and are protesting against this with the utmost vigor and indignation. How singular, this threefold battle, and how impossible is a West Coast native growth here, with its foundation in native land ownership!

From Uganda, which is officially joined to the Ken
otectorate, a moving appeal was sent the
C
represente
ther extreme of

e the natives carefully
this "ruling through the chi
rulers were encouraged in education
by outer ideals in industry and soc
would be splendid opportunity.

As to the great valley of the Congo in th
and black forests of Belgian sovereignty there was almost complete silence in our Congress. The Union Congolaise, an organization of black men in Belgium and Belgian Africa, had nothing to suggest but the erection at the mouth of the Congo of a great memorial statue to the black soldiers who died in the Great War! I fear such a stone figure would look with tears upon even the reformed régime in the Congo! The fundamental conception of the Congo as a place where capital can make huge profits by using labor of the cheapest price and driving it by physical force still seems dominant.

Our French group sent the assistant secretary of our organization, resident in Paris, and one member of the Bureau Permanent. But French Negrodom is at once the most inactive and at the same time the most inspiring part of our movement. Inspiring because France has gone further, much further, in recognizing the manhood of black folk than any other white nation. One West African girl told me at the Congress of her isolation in British Africa, as an educated woman, between the natives and the British official rulers, but of the joy and naturalness of social intercourse in French Senegal where she went to visit her uncle.

Here then is France challenging the rest of the white world by bidding for the military and industrial support of black men. England, America and white Europe are aghast at the prospect. What can they do?

They have one clear path along which France points: Make black Englishmen, black Americans and Belgian Congolese have cause to believe in the justice of their countries and the possibility of developing real black manhood under their flags. France has played this trump card.

As was natural, America dominated the Third Pan-African Congress with the attempt to spread the results of her experience in organized fighting. A black bishop of a church body which has three-fourths of a million American blacks spoke to us and told us that he was on his way to dedicate a school in Basutoland, given by the colored women of Ohio!

We were not a large group at this Third Congress—only thirteen countries and six American states as against thirty countries in 1921. But we have, I believe, weathered a natural crisis of growth in a time of universal industrial crisis and we can look forward to a Congress in the West Indies in 1925 in the midst of the growing a

32-39-159

...w up again our charter, ...urned to go to Lisbon in Portug... ...ession. And this is our charter:

...e Executive Committee of the Third Pan-African Congress, meeting in London and Lisbon in November, 1923, regards the following matters as those which seem to them to embody the legitimate and immediate needs of the peoples of African descent.

1. A voice in their own government. 2. The right of access to the land and its resources. 3. Trial by juries of their peers under established forms of law. 4. Free elementary education for all; broad training in modern industrial technique; and higher training of selected talent. 5. The development of Africa for the benefit of Africans, and not merely for the profit of Europeans. 6. The abolition of the slave trade and of the liquor traffic. 7. World disarmament and the abolition of war; but failing this, and as long as white folk bear arms against black folk, the right of blacks to bear arms in their own defence. 8. The organization of commerce and industry so as to make the main objects of capital and labor the welfare of the many, rather than the enriching of the few.

These seem to us the eight general and irreducible needs of our people.

Specifically and in particular we ask for the civilized British subjects in West Africa and in the West Indies the institution of home rule and responsible government, without discrimination as to race and color.

We ask for such areas as Northern Nigeria, Uganda and Basutoland, a development of native law, industry and education with the specific object of training them in home rule and economic independence and for eventual participation in the general government of the land.

We ask for French Africa the extension of the citizenship rights of voting and of representation in Parliament from Senegal and the West Indies to other parts of the colonies as rapidly as the present comprehensive plans of education can be realized.

We demand for Kenya, Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa the restoration of rights to the land to ...atives, a recognition of their ri... ...their own government and the abolitio... ...of a white minority to dominate a b... ...even to prevent their appeal to the ...

In the Belgian Congo we fail yet ... ...change from a régime of profit-makin... ...to an attempt to build modern civiliza... ...beings for their own good and the g... ...We demand a system of state educati... ...of native law, a voice in government a... ...commercial exploitation in that great...

For the independent nations of Aby... ...Liberia we ask not merely political in... ...emancipation from the grip of econor... ...usury at the hands of the money-mas...

For the Negroes of the United Sta... ...ask the suppression of lynching an... ...of caste and the recognition of fu... ...race and color.

We demand the restoration of ... ...to an independent Egypt.

We demand for Portuguese Afr... ...slave-trading industrial monopolies ... ...and France which today nullify th... ...Code in Mozambique.

We urge in Brazil and Central ... ...of African descent be no longer sat... ...of the Negro problem which invo... ...into another race, without allowin... ...full recognition of their manhood and ...

We ask the League of Nations to a... ...diplomatic representatives in the mandated ... ...with duties to investigate and to report conditions.

We ask the appointment of representatives of ... ...Negro race on the Mandates Commission and in... ...International Labor Bureau.

In fine, we ask in all the world that black fo... ...treated as men. We can see no other road to peac... ...progress. What more paradoxical figure today f... ...the world than the official head of a great South A... ...state striving blindly to build peace and good will in... ...Europe by standing on the necks and hearts of millions... ...of black Africans?

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois.

Babbitt at Angkor

WE bought Babbitt at Singapore. The ends of the earth meet at Singapore, and in Kelly, Walsh's admirable book shop on Raffles' Square a whole importation of Babbitt piled itself comfortably alongside The Ramayana. The Ramayana was part of our Indian luggage; Babbitt we dropped into our bags without much thinking what we were doing, we two Americans whose taste for vanished civilizations had brought us half way round the world to see the ruined cities and temples of Cambodia.—Afterwards the irony of destiny overtook us for carrying Main Street to Angkor.

...rom Singapore, Cambodia is east still four days' voyage, two by sea to the coast of Indo-China and another two up the Mekong, a river of rivers flowing down from the mountains of Thibet into the gray green plains. Melancholy country Cambodia, with a sinister spell even in the sunshine: swamp and marshland edged endlessly by bush jungle and inhabited by long-legged cranes and water-buffaloes and a humble little brown people who live half in, half out of the water, too. In an earlier existence they were enslaved to the builders of Angkor, the Khmers, a Hindu people who, long before the sixth century when they first appear in history, migrated from India, for who knows ... rea... ...son, to the ...lley ... Mekong, se... ...eir

toward the formation of the much-needed cooperative wholesale.

Who would have believed, a few years ago, that three non-profit-seeking cooperatives of several thousand members each could succeed in the heart of competitive business, New York City? Is it not interesting to know that there are two cooperative restaurants flourishing in the Wall Street section and two in the uptown business district? They serve 65,000 meals a month. "Our Cafeteria," now known as Cooperative Services, Inc., started less than four years ago. It has had a calm, steady growth, nothing very spectacular. Yet the 1,900 members, who have received $14,000 in savings-returns in addition to 6 per cent interest on their capital stock, will tell you that there is a demand for cooperative service even in gay New York. A recent addition to their activities has been the Cooperative Laundry, which is washing 1,500 bundles of its members' cloth[illegible]thly at a distinct saving.

32-40-104

OLD RELIABLE
Henry Romeike
PRESS CLIPPINGS
106 SEVENTH AVE., N. Y.
BE SURE ITS HENRY
(Other Romeikes May Disappoint)
THIS CLIPPING FROM THE
NEW YORK
NEW YORK
The Nation
ISSUE OF
DEC 17 192

[illegible]" that knows how to succeed in New Y[illegible]erative Trading Association, meat market, butcher shop, [illegible]ion room. Its success is, of It is in Brooklyn, in the like habits, like needs, and soil.

[illegible]en rule in the forty-five [illegible]om the Massachusetts sea-[illegible]. Some of these were organized by union bakers who despaired of ever getting better wages and conditions through legislation. Strikes, too, had been of little effect. So the workers started to finance and run their own bakeries. They sold shares also to the consumers. As a result the working class as a whole has benefited. The presence of the "co-op" in many a town has driven down the prices of competing private bakers, day by day. And in time of strike, for instance, the great textile strike of 1922, 170,000 loaves of bread were sent from the cooperative bakeries in Massachusetts to the strikers' food kitchen.

Throughout the land there is a growing understanding of cooperation. Two training-schools for cooperative employees and executives are running annual courses of six weeks each. The colleges and special schools are giving increasing time to courses in cooperation. Spurious, fraudulent, and fanciful schemes have been put out of business by publicity, by court proceedings, or forced to the wall bankrupt. Henceforth they will have little chance of securing a foothold in the United States. Americans are beginning to know real cooperation from "fake."

Cooperators in this country are at last building solidly and laying deep foundations. Most countries have built a cooperative movement first and later sought to add a cooperative culture. In the United States we are building a culture upon which to found the growing movement. We shall succeed. But we must work everlastingly to make ourselves bigger than our problems.

[illegible]he Primitive Black Man

By W. E. BURGHARDT Du BOIS

I BEGAN to notice it as I entered southern France. I formulated it in Portugal. I knew it as a great truth one Sunday in Liberia. And the Great Truth was this: efficiency and happiness do not go together in modern culture. Going south from London, as the world darkens it gets happier. Portugal is deliciously dark. Many leading citizens would have difficulty keeping off a Georgia "Jim Crow" car. But, oh, how lovely a land and how happy a people! And so leisurely. Little use of trying to shop seriously in Lisbon before 11. It isn't done. Nor at noon; the world is lunching or lolling in the sun. Even after 4 p. m. one takes chances, for the world is in the Rocio. And the banks are so careless and the hotels so leisurely. How delightfully angry Englishmen get at the "damned, lazy" Portuguese!

But if this of Portugal, what of Africa? Here darkness descends and rests on lovely skins until brown seems so luscious and natural. There is sunlight in great gold globules and soft, heavy-scented heat that wraps you like a garment. And laziness; divine, eternal languor is right and good and true.

I remember the morning. It was Sunday, and the night before we heard the leopards crying down there. Today beneath the streaming sun we went down into the gold-green forest. It was silence—silence the more mysterious because life abundant and palpitating pulsed all about us and held us drowsy captives to the day. Ahead the gaunt missionary strode, alert, afire, with his gun. He apologized for the gun, but he did not need to apologize to me, for I saw the print of a leopard's hind foot. A monkey sentinel piped, and I heard the whir of the horde as they ran.

Then we came to the village. How can I describe it? Neither London nor Paris nor New York has anything of its delicate, precious beauty. It was a town of the Veys and done in cream and pale purple—still, clean, restrained, tiny, complete. It was so simple and quiet there in the great wide world. Its arms were wide—it was no selfish place, but the central abode of fire and hospitality, was clean-swept for wayfarers, and the best seats were bare. They quite expected visitors, morning, noon, and night; and they gave our hands a quick, soft grasp and talked easily. Their manners were better than those of Park Lane or Park Avenue, Rittenhouse Square or the North Shore. Oh, much better and more natural! They showed breeding.

The chief's son—tall and slight and speaking good English—had served the late Colonel Young. He made a little speech of welcome. Long is the history of the Veys and comes down from the Eastern Roman Empire, the great struggle of Islam and the black empires of the Sudan.

We went on to other villages—dun colored, not so beautiful, but neat and hospitable. In one sat a visiting chief of perhaps fifty years in a derby hat and a robe, and beside him stood a shy young wife done in ebony and soft brown, whose liquid eyes could not meet ours. The chief was taciturn until we spoke of schools. Then he woke suddenly—he had children to "give" to a school. There was a pile of brown coffee heaped in the center of the village. I see the last village fading away: they are plas-

tering the wall of a home, leisurely and carefully. They smiled a goodby—not effusively, with no eagerness, with simple friendship, as we glided under the cocoa trees and into the silent forest, the gold and silent forest.

And there and elsewhere in two long months I began to learn: Primitive men are not following us afar, frantically waving and seeking our goals; primitive men are not behind us in some swift foot-race. Primitive men have arrived. They are abreast, and in places ahead of us; in others behind. But all their curving advance line is contemporary, not prehistoric. They have used other paths and these paths have led them by scenes sometimes fairer, sometimes uglier than ours, but always toward the Pools of Happiness. Or, to put it otherwise, these folks have the leisure of true aristocracy—leisure for thought and courtesy, leisure for sleep and laughter. They have time for their children—such well-trained, beautiful children with perfect, unhidden bodies. Have you ever met a crowd of children in the east of London or New York, or even on the Avenue at Forty-second or 142nd Street, and fled to avoid their impudence and utter ignorance of courtesy? Come to Africa and see well-bred and courteous children, playing happily and never sniffling and whining.

I have read everywhere that Africa means sexual license. Perhaps it does. Most folk who talk sex frantically have all too seldom revealed their source material. I was in West Africa only two months, but with both eyes wide. I saw children quite naked and women usually naked to the waist—with bare bosom and limbs. And in those sixty days I saw less of sex dalliance and appeal than I see daily on Fifth Avenue. This does not mean much, but it is an interesting fact.

The primitive black man is courteous and dignified. If the platforms of Western cities had swarmed with humanity as I have seen the platforms swarm in Senegal, the police would have a busy time. I did not see one respectable quarrel.

Wherefore shall we all take to the Big Bush? No. I prefer New York. But my point is that New York and London and Paris must learn of West Africa and may learn. The one great lack in Africa is communication—communication as represented by human contact, movement of goods, dissemination of knowledge. All these things we have—we have in such crushing abundance that they have mastered us and defeated their real good. We meet human beings in such throngs that we cannot know or even understand them—they become to us inhuman, mechanical, hateful. We are choked and suffocated, tempted and killed by goods accumulated from the ends of the earth; our newspapers and magazines so overwhelm us with knowledge—knowledge of all sorts and kinds from particulars as to our neighbors' underwear to Einstein's mathematics—that one of the great and glorious joys of the African bush is to escape from "news."

On the other hand, African life with its isolation has deeper knowledge of human souls. The village life, the forest ways, the teeming markets bring an intimate human knowledge that the West misses, sinking the individual in the social. Africans know infinitely fewer folk, but know them infinitely better. Their intertwined communal souls therefore brook no poverty or prostitution—these things are to them ununderstandable. On the other hand, they are vastly ignorant of what the world is doing and thinking and of what is known of its physical forces. They suffer terribly from preventable disease, from unnecessary hunger, from the freaks of the weather.

Here, then, is something for Africa and Europe both to learn; and Africa is eager, breathless, to learn—while Europe? Europe laughs with loud guffaws. Learn of Africa? Nonsense. Poverty cannot be abolished. Democracy and firm government are incompatible. Prostitution is world old and inevitable.

Whereupon Europe proceeds to one of two programs:

1. To force Africa into modern work-slavery by whip and gun.

2. To tempt Africa into work profitable to Europe by catering to her present wants.

And then across these programs with absolutely no reference to them logically or physically run the amazing missionary efforts.

The net result is disintegration. Disintegration toward death as in the Belgian Congo. Disintegration toward European life as in French Senegal. Disintegration toward modern machine methods as in Sierra Leone. Disintegration by absorption into another group as in Liberia, where the new Liberian is more and more of native blood and American training.

Most people would disagree with the attempt to force Africa into work slavery and assume that this program is obsolete in Africa. It is not. It is, on the whole, the main and predominant program. On the other hand, the second program of catering to the wants of Africa may be good and may be bad, and is usually bad. Everything depends upon which wants are catered to, and how they are catered to, and with what objects and ideals. One may cater to the wish for alcoholic stimulants by synthetic gin, or one may cater to the need of knowledge by establishing schools; and between these two runs the gamut of the universe. As a matter of fact, what one does cater to is to those wants the satisfaction of which makes the largest profit for the importer. And one does this without any reference to the ultimate effect upon the people. One copies the beautiful cloth patterns of the West African artisan and his dyes, and floods West Africa with machine-made garments, beautiful and striking in many ways, but far less beautiful, of course, than the native garment, and at the same time driving the native artisan out of the market.

What shall one do? Here again one must do the thing most profitable to the importer. Bring down palm oil and ivory and wild rubber. All this beginning of trade and intercourse with the modern world is a matter which ought to call for the wisest thought and most far-seeing philanthropy. It is left today in the hands of the most selfish and ignorant white traders. One could envisage in West Africa a missionary effort that would uplift the world: trained physicians and nurses, masters of industrial processes guided by ideals which make industry cater to human development and uplift; wise men trained in anthropology and history to observe and copy the ancient and in many respects magnificent native organizations; and teachers who know how to teach.

Your Christmas gift to The Nation—

a new subscriber!

birth control review

MARKED COPY

MAY, 1938

VOL. XXII NO. 8

NEGRO NUMBER

The Birthright of the Unborn
— Carl G. Roberts, M. D.

Black Folk and Birth Control
— W. E. B. DuBois, Ph. D.

Negro Maternal Health Centers in Harlem and Baltimore

Published by the
AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

Black Folk and Birth Control

By W. E. B. DuBois, Ph. D.
Professor of Sociology, Atlanta University

THE American Negro has been going through a great period of stress, not only in this depression, but long before it. His income is reduced by ignorance and prejudice and his former tradition of early marriage and large families has put grave strain on a budget on which he was seeking, not merely to maintain, but to improve his standard of living.

As slaves, every incentive was furnished to raise the largest number of children possible. The chief surplus crop of Virginia and other border States consisted of this natural increase of slaves and it was realized in the consequent slave trade to feed the plantations of the lower South and Southwest. Frederick Bancroft has shown us that this trade, in the decade 1850-60, involved average annual sales of nearly 80,000 human beings, representing $100,000,000 of capital.

Even then birth control was secretly exercised by the more intelligent slaves, as we know from many reminiscences.

After emancipation, there arose the inevitable clash of ideals between those Negroes who were striving to improve their economic position and those whose religious faith made the limitation of children a sin. The result, among the more intelligent class, was a postponement of marriage, which greatly decreased the number of children. Today, among this class of Negroes, few men marry before thirty, and numbers of them after forty. The marriage of women of this class has similarly been postponed.

In addition to this, the low incomes which Negroes receive make bachelorhood and spinsterhood widespread, with the naturally resultant lowering, in some cases, of sex standards. On the other hand, the mass of ignorant Negroes still breed carelessly and disastrously, so that the increase among Negroes, even more than the increase among whites, is from that part of the population least intelligent and fit, and least able to rear their children properly.

There comes, therefore, the difficult and insistent problem of spreading among Negroes an intelligent and clearly recognized concept of proper birth control, so that the young people can marry, have companionship and natural health, and yet not have children until they are able to take care of them. This, of course, calls for a more liberal attitude among Negro churches. The churches are open for the most part to intelligent propaganda of any sort, and the American Birth Control League and other agencies ought to get their speakers before church congregations and their arguments in the Negro newspapers. As it is, the mass of Negroes know almost nothing about the birth control movement, and even intelligent colored people have a good many misapprehensions and a good deal of fear at openly learning about it. Like most people with middle-class standards of morality, they think that birth control is inherently immoral.

Moreover, they are quite led away by the fallacy of numbers. They want the black race to survive. They are cheered by a census return of increasing numbers and a high rate of increase. They must learn that among human races and groups, as among vegetables, quality and not mere quantity really counts.

PARLEY DUCKS COLONIAL ISSUE

"MY NIGHTS"
By
LAGSTON HUGHES
See Page 12

THE Chicago Defender
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Vol. XLI, No. 3 | THIS PAPER CONSISTS OF TWO PARTS — PART ONE | CHICAGO, ILL., SATURDAY, MAY 5, 1945 | Price 10 Cents | ★★★★

Listening attentively to U. S. Secretary of State Edward Stettinius at the San Francisco parley of the United Nations are three delegates from Ethiopia. They are (l. to r.) Atto Akbilou Hoptewold, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs; Bitwodded Makonnen Endalkatau, Ethiopia's Prime Minister and chairman of the delegation; and Ambai Wold Mariam, Vice Minister of Justice.

Foremost Negro leaders of America representing the N.A.A.C.P. at the San Francisco World Parley. L. to r.) W. E. B. DuBois, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune and Walter White, shown on their arrival at the West Coast city on the official delegates' train.

TAN YANK'S BODY FOUND IN NAZI 'ATROCITY BARN'

Army Bars Mixed Marriages, Sanctions Illegitimate Babies!

(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON—The U. S. War Department this week admitted in effect that it sanctions illegitimate children rather than allow interracial marriages!

Official army policy stands pat in its refusal to allow a Negro soldier to marry a white British woman, although he is the father and she the mother of an expectant baby.

"Such marriages are considered to be against the best interests of the parties concerned and of the service," is the army's position as expressed by Col. James D. Givens, deputy commander of the Army Air Forces in Europe.

This view is supported by Major General J. A. Ulio, adjutant general of the War Department, who declares that final word on mixed marriages is up to theater commanders.

The Defender exclusively presents this week documentary evidence of how the War Department policy is preventing an American Negro soldier from giving his name to [illegible] child.

Morals

Both the British girl and her parents also, with the Negro soldier, who must remain unnamed because his parents are under the impression that he is married, appealed for permission to go through with the marriage.

Six high army officials in the Air Corps rejected the appeal which said in these moving words: "The highest morals in the world are Christian morals and our religion teaches us to assume our responsibilities in marriage. I am the father of our expected child and it is morally right for me to provide a home for the child and the mother."

Rejection of the appeal confirmed long-time unofficial reports that official army policy bars interracial marriages in Britain—even though it means that a child will be born illegitimately.

British Problem

Children born out of wedlock are resulting in a complicated British problem, which authorities have been grappling with in vain for some months. Many British churchmen have privately condemned the stand of the U. S. War Department in virtually sanctioning the birth of illegitimate babies rather than allow white women to marry colored soldiers.

The Defender's documentary evidence marks the first occasion in which written proof has been presented that the army is officially barring interracial marriages despite the fact that this rule conflicts sharply with all church doctrines and all codes of morals.

The 22-year-old Negro soldier, who is Protestant and comes from New Jersey, filed his application for permission to marry an 18-year-old British girl of Catholic faith back on November 11, 1945. In his original letter he asked that the army waive the usual two-month waiting period because of the coming birth of an expected child.

A letter from the girl and her parents granting their approval accompanied the application.

One month later on December 11, 1944, the application was returned marked "Disapproved." Signing the refusal to allow the marriage was Lt. Col Charles H. Campbell, adjutant general.

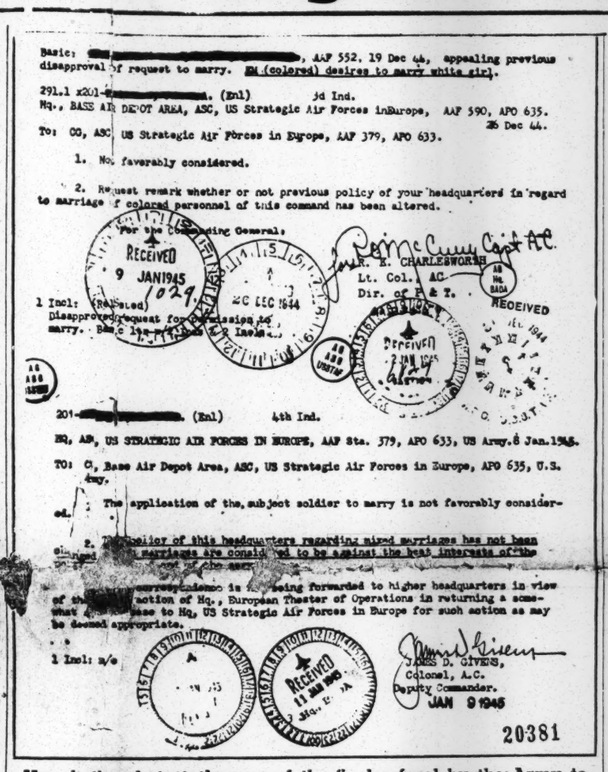
The Negro private then made his touching appeal of the verdict addressing it to the commanding general of the European Theatre of Operations. Replying bluntly to the reason given by the adjutant general that "such action is against public policy," the Negro soldier declares that the decision was made purely because of his race.

"Whose public policy does it refer to?" asks the private. "Certainly not England's. There is no law forbidding racial intermarriage in England. Nor does it refer to the uniform policy of the United States. There is no federal law against it and if my case were brought before the Supreme Court I would be upheld in accordance with the Constitution. There are many states which permit marriage between the races and my own state, New Jersey, is one of them." Then the private continues: "It is interference with the divine order or marriage as well as personal freedom of choice to forbid my marriage to the girl I love and to whom I desire to fulfill my moral responsibility. Both of us understand what we are doing. We know that there are those who do not approve and who, because of their lack of humanity, would impose hardships and embarrassments upon us. We have considered this and still want to be married. We love each other, have obligations to each other and we see no reason why we should not be permitted to marry as normal people."

Policy Not Changed

The appeal was forwarded to higher officers with the notation: "EM (colored) desires to marry white girl."

On January 11, two months after his original application, the Negro private received final word from the commander of the U. S. Strategic Air Forces in Europe, Col. Givens, that "the policy of this headquarters regarding mixed marriages has not been changed." The officer refused to send the application to higher headquarters because of refusal of approval in a "somewhat similar case."



Basic: [redacted], AAF 552, 19 Dec 44, appealing previous disapproval of request to marry. EM (colored) desires to marry white girl.

291.1 AGO-[redacted]. (Enl) 3d Ind.
Hq., BASE AIR DEPOT AREA, ASC, US Strategic Air Forces inEurope, AAF 590, APO 635. 26 Dec 44.
To: CO, ASC, US Strategic Air Forces in Europe, AAF 379, APO 633.

1. Not favorably considered.

2. Request remark whether or not previous policy of your headquarters in regard to marriage of colored personnel of this command has been altered.

For the Commanding General:
RECEIVED 9 JAN 1945 1029
JAMES K. CHARLESWORTH
Lt. Col., AC
Dir. of A & T.
RECEIVED

1 Incl: (Related) Disapproved request for permission to marry. [redacted]

201-[redacted]. (Enl) 4th Ind.
HQ, AB, US STRATEGIC AIR FORCES IN EUROPE, AAF Sta. 379, APO 633, US Army, 6 Jan. 1945.
TO: CO, Base Air Depot Area, ASC, US Strategic Air Forces in Europe, APO 635, U.S. Army.

The application of the subject soldier to marry is not favorably considered.

2. [redacted] policy of this headquarters regarding mixed marriages has not been changed. Such marriages are considered to be against the best interests of the service.

1 Incl: n/c

JAMES D. GIVENS,
Colonel, A.C.
Deputy Commander.
RECEIVED 11 JAN 1945
JAN 9 1945
20381

Here is the photostatic copy of the final refusal by the Army to allow a New Jersey private to marry a white British girl although he was the father of her expected baby. His name has been penciled out because his parents are under the impression that he is married. (See other documentary evidence on Page 3.)

SOLDIER BURNED TO DEATH WITH 1100 PRISONERS

Charred Remains Taken From Murder Barn At Gardelegen

GARDELEGEN, Germany — An American Negro soldier was one of 1,100 victims brutally burned to death in an old barn near here by teen-age Nazis in one of the most bestial exhibitions of the present war.

The soldier, known only as "John," had allegedly been confined with the political prisoners he died with because of his frequent attempts to escape. Survivors questioned by American army officers following the Allied break-through reported that the political prisoners had been hunted like deer before the arrival of U. S. troops.

The Volkssturm (People's Army), assisted by the Jugend (Hitler Youth), was ca[illegible] the massacre w[illegible] a large barn [illegible] unfortunate prisoners were shot, others burned. Although some of the Nazis who took part in the mass murders have been apprehended and others have been suicides, the ringleaders are still at large.

It is said that the Negro soldier and the other prisoners were murdered because Nazi party leaders considered them a threat to the personal safety of their Nazi superiors if liberated.

The Gardelegen incident is by no means the first instance of a Negro soldier being brutally murdered by the Nazis. The bodies of a large number of Negro members of the Third Army were found in the Rhine area recently where they had been shot through the head by Nazi SS troops.

Delegates Juggle Colonial Question; White, DuBois Ask Equality Of Races

By METZ T. P. LOCHARD
(Editor-in-Chief, Chicago Defender)

SAN FRANCISCO — The flood of oratory which marked the first days of the world security conference here has now subsided and the parley has settled down to the essential business of tackling its main problem — the shape of the structure of the future peace.

An impressive number of international experts voice the view that the colonial issue contains the potential seeds of another world conflict. Partly on account of indispensable raw materials which abound in some of the colonies and the inevitable mad scrambling for such a market by the Big Powers at the close of the present war, and partly on account of irresistible urge and greed for territorial expansion together with economic and political sphere of influence.

Important as this question seems, there is up to this moment no positive assurance that it will be posed in the full light of its admitted implications. While it is being whispered in hotel lobbies by ultra-cautious delegates, it is yet a deep mystery as to what delegation, where and when the colonial question shall be raised.

All Duck Issue

Russia, though sympathetic, cannot with propriety stir the question. For one thing she has no colonies, and for another her political system does not countenance such a plan.

China is, of course, concerned with her right to reclaim Hong Kong, Manchuria and Singapore.

America is interested in the military fortification of bases already conquered in the Pacific and such

See LOCHARD, Page 6

By RICHARD DURHAM
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

SAN FRANCISCO — Two Negro consultants asked the United States delegation this week to demand an "equality for all races" declaration in the world organization charter before the United Nations Conference.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People asked that these three provisions be written into the Dumbarton Oaks proposals:

1. Equality for all races.
2. A bill of rights for all the people of the world.
3. Abolition of the colonial system in favor of an international agency to which the colonial powers would report.

Liberia has a small nation council plan.

Small nations have an even greater stake in working for world security than the large countries, Clarence L. Simpson, chairman of the Liberian delegation, declared.

For that reason the Liberian delegates will seek enlargement of the proposed security council to include a greater number of secondary nations.

Ask Fair Selection

Mr. Simpson also disclosed his government's plan for a fair selection of smaller nations to serve two-year terms on the security council, which is an alphabetical arrangement, giving every country an opportunity to be represented in turn.

Mr. Simpson, a serious young man, is fully aware that this is his nation's opportunity to speak while the world is listening. He has been

See DURHAM, Page 6

By JOHN R. BADGER
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

SAN FRANCISCO—Among the 46 nations at the United Nations conference, which are likely to support the proposal for world trusteeship over the colonies to provide for advancement of colonial peoples?

This question is likely to be answered in the next few days in view of recent efforts to speed the work of the conference and the definite decision by the U. S. delegation on its particular stand.

Secretary of State Edward Stettinius' announcement at his first press conference that the question had been settled and that the United States was prepared to discuss the question may be taken to mean that the Army, Navy and State Department have agreed on some proposal that will be presented when the question arises.

It is hoped that the position of the State Department prevails. It is believed that the State Department is favorable to the establishment of a colonial body with considerably more authority than the old mandates commission of the League of Nations. The Army and Navy reportedly had asked for unilateral control over dependent territories. They have not raised the questions of mandated areas and other dependent areas except under the control of the Japanese.

Looks to China

When the question arises to whom can the colonial peoples look to champion their hopes? Who will befriend the predominantly colored people who inhabit colonial areas?

First, I think the Chinese delegation will be prepared to argue for the expansion of the trusteeship principle. The Chinese have vital interests at stake and want to share fully in whatever setup for Asia comes out of the war. They want to participate in the controls established to demilitarize Japan and prevent future Japanese aggression. They want freedom of trade to set up businesses in countries of southeast Asia now in control of Europeans.

Foreign Minister T. V. Soong greeted reporters at the airfield to meet his plane with the statement that he most certainly was in favor of trusteeship for dependent peoples.

For several reasons it is important to have Dr. Soong on our side. Namely, he is one of the four chairmen of the steering committee, which decides the policy for the commissions and committees that are the working force of the conference organization. He is a representative of new capitalist in China, and a member of one of China's wealthiest families.

Among other delegations from the Pacific area, the Philippine group, headed by General Carlos Romulo, resident commissioner in Washington, can be counted on not only to favor a colonial commission with considerable authority but will also speak for an interna-

See BADGER, Page 6

Color Line Absent At Frisco, DuBois Finds

By W. E. B. DuBOIS
(Official Consultant, American Delegation to United Nations Conference)

SAN FRANCISCO — I attended the opening plenary session of the United Nations Conference on International Organization. We sat in a great opera house, built as a memorial to the soldiers who, as the Mayor of San Francisco said, "died in vain" in the first world war.

Before us rose four golden columns against a cerulian blue background with three festoons drooping between, and the massed brilliance of the flags of 46 nations.

Down below as the blue-green podium, with green garlands, and above and at the sides leered the golden masks of tragedy and comedy. On the mezzanine floor was massed the press with its machines, races and sects of the world, snapping and grinding. Its engineers ran crouching to and fro, up and down the aisles. In the seats under blazing lights were all types of mankind, all languages and shades of color. Arabia and China, India and Africa were conspicuous, Latin-America and all Europe and America.

Franklin Roosevelt was curiously absent. God lacks a sense of drama, otherwise he would have let the dead President make here his last speech and appearance. There, too, was an absence of music. A military band screeched intermittently, but no one listened. It may have been playing national anthems, but I could not hear. A great music of organs and trumpets ought to have sounded, but there was severe simplicity, perhaps even a little over done. Only one fine note, and that was the minute of silent meditation.

The ceremonies were rather con-

See DUBOIS, Page 6

Dustin' off the NEWS

By LUCIUS C. HARPER

ENGLAND COMES INTO CONFERENCE DRIPPING WITH BLOOD

AS THE GREAT United Nations Security conference swung into action in San Francisco last week men of darker hue throughout the world are wondering what it is going to do — or suggest for action, is better — about the ever annoying color problem that will be the international trouble-maker after this war. Some 45 nations, with delegates speaking in a Babel of tongues, will endeavor to engage in the discussions proposing safeguards for the peace of the world. Frankly, the conference

Lucius Harper

See DUSTIN', Page 6

House Gets Petition To Halt Filibuster On FEP

By VENICE T. SPRAGGS
(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Provoked to action by the continued disgraceful horseplay of the House Rules Committee, Rep. Mary T. Norton (D., N. J.), took to the saddle herself in a determined fight to get her bill for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission to the House floor.

By-passing the hostile committee, which she indicted as being "very, very unfair" to the Labor Committee of which she is chairman, the veteran dean of congresswomen placed a petition to discharge the bill on the speaker's desk.

In the first hour-and-a-half, 59 of the required 218 members signed the petition. Only 10 of these were Republicans. Mrs. Norton expressed confidence that the petition will have the required number of names in record time.

The bill has been before the Rules Committee for more than two months. For three days Southern Tory Democrats, joined by equally reactionary Republican fellow committeemen, engaged in talking the bill to death. Chairman Sabath (D., Ill.), proved himself no match for the smirking Southerners, whom he leaned over backwards to appease. Indeed, he found himself in the end an unsuspecting victim of their chancery and admitted his inability to get the committee to vote a rule.

Rep. Baldwin (R., N. Y.), a staunch supporter of the FEPC measure, predicted that either by action of the Rules Committee, which an unconfirmed rumor asserts President Harry S. Truman is prodding into action, or through

See FEP, Page 10

Urge More Mixed Combat Units

NEW YORK.—Mixed Negro and white combat units in every branch of the armed forces were urged this week by more than 50 civic, government, labor, religious and fraternal leaders.

These colored and white leaders joined with Cong. Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune and Henrietta Buckmaster in a declaration to President Harry Truman and the Secretary of War praising the Army's organization of mixed combat units on the western front. The extension of this policy was asked.

Among other signers of the declaration, according to the National Negro Congress, were Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Lewis Merrill, Max Yergan, Howard Fast and Arthur Huff Fauset.

Probe Of Major League Jim Crow Due; Czar Silent

(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON—Rep. Vito Marcantonio of New York this week introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives authorizing the Commerce Department to investigate alleged racial discrimination in major league baseball.

"Baseball is America's greatest sport," Marcantonio said, "and it is silly to pretend that Negroes are not among the best players, when we have a Negro, Joe Louis, as our boxing champion; Jesse Owens was one of our greatest track stars, and Paul Robeson and others have been outstanding college football players." The New York legislator calls the attitude of baseball, "contrary to American sportsmanship," and added, "I think the feeling is artificial. I am sure that if a Negro hit a home run he would get just as much applause as anyone else."

One of the first questions put to Sen. Albert B. "Happy" Chandler following his appointment as czar of baseball concerned the discrimination because of race stand of organized baseball. Answered the commissioner: "I have no knowledge of discrimination in fact."

101 Jailed Airmen Freed, Transferred To Ky. Base

WASHINGTON — The 101 Negro airmen, arrested at Freeman Field, Ind., for their refusal to sign a Jim Crow order, were cleared of all charges and freed by the War Department this week.

Twenty-four hours after their release, the 477th Bombardment Group, to which they are attached, was transferred to Godman Field in Kentucky, Col. Robert R. Selway, who issued the Jim Crow order, is still in command of the 477th, only Negro bomber squadron in the Air Forces, it was reported.

The mass release leaves only three officers still under arrest, Lts. Shirley B. Clinton, Roger C. Terry and Mardsden A. Thomason. The NAACP is pressing for their release and has indicated that if they are brought to trial legal counsel will be supplied by the association. Judge William H. Hastie will be chief counsel for the men, and Theodore Berry of the Cincinnati NAACP will be associate counsel.

World Watches U.S. Handling Of Negro As Key To Future

When Peace Comes...What?

By ROBERT REDFIELD

Robert E. Park used to say that the American Negro became successively a population, a folk, and a race.

Imported from Africa with native traditions interrupted, the Negro arrived here as so many human beings, as so many laborers. Without common language or customs, these men and women were at first a mere population.

Thereupon, in the relative isolation of the plantations but with the raw materials of living provided by white men and with whatever vestiges of African life remained, the Negro developed the only important American folk life.

Later, as education and sophistication gave him awareness of his position and the will to change it, he became conscious of the cause for which he would, and must, struggle. And so he became a race, not in the anthropological sense, but in the sociological sense of an ethnic group conscious of its distinct nature and common interests.

This remark was probably first made by Park more than a score of years ago. When he first made it, the problem of the American Negro was thought of as a problem of the United States. It was recognized as the outstanding social problem of this country.

The important change that has occurred since that time is the con-

See WHEN PEACE, Page 6

ROBERT REDFIELD is a professor of social sciences at the University of Chicago and author of a number of books.

Court Ok's Lower Wages For Fla. Negro Teachers

NEW ORLEANS, La.—The revised salary schedule for public school teachers of Dade County (Miami), Fla., was upheld by the United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals here Monday. The court ruled that the present schedule shows no discrimination because of race or color between white and Negro teachers and principals.

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When Peace Comes...What?

(Continued from Page 1)

version of this local and national problem into an international, a world-wide problem.

So perhaps now it may be said that the American Negro has undergone yet another change. Perhaps it may now be said that the Negro has become an international responsibility. He is a responsibility to all men of all racial origins who want a peaceful and a just world. And he is a new responsibility to himself. For his conduct, and the solutions reached as to his problem, now stand, as a symbol, for all men who are denied justice and equality, in all parts of the world.

We might also say that whereas a generation ago the Negro has become, in the sense explained, a race, he will be, after this war, **the** race. He will be, at least, the most critical and symbolically significant case of a people denied full participation in human civil and political rights because of race.

Two Plans of Living

In this world, two plans of human living contend, as never before, for supremacy. One plan denies human rights, adopts expediency as its rule, and makes the individual a mere means to the strength of the state or an imagined dominant "race." The other plan extols human rights, adopts moral principle as its rule, and places the human individual above state or imagined "race."

The end of the war will not see the end of the struggle between these two ways of living. It will rather bring about a re-definition of the struggle between them.

During the war the totalitarian states fight for the first plan, and the United Nations, on the whole, represent the other plan. But everybody knows that within the United Nations there is internal struggle between these two plans of living. The end of the war will remove the immediate and obvious adversary of the democratic and liberal way of life.

As another result, it will make plain to view the internal struggle. The struggle between the two plans for living will be seen for what, more lastingly, it is: a struggle that goes on within every nation, every community, every heart. It will be seen to be both local and international, both personal and global.

Symbol of Conflict

The American Negro will lie across the battleground between these two plans for human living. No other group anywhere in the world presents so sharp a conflict between the ideal of democracy, the proposition that all men are created equal, and the great qualifying fact of injustice and prejudice.

This country, great in power and paramount in democratic leadership, is the same country that cannot solve the problems of its own persisting racially directed injustices.

The American Negro will receive the anxious gaze of struggling minorities in every land, and the American white man will have upon his conscience a wrong that works against not only himself but against his fellow men who stand, in other communities, for the democratic and liberal way of life. As Paul Robeson said, the cause of the American Negro has become part of the struggle against fascism.

Interests Clash

It will not be seen to be so by most men, white or Negro. As the white man will seek to preserve social arrangements which are easy and comfortable and convenient to him, so the Negro will seek to change them, not in the interests of all men, white and Negro, but in order to get some immediate advantage for himself.

The Negro too will see the short-run interests, will cry out with the immediate pain. He will follow the political leader who promises him a better job even if the leader be corrupt. He will see the white returned soldier take the job which he, the Negro, held during the war, and he will nurse his natural anger or vent it in mere expressions of bitterness.

So, too, the white man will seek to restore the Negro to the positions of social and economic subordination which he occupied in the local communities before the war. "The laws of biology will reassert themselves after the war," writes a southern editor.

The conflict will be felt, on the whole, as many local struggles, as so many little unconnected attempts of a subjected minority to wrest an increment of material security from a dominating group. It will be in part blind, in part clouded with fear or resentment. In part it will go on as it has always gone on.

And yet, in ever increasing part, it will be understood by those of both races who are thoughtful, and who read and reflect, that this is no longer a matter of who gets what somebody else has and hasn't enough of himself. It will be more and more seen to be a conflict, not between white and Negro, but between free and slave, between men of good will, of all races, and men of power, of all races.

It will be recognized as a part of the great effort toward a decision as to whether the world will be ruled by expediency or by principles of justice, by what serves me, or by what serves all men. Insofar as Americans, Negroes and whites, see the problem of the American Negro in these terms, we shall go forward toward the right.

Dubois—

(Continued from Page 1)

spicuously American, English; no other tongue was heard, no allusion to their cultures. There came in first 17 young folk in military dress: soldiers, sailors, WACs, WAVES and SPARS.

I was sorry there was no colored face among them. It would have been a world-wide gesture of significance, if some one had thought of that, but there were a number of things here unthought of. Four men sat on the platform, and a voice. The young white-haired Edward Stettinius presided.

Where Are Colonies?

The President of the United States spoke from Washington in a flat mid-western voice; clear, not altogether logical in sequence, but stressing on the whole what needed to be stressed. We represent here the overwhelming majority of all mankind — do we? Where are the colonies? The Governor of California, that astute politician, made a conventional speech, the best speech of the day in thought and diction was that of the Mayor of San Francisco.

Then Stettinius welcomed the conference, and said two words: "Always the West has meant Future" and "We meet on the ocean named Peace."

The audience in all the short, but simple ceremony was tense. It was composed of older people. There were bald heads and gray hair; many women. There were few soldiers and no youth. Outside, the masses craned their necks and stared. They cheered Russian Foreign Minister Molotov, but no one else. They eagerly sought glimpses of other celebrities.

Plenty of Color

Naturally I looked for color. It was there, and one the whole conspicuous. To my consternation I came near being photographed with the Indian delegation. Three hand-picked stooges of Great Britain, one turbaned: but I escaped. I saw the Vice President of Liberia but did not see the Ethiopians. The Arabians were distinctly Negroid.

American Negroes appeared by magic as I walked down the steps of the opera house. There was the president of Howard university and Rayford Logan. There were the editors of the Chicago Defender and the Pittsburgh Courier. Noble Sissle was there, Mrs. Bethune and Mr. White, and representatives of the National Baptist association. The city stood with open arms. They transported guests from the civic center to the hotels gratis and with smiling courtesy. There was no conspicuous evidence of the color line. Quite the contrary.

And so now we are on our way, and the world is in conference with arrangements near perfection for hearing and listening over all the globe. There remains but the matter of knowing what to do and how to do it.

Durham—

(Continued from Page 1)

Vice President of Liberia for more than a year.

Liberian delegation headquarters are in the Mark Hopkins Hotel.

San Francisco and the entire Bay Area has opened doors wide to the consultants, observers and press representatives, and others who are getting the Negro point of view across.

Stettinius Plea

So far, there has been a complete absence of discrimination in the arrangements made by the State Department. Negro consultants, observers and Negro press are housed indiscriminately.

Secretary of State Edward Stettinius in his opening remarks stressing the need for world amity declared:

"We have to work effectively, in close cooperation together toward rising standards of living and greater freedom, and opportunity for all peoples, of every race and creed and color."

The Federal Council of Churches is represented here by Baptist Rev. Horace of Monumental Baptist church and Rev. J. C. Austin of Pilgrim Baptist church, both of Chicago. Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University, is also a member of the church delegation, as unofficial observer.

Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, president of the National Council of Negro Women, appointed by the State Department as a consultant to the conference, presented her view in a statement which said:

Big Opportunity

"The Negro in America has an unprecedented opportunity in the San Francisco parley on World Security to lift his sights to encompass a world view of the problems of peace, and to think in unison with the representatives of forty-six nations on the most effective means of settling national differences, of adjudicating all national and international grievances justly and equitably.

"This opportunity challenges the Negro not only to broaden his personal viewpoint, but to establish, on a firmer basis, the elevation of his own status in America.

"Through this conference, the Negro becomes closely allied with all the darker races of the world, but more importantly he becomes integrated into the structure of the peace and freedom of all people everywhere.

Voice of Minority

"I am particularly interested in the trend of thought of the darker peoples of the world who are no longer a numerical minority. One of the big questions of the conference will be how best to set up machinery for the inclusion of all small and dependent peoples whose status is undetermined, yet whose voice is needed in clinching a durable peace.

"It is heartening and unique that we are, in contrast to the pattern of all previous wars, striking boldly while yet in the agony and suffering of a war-torn world, for the design of a lasting peace.

"I am sending out a meditative petition for wisdom, guidance, good judgment and courage for all the heads of our great nations who must unitedly make the decisions at this history-making World Conference."

Indian Speaks

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudalier, Chief of the Indian delegation, told the third plenary session of the conference that the proposed world organization could not secure the necessary co-operation of the world's nations unless it is based upon the clear principles of justice, equality, and respect for the fundamental rights of all human beings.

He said that in all the talk about the prevention of aggression for world security and the use of force in suppressing aggressors, "We must not forget the causes of war are the economic and social inequalities that exist between nations and races."

He made a plea for the recognition of the part that India has played in the fight against our enemies.

He said that there were two and a half million Indians under arms and that the size of this great army was next the size only to the armies of the four sponsoring nations of the conference—China, Great Britain, Russia, and the United States.

He made passing reference to the Indian demands for independence, saying, "I believe in sovereign rights as much as anybody, but the world has come to the state where the emphasis is not on independence but in interdependence."

BUY BONDS 'TIL IT HURTS - THEN BUY SOME MORE

Lochard—

(Continued from Page 1)

other outposts she may be able to obtain by grant or concessions by the Dutch and the Portugese for defensive purposes.

What then of Liberia, Ethiopia, and Haiti? The colonial question is essentially a question of the darker races. Will the delegates from the dark countries take it upon themselves to propose drastic revision of the colonial system and remove the yoke of oppression from the necks of the subject people? The prospects are not very bright for such a proposal to come from those quarters.

Haiti Muffs Chance

The delegates from Liberia, Ethiopia and Haiti display a shocking lack of aggressiveness and vigor. One of them, the Haitians, passed up a splendid opportunity last Saturday to address the plenary session of the conference which was presided over by Vice-Commissar V. M. Molotov, chairman of the Russian delegation. The failure to speak in their turn before the full membership of the United Nations delegations, accredited observers and representatives of every important newspaper in the world, is considered by many as having doomed any frontal attack on the question of the colonies.

The Ethiopian delegates are worried lest credentials are not in order—because Haile Selassie has not expressed as yet his nation's official sympathies on the death of President Roosevelt. The Emperor issued the credentials to these delegates in Addis Ababa, and then he left on a trip to the southern part of Ethiopia where, for the past three weeks, it has been impossible to communicate with him. The Ethiopians are wondering whether they are legally accredited to a nation in mourning in view of the fact that their country has not paid its proper respects.

Indians Quiet

By general consensus, the very nature of the composition of the Indian delegation makes it hopelessly ineffective. For, it is consisted of three British Knights, who will veto any resolution that is critical of the British Empire colonial policy. At a recent press conference, Mrs. Vijaya Pandit, the sister of Jawaharlal Nehru, described them as having not the slightest representative capacity, no sanction of mandate from any responsible groups in India. "They are," she said, "the nominees of the British Government."

The only remaining possibility lies with the French who have given notice of their intention to sponsor a broader plan of democratic administration of their colonials as recommended by the late governor-general of French Equatorial Africa, Felix Eboue.

Should France introduce the question, then it is likely that the discussion will take place in one of the committees forcing an examination of the following points: (1) Establishment of a colonial commission, (2) The right to investigate grievances and claims independent of the colonial government, (3) the right of native population to petition the commission for redressing overt acts, and (4) A time limit for complete autonomy of colonial peoples.

Badger—

(Continued from Page 1)

tional bill of rights containing a racial equality clause.

In press interviews Romulo has already expressed pride in the example of the U. S. in setting a time period for developing the Filipinos to exercise the right of self-determination. This example has had a powerful influence throughout all Asia and because of Romulo's contact with the State Department, it seems reasonable to suppose that his statement has the authority of an actual U. S. decision.

Two other nations — Australia and New Zealand — both favor the establishment of colonial commission with broad powers. This was specifically stated by the Australia delegation's head deputy, Prime Minister F. M. Forde. Although his other proposals of amendment of the Dumbarton Oaks Charter bore an extremely negative and disruptive character, Forde said that his government favored such commission. However, his reasons are not far to seek. Australia has maintained from the beginning of war that victory and peace is won only through coalition effort.

Claims Share of Glory

The Canberra government has been piqued by the tendency of some United States circles to claim more than their share of glory for checking Japanese aggression. Prime Minister Curtin leaves no one in doubt that his government is prepared to assert claims to full participation in the post-war set-up in the Pacific.

For the same reasons New Zealand's delegation will be found backing a colonial commission. Australia and New Zealand have a regional security pact which was signed at Canberra last year. Their policies on trusteeship are virtually identical.

However, the Netherland delegation will not be so friendly, for it controls over 70 million Indonesians. In a press statement Dr. Elco Van Kleffens, head of the Dutch delegation, said that the conference trusteeship principles are not applicable to some people because they were "free," having been given autonomous status by the Queen.

Role of French

Nor is it possible to assign a specific place to the French delegation with the colony of Indo-China in Asia and a majority of colonial land in Africa. Finance Minister Rene Pleven, formerly colonial minister, is not a delegation head, and will not be present on the steering committee. Whether the De Gaulle delegation is committed to policies formulated jointly with the late Felix Eboue cannot be determined at this time.

As for European nations, it is almost definite that three delegations representing the Soviet Union and two newly admitted Soviet Republics—the Ukraine and White Russia — will cast their votes in favor of colonial commission. This flows from the whole policy of Soviets which has been and remains to seek broadest unity of Allied nations in every phase war and post-war organization. If the unilateral principle of trusteeships are adopted, the Soviet republics would be frozen out without anything to say on vital economic and political problems inherent to the colonial situation.

As for Greece, Norway and Luxembourg, it is anybody's guess.

Dustin'—

(Continued from Page 1)

was called to draft in the form of a treaty the plan developed at Dumbarton Oaks for an international organization to keep the peace by force. In fact, that seems to be the only method by which greedy and land-hungry nations can be made to behave now: by force. We are not as yet civilized, it seems, beyond that point. Strange to note, two of the most peaceful nations in this world, yet surrounded by quarrelsome and war-mongering neighbors, are not included in the conference. They are Sweden and Switzerland, that have learned to be honest and decent to all people. Poland, the hate-center, that transplants much of its hatred to America against black people, is also unrepresented.

At the conference every little unstable government is seeking a cure-all for its internal and external ills. India, teeming with millions, but dismembered by British imperialism, already says that Britain has handpicked a delegation of stooges to plead its cause. Gandhi says they are "worse than no representation at all" insofar as freedom for India is concerned. Haiti, Liberia and Ethiopia, all with a multitude of sins, within and without, and all at various times victims of international dishonesty, treachery, strife and exploitation for the first time will get their human bill of rights before a seemingly impartial group of nations. Haiti, above the rest of the dark-hued, is most vociferous in its demands that racial discrimination be outlawed. How it will dovetail this request with its own mulatto and black problem within its own household remains one of the great inconsistencies that the conference will have to tackle. Liberia is more concerned with the economic phase of the conference than with the purely issue of color. So is Ethiopia that objects to being classified with Negro races.

* * *

MANY NATIONS come to the conference with unclean hands. While the progress of races necessarily demands the cultivation of a cosmopolitan or international spirit, there are delegates at the conference representing countries who for centuries have violated every code of decency in their relationships with less fortunate peoples. The colony-holding brigands like Belgium, Holland, England and the Netherlands that have exploited, mistreated and oftimes murdered millions of colored natives will listen to the complaints of their victims for the first time before a world-wide audience. England is the most embarrassed (if it possibly can be embarrassed) in such a congress of humanity. That's why it has carefully handpicked its delegates to represent the "black voice of the British Empire" and sent Anthony Eden to watch and guide them. But here is just a part of the story of how Mr. Winston Churchill's government is treating black people today while he sends his troops elsewhere to bring democracy to white people, and to conferences to talk about "peace."

The blacks in South Africa are more terrorized, exploited and oppressed than in any other country in the world. Hitler has nothing new to teach British politicians in race-baiting, for in South Africa the blacks are not considered or treated as human beings. They suffer far worse than the Jews in Fascist Germany. The present area of the Union of South Africa is about 417,917 miles. Of this the white population, numbering about 2 millions, own about 80 per cent, while nearly 7 million Bantu have been allowed less than 10 per cent.

The natives are completely segregated from the white population in Reserves and Locations. Those living in the rural districts are confined to the Reserves. About 3 million Africans are now living within these areas. They are practically helots, and must not leave unless they have various passes to show white officers. Most of the lands allocated to them are unsuitable for agricultural and pastoral purposes, and are over-congested. To avoid starvation the natives are forced to sell their labor to white farmers and mining companies at a mere pittance. There is no redress for the natives against this system, nor is there any escape, for if they run away they are liable to arrest. Their movements are hemmed in by a number of passes which assist the police in keeping strict surveillance over them. In addition to the poll and hut tax receipts there are ten other passes which the natives are obliged to carry. And so on the horror goes.

* * *

THIS DEGRADATION of standards of public conduct has grown so rapidly with the advance of the British Empire that it is befitting, that some 40 other nations reprimand Mr. Churchill and his government at this conference, and demand corrections of these social blunders for world security and peace, else if this vulgar and stupid treatment of mankind continues we just as well prepare for World War III. If this conference does nothing more than expose England in its every variety of trickery, dishonesty and deceit in dealing with darker races, it will have served a good purpose in the interest of humanity. England, above all, comes into the conference "dripping with blood."

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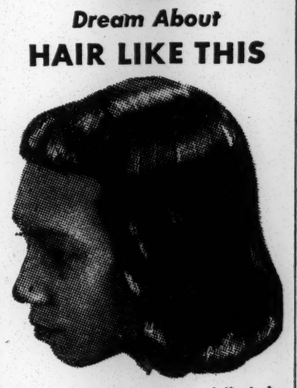

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"IT COULD HAPPEN TO YOU" ARTIST'S CONCEPTION OF POSSIBLE EXPERIENCE BY SOME OF OUR CUSTOMERS

Don't LOSE OUT On Account of GRAY HAIR Ask for SLICK BLACK At Your DRUGGIST!

Walter White

People, Politics And Places

Bad Conduct Increasing

ONE OF THE MOST disturbing situations I found after four months' absence from the United States is the decided increase of belligerent and often bad-mannered Negroes in public places.

The very first day of my return to the United States I heard a story, told by a man who has devoted virtually his entire life to an uncompromising fight for complete equality for the Negro. He told of boarding a New York City street car. Just ahead of him, a distinguished-looking white man, obviously a gentleman, stepped on a colored woman's foot as the street car started suddenly. He apologized.

But when the woman turned and saw that it was a white man, she launched into a tirade of profanity at the top of her voice which lasted more than twenty minutes until the man, embarrassed, left the car.

My friend who told the story said that the tide of anti-Negro feeling rose so perceptibly throughout the car that you could almost feel it as a tangible object.

Foul Manners Don't Help

NEGROES HAVE ample justification for being bitter. Mistreatment of Negro servicemen and civilians, continuation of racial discrimination and the evaporation as the end of the war approaches of the fine pronouncements about "freedom" and "democracy" are enough to make any minority group resentful. But bad manners and futile belligerence do not supply the answer. They merely complicate and make more difficult the problems of the far larger percentage of Negroes who approach the solution of their problems intelligently.

What is more, many potentially valuable allies of the Negro can either be alienated or made less effective when they espouse the cause of the Negro.

Use Heads As Well As Lungs

WHAT IS the answer? When a Negro sees another member of his race making a spectacle of himself in a public conveyance or other public place, he could quietly attempt to induce the obstreperous one to stop making a spectacle of himself.

In some cases, certain risks would be run, especially if the trouble-maker is drunk. But it is imperative that we take that risk. A handful of loud, ill-mannered Negroes raising hell can undo in five minutes the good which has been done over a period of years by 98 per cent of decent, self-respecting Negroes.

Let's don't hand another weapon to our enemies with which to make the lot of the Negro even more difficult. The Bilbos and Rankins already have enough clubs to use against Negroes. The problems we face now and in the more trying days after the war is over, are going to be tough enough without further complication arising out of the actions of a minority. There must be no compromise in our fight for full equality; but let us use our heads as well as our lungs in the fight for equality.

S. I. Hayakawa

Second Thoughts

Lesson in General Semantics

THE RELATIONSHIPS of simple arithmetic are known as **additive** relationships. Two plus two equals four. Three minus one equals two. To an extraordinary degree, additive assumptions underlie our thinking. Upon them is based our feeling that if John gets richer, James must be getting poorer; and conversely, that if I am getting poorer, somebody else (probably the Jews) are getting richer.

Additive assumptions have a considerable place in race and religious persecution. In terms of these assumptions, gentiles can be persuaded that their misfortunes are due to something "taken away from them" by Jews; whites can oppose increased opportunity for Negroes, feeling that the latter's gain necessarily involves, by simple arithmetic, the former's loss.

Throughout human history, men and nations have acted on additive assumptions. Men have prospered, or tried to prosper, by snatching valuables from others; nations, by snatching territory from each other. The victors have always gritted their teeth and waited for the chance to snatch everything back again, with something extra to boot if possible. So the game of snatch goes on eternally.

In some simple situations, there is justification for the additive point of view. If there are 100 chickens to 100 customers, and the first 10 customers get 10 chickens apiece, the others are not going to get any. In times of scarcity, therefore, people are compelled to think in these arithmetic terms. Most people believe, even today in an age of potential plenty, that the rules of the game require that we snatch each other's chickens and that we "protect our standard of living" by preventing others from having any chickens.

Reciprocal Trade Agreements

IN THE ARGUMENTS against the continuation of our reciprocal trade agreements, there is a constant appeal made to our additive habits of thought. If we help China or South America to prosper after the war, so the argument runs, we can do so only by becoming poorer ourselves. We must "protect our standards of living" by trying, by means of tariff barriers, to prevent anyone from doing business except ourselves.

Henry A. Wallace's ideals, scornfully described as a "quart of milk for every Hottentot," are again assailed from the point of view of additive assumptions. The implied threat is that if the Hottentots get milk, your children will have to do without. Reactionaries, therefore, jeer at "plans to make Uncle Sam the Santa Claus for all the world" and angrily denounce the "dreamers" who want to set up "an international WPA."

And, talking about WPA, the attacks on that much maligned institution were also made on additive assumptions. People were made to feel that the gain of WPA workers meant a loss for those not on WPA. The facts were, of course, otherwise. Those not on WPA kept their jobs or remained in business because WPA workers had money to spend. But facts mean nothing when your mind is imprisoned by primitive assumptions.

Two Plus Two Equals What?

"IF I HAVE one apple, and you have an apple, and we trade, we still have only one apple apiece." Such are the simple additive relationships of an age of scarcity. So we try to grab the other fellow's apple without giving up our own.

But commerce, equitably conducted, is what Korzybski calls a "time-binding" or co-operative activity. The results of co-operation, like the results of intellectual interchange, are not additive; they are **cumulative.** "If I have one idea, and you have an idea, and we trade, we both have two ideas." Similarly, if I have more apples than I can eat, and you have more milk than you can drink, and we trade some of my apples for some of your milk, **we both enjoy an increased standard of living.** Intellectual life, science, and modern commerce are **non-additive** in their effects. **The more you help others prosper, the more you prosper yourself.**

It is vain, however, to try to tell the real reactionary mossback that the way to American prosperity is to help other nations prosper, or that the way to happiness for the majority is to guarantee the happiness of minorities. Because of the additive assumptions in his thinking, he will stare at you blankly and tell you that you are an idiotic dreamer.

One of the aims of general semantics is to see to it that the next generation doesn't grow up with additive assumptions.

John Robert Badger

World View

Catholics and the Peace

THIS COLUMNIST saw something in New Orleans during a recent visit to that city which comes to mind today as I re-read the Catholic bishops' denunciation of the Crimea agreement.

It was nothing new for the South: It should not have shocked me, since I spent my first 20 years below the Mason and Dixon line. Yet, I admit that I was somewhat horrified. And I thought about it again and again during the last few months.

It was on the rear end of a New Orleans street car, the end with the signs saying "For Colored Only." This end was congested, while above the sign, toward the forward part of the car, were many vacant seats. In the congested end, our people were cramped and standing. Suddenly two black nuns got on the car. It was the first time I had ever seen a Negro nun.

As they squeezed into the cramped rear end, a Negro stevedore asked the conductor to move up the "For Colored Only" sign, so several of the vacant seats could be used and the nuns could be seated.

But what was my astonishment when one of the nuns, the elder, spoke to the stevedore. "Never mind, son," she said. "We'll stay in our place."

Philosophy of Complacency

THIS INCIDENT left a permanent mark in my thought. I felt an immense pity for the two nuns, who had become resigned to acceptance of an intolerable world. But I felt deep outrage at the idea that millions of human beings, who have within their grasp the potentialities for making a better world, are persuaded to reconcile themselves to hunger and poverty and misery and racial hatred, and to renounce their aspirations and their power for making a better world.

I knew, of course, that millions of Catholics throughout the world reject in their daily lives this fatalism and complacency. And indeed, the record of Catholic patriots in the European underground refutes those who would lump all Catholics together as a reactionary force. In point of fact, many of the most heroic of the fighters against fascism have been Catholics, including numbers of Catholic priests.

But the historical fact stands, nevertheless, that the influence and weight of the Catholic hierarchy and church has been thrown on the side of reactionary forces and institutions. The principle of the separation of church and state, as practiced in the United States and the Soviet Union, is a deterrent to such reactionary influence. And perhaps that is one reason why the political policies of the Vatican and the hierarchy have been directed against an extension of real democracy in the world.

Hence, it is not surprising that the most recent Nazi peace offer, coming before the interment of the body of Franklin Roosevelt and timed to encourage the U.S. Fifth column to renewed effort in order to salvage fascism, should coincide with the Catholic bishops' denunciation of the Crimea decisions, which spelt the death of fascism.

Challenge to Negro Catholics

NEGRO-AMERICANS, however, can have no interest in the salvaging of any part of fascism, or in the conservation of autocratic and despotic governments anywhere in the world. Nor have we any interest in policies which lead to divisions among the powers and the development of antagonisms that can only culminate in World War III.

The bishops' division of the world into genuine democracy and "Marxian totalitarianism" is precisely such a divisive program. It would set the so-called democratic countries against the Soviet Union, and attempt another such crusade as Hitler tried, which has already cost us so much in human life and sacrifice.

We Negro-Americans have a few ideas of our own about "genuine democracy" outside of the so-called "Marxian totalitarian" Soviet Union. We know the Soviet policies in regards to racial equality and freedom for minorities are the most advanced in the world. And on the basis of fact we can reject the bishops' classification as a spurious one.

But Negro-American Catholics have a real responsibility in this respect. They look for the remedy for ills of the conscience to their church and their priest. But they should look for the remedy for ills of their social and political status to their government, and to the compact it has entered with the other United Nations — signalized at Yalta in the Crimea—to win the war, destroy fascism completely, and build a prosperous and peaceful world.

SO WHAT? — — — — By Jay Jackson

"Ah, for the good ol days."

By ALFRED E. SMITH

Relief

GOING the rounds are alleged gloatings of prejudiced whites over departure of the Roosevelts from the White House. They are endless and tiresome, but we can vouch for three typical ones from D. C.

A colored newsboy hawking "extras" on the President's death, reports a white who inquired what the extra was all about, then commented: "Well, the Negra's friend is gone now."

A white waiting in a cigarette line told a colored man ahead of him: "Go on back to the end of the line, Roosevelt's dead now."

A Congressman's wife at tea said in presence of her colored maid: "If that woman had stayed another year, we would actually have had race equality."

* * *

Strategy

REV. THOMAS KILGORE, popular Winston-Salem leader, outsmarted city fathers who were sabotaging his campaign to get colored voters registered. When the city registrar, using all the well-known devices, insisted on taking over an hour to register each colored applicant, thus discouraging the others waiting uncomfortably in the long line, he asked what time the registrar closed.

"We hope that door is locked, even when inside there gets registered," he was told.

It was then mid-afternoon, and Kilgore passed word along for all colored applicants to leave and meet at his church immediately. They did. Promptly at 5:45, they re-appeared at the City Hall, 1400 strong and every one crowded INSIDE before the door could be closed at 6.

The registrar took one look around realized he couldn't go home until he registered every one of them, and knew he was licked. He signed up the whole bunch in less than an hour.

* * *

Distinction

JOHN H. YOUNG III, now on Washington Bureau Pittsburgh Courier, was once football coach at Jackson college, Jackson, Miss. To keep out troublesome gate crashers at a big game, he hired a white guard who sort of went along with the park.

In midst of the game, several urchins climbed the fence, and the guard ran out on the field, shouting for all to hear—"You g—damned niggers get back over that fence."

John, furious, called after him—"Cut out using language like that around here."

The guard in hot pursuit of the boys, yelled back over his shoulder, "Oh I didn't mean your niggers, John, I mean these other niggers."

* * *

Retreat

Speaking of international conferences, good authority cites an incident at the Assembly of Nations in Chapultapec, Mexico City some two months ago. It seems the Mexicans, either accidentally or on purpose, seated Sen. Tom Connally of Texas, chairman of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations committee, next to the Haitian delegate during one session.

Old Tom didn't like it, but didn't quite dare complain. He just sat and suffered. That is he sat until the photographers were admitted, then he was taken suddenly ill and spent the balance of the session in the men's room. All the pictures show his seat vacant.

"CANDY" — — — — — By Jackie Ormes

"I'm passing up a swell party tonight. I just couldn't trust those [illegible] with their mother!"

W. E. B. DuBois

The Winds Of Time

An Estimate of FDR

I PRESUME that what we should be thankful for is that Franklin D. Roosevelt did not die while Garner was vice president. That would have been too awful to contemplate. What fills us with regret is that Henry Wallace was not continued as vice president. What faces us is the fact of President Truman.

Franklin Roosevelt did three things: one, the New Deal; two, his emphasis on race relations, and three, the war.

Of these three, the New Deal was of the greatest importance. For the first time a political party in the United States took upon itself as a distinct duty to plan the increase of wage income at the expense of profits. Of course this attack upon profit has been going on in English-speaking countries ever since English enfranchisment in the early nineteenth century. But never before in America has the head of the state and a leader of a great party stated it as a clear aim; that wages must be increased and security of work and income guaranteed the laborer by open and determined effort to cut down the amount of wealth and income which has been going to capitalists and employers.

Most Hated Man

IT IS THIS PHASE of Roosevelt's career which made him one of the best hated men in America. There were certain kinds of business men and commercial organizations which never forgave this aspect of the New Deal. Indeed so strong and bitter was the opposition that in his third and fourth terms President Roosevelt retreated from his more advanced stand for economic reform but he nevertheless accomplished the curbing of credit organizations, the federal recognition of union labor and a complete reorganization of the Supreme Court which led it to give wide recognition to his fundamental philosophy.

With the regard to the race problem, Mr. Roosevelt not only followed the attitude of his predecessors toward the recognition of Jews and their problems but did it at a time when anti-Semitism was spreading in the world. Going beyond this he gave the American Negro a kind of recognition in political life which the Negro had never before received. Instead of appointing machine politicians to certain designated positions in his gift, he appointed a series of unusually well-trained advisers. To be sure men like Weaver and Hastie had little power beyond advice but they were men whose advice was of so high a calibre, it had to be listened to.

Beyond this Roosevelt took three steps: he extended international and customary courtesy toward the heads of three Negro states: Ethiopia, Liberia and Haiti. This had never happened before so openly and definitely. In addition to this he spoke out on the conditions in the South and frankly called the South our Number One economic problem.

Finally, he went almost beyond his authority to establish the FEPC as a record-breaking precedent, emphasizing the fact that the basis of the race problem in the South is poverty based on unemployment and low wage.

Truman Heir to FDR Policy

THE THIRD WORK of President Roosevelt was to put the United States in the second World War in alliance with Russia. This was a tremendous step. Without it Hitler would have conquered Europe and Japan would have conquered China. Europe under Hitler would have been a center of race-hate and new slavery and the splendid economic planning of Germany would have been used to depress the workers of the world rather than solve our economic problems of the distribution of wealth.

Japan would have spread in Asia—an Asiatic version of capitalist domination. Hitler and Japan could not be overcome without the aid of Russia and in order to aid Russia, Roosevelt had virtually to recognize communism as at least a respectable and efficient form of government. This in itself was epoch-making.

The heir to this policy is President Truman. He started political life as a machine politician. He did not have the opportunity of liberal education and he was born in a former slave state. All this is against him but he deserves charity and sympathy for his tremendous task. He may do far better than his antecedents indicate.

Earl Conrad

Yesterday And Today

Are Wars Inevitable?

I DON'T KNOW how far back in history the "theory" of the inevitability of wars goes, but in the last generation and in the present period the notion has powerful currency. Nor do I know to what extent this "theory" has influenced people, and actually aided and abetted wars and warmakers, but it has exerted profound and bloody effect.

It seems to me that there has been more talk about the possibility of World War III than the probability of world peace. You can hardly pick up a newspaper or book or turn your radio dial without hearing some "prophet" or out-and-out skeptic wisely tell you that the seeds of the next war are being or already have been sown. "Wars are inevitable," you hear. "There have always been wars and there always will be," says another "philosopher."

Even a good mind and a good person like Walter White can echo that sentiment. In Mr. White's case he uses the World War II idea as a threat if the world doesn't buckle down to the business of straightening out the "racial" issue. I don't think it's a good tactic.

Truman Sets Example

THE FIRST TIME I heard this defeatism expressed in the current war was about two years ago when we had barely begun to fight the Japanese militarists, when we were retreating. The mayor of a great Eastern city called for big families, saying we would have to fight Japan 30 years from now—before we were seriously fighting Japan the first time!

A recent example is the book with the cynical title, "The Gentlemen Talk of Peace," in which all kind of violence everywhere is freely predicted. Such "oracles" abound today—**and they are creating the mood for a possible new global war at that.**

If you spread the psychology of hopelessness, despair and defeat widely enough, you will make people believe the outlook is hopeless, war inevitable. The pity is that so many socially useful and responsible people fall for this trap, mistaking their pessimism for political clarity.

What I liked in the first address of President Truman was his awareness of this note of defeat already abroad in society, and his attempt to cope with it. I think this was one of the most important passages of his speech:

"In bitter despair, some people have come to believe that wars are inevitable. With tragic fatalism, they insist that wars have always been, of necessity, and of necessity wars will always be. To such defeatism men and nations will must not and cannot yield. The hope of humanity is not hopeless [illegible] the secret weapon of the forces of liberation."

Hope, and, of course, the President said, the faith and courage of the peace-loving nations to defend themselves.

How About Peace Period I?

IF THE SAN FRANCISCO conference begins the process of dispelling from society this deep-seated, overpowering and historically unscientific sentiment, then it will step out on the road to progress.

I come upon this fear in Negro circles frequently. I hear people say, "There's going to be a big race war some day." I hear whites say this too.

No, these are our fears. We pick them up from others behind the scenes who **hope,** and perhaps **plan** these things. After such notions root themselves sufficiently in society the fight against such negativism becomes more difficult.

But if all of us will concentrate on the idea of peace and progress, progress by peace, and peace by progress, we can move into the future on a new level. We can even help usher in Peace Period I.

Ben Burns

Off The Book Shelf

Saga Of A Guerrilla Fighter

IN COMING DAYS as the war rushes to a swift climatic conclusion, many will be the personal narratives that find their way into new books. But few war books, if any, will ever match the grim excitement, the fresh, human touch, the unexcelled earthiness of Ira Wolfert's current chronicle of a U. S. guerrilla fighter in the Philippines. In writing the saga of Navy Lt. I. D. Richardson in "American Guerrilla in the Philippines," (Simon & Schuster, N.Y. $2.75) Wolfert has combined one of the most thrilling stories of the war with a marvelous tribute to the indomitable courage of the Filipino people.

In essence, the crack newsman and novelist takes up where William L. White left off in his "They Were Expendable." This is Wolfert's tale of one expendable, a survivor of the famous PT boats that smashed Jap ships to bits with their torpedoes. Lt. Richardson tried to get away from the Philippines but didn't succeed. Together with a handful of companions who knew nothing of the sea, he set out to reach Australia, 1300 miles away, in a crude native boat. A storm upset the boat and their plans. After 13 hours in open sea, they finally got to land.

Lt. Richardson ended up becoming a guerrilla fighter on Leyte. He eventually became responsible for the hidden radio setup that guided General MacArthur back to the islands.

While "American Guerrilla in the Philippines" is essentially the story of an American hero, in Wolfert's skilled hands it also becomes a beautiful and moving toast to the valiant Filipino army of Col. Ruperto Kangelon. Says Wolfert: "Wherever a fascist conqueror has tried to stand, the people have risen under his feet as guerrillas. That's the human race for you, and the Filipino people take their place big in it, just as big as the biggest."

Invasion Beaches

WOLFERT'S DESCRIPTION of how the Filipinos on Leyte organized their secret government, complete with laws, taxes and health measures, to battle the Japanese is a testament to the love of liberty in the Philippines and is a **happy augury for the future of that courageous** land. Richardson was in the middle of it all, earning himself the rank of major in the guerrilla forces. His epic, as told by Wolfert, is one of the most absorbing to come out of the war.

Another remarkable job in bringing the war back home to the people, of putting history down on paper in terms of everyday people is done by Navy Lt. Com. Max Miller in his "The Far Shore" (Whittlesey House, N. Y. $2.50). Complete with a splendid set of photographs, "The Far Shore" relates a rather unpublicized phase of Navy operations—the taking of an invasion beach.

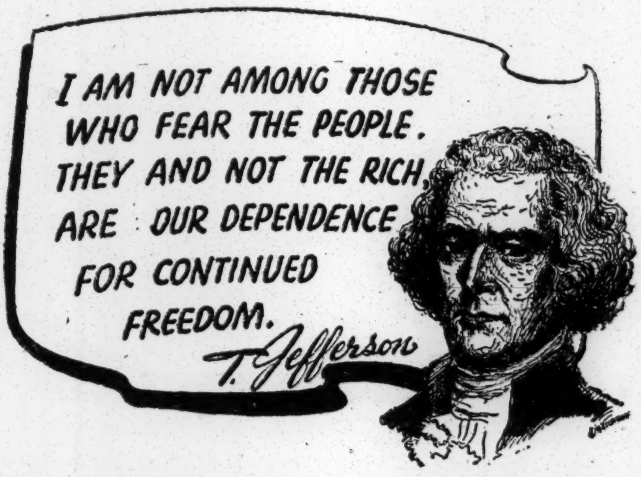
Miller was in on the Normandy and Southern France invasions. He tells his story of these typical amphibious operations with simple, poignant episodes that make this book stirring reading from cover to cover. Unfortunately although Negro seamen played a big part in these operations, Miller skips over them with but passing mention.

Main Street's Neighbors

JUST AS the war chronicles continue to roll off the presses in increasing numbers, the growing interest in postwar prospects too seems to be the theme of more and more books. Newest is a rather shallow, evidently hastily-done volume by foreign correspondent Melvin K. Whiteleather. Despite the rather attractive title, "Main Street's New Neighbor" (J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia. $3) author Whiteleather is a bit on the heavy side in his writing and somewhat off beam in his political analysis of our foreign neighbors of the future.

Whiteleather starts with two strikes against him by attempting to assay politically the difficult problems of such varied nations as Britain, France, Russia and Germany. He has very little to offer that is new, being limited for the most part to repetition of what too many other correspondents have said in far better writing. The usual crop of cliches and stereotypes about Russia are warmed over and presented with a bit of new relish.

Compared to Johannes Steel's "The Future of Europe" (reviewed here last week) Whiteleather's book reads like the sorry product of an amateur in international politics.



WATCH AFRICA

Watchword For Thinking People

By W. E. B. DU BOIS

In 1949, this is the watchword for thinking people of America: Watch Africa; tear down the curtain of silence and deliberate suppression of facts.

Remember that today there are signs of international conspiracy to make the countries of Africa the slums of the world; to steal their land and materials and get power of life and death over millions of blacks. Poverty and disease already prevail; and there is deliberate plans to keep the Africans in ignorance.

There is no doubt about all this; but it will be difficult to get the facts to let the world know the truth.

I have repeatedly appealed to magazines to publish facts about Africa. I have asked newspapers to carry news and in nearly all cases my plea has been turned down.

No one country is guilty! Great Britain is going to make Africa her source of cheap food. France is going to use Africans to fight against her own workers and help retain her hold on Asia. Belgium is rushing to increase the profit that she made during the war. Portugal is going to continue to play stooge to British capital. Italy is seeking to overcome the poverty of her masses by inflicting greater poverty upon Africans. Germany is going eventually to push her manufactures into Africa in return for materials.

STREAMLINED SLAVERY

In Africa itself, the world is trying to keep Ethiopia choked in her mountains away from commerce on the high seas. Egypt and Great Britain are rivals in trying to control the black labor of the Sudan. The United States is bribing Liberia and strengthening her grip by army, navy and investment.

The awakening peoples of the West Africa are being cajoled, called "Communists," and given half-loaves of "Self-Rule." White minorities are ruling ruthlessly in East Africa, South Arica, Rhodesia and Southwest Africa.

Instead of civilized peoples being willing to let labor exploitation disappear from the world, they are willing to concentrate on the degradation of black folk; forgetting where the sympathies of the majority of mankind, including hundreds of millions of colored Asiatics, is tending in the coming struggle of world races.

What we need now for salvation is light, more light on Africa.

National Guardian

THE CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE FOR WORLD PEACE

An Editorial

THE editors of JEWISH LIFE *wish to pay tribute and express their gratitude to the organizers and participants of the great Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, held in New York City, March 25th to 27th. Despite unparalleled hysteria and provocation, cultural and scientific leaders of America and of other lands gathered to discuss that forbidden theme—peace. Prior to the meeting a campaign of defamation was set rolling under the aegis of the State Department, which had characterized the conference as a communist affair. Visas were denied to most of the delegates from non-communist countries in order to give credibility to this thesis. The great "free press" of America outdid itself in its frantic shrieks, in its calls for provocation, in its attempts to distort this great event and to malign its participants.*

One actually had to see in the flesh the few hundred that gathered to picket the conference, to get a picture of the State Department's concept of what constitutes real Americanism. Aside from a few misled individuals, the majority of the line consisted of Christian Front elements, groups of people who had fled from central Europe because they feared just punishment by the new people's governments for having collaborated with the nazis, an assortment of clerical fascists and some members of the Social Democratic Federation, who felt quite at home with these fascist elements.

But inside the halls of the conference were people of a different kind: men and women of culture, creative workers and scientists, the truest and finest representatives of their countries. These were men and women who sought peace in order to preserve culture, who sought the friendship of peoples in order to advance their own people and all mankind. There was no hysteria at the conference but only calm and reasoned judgment and firm determination to undertake the great patriotic duty of fighting for peace.

The State Department and the press betray an almost maniacal fear of the word "peace." Those who dare to speak of peace and to rally the people are hounded, persecuted and subjected to intimidation.

For Jewish people the cause of peace is especially close. The very mention of the threat of a new war has implications that can be ignored only at the risk of indifference to our complete extinction. Where will the Jew be safe? In Israel? In Europe? In Asia? In America? If the nazis are revitalized and the scum of Europe, who collaborated with Hitler, are mobilized, if people like those who picketed the Peace Conference became spokesmen for America, is there safety for the Jew anywhere? Our course can only be to stand side by side with those who are the enemies of war and therefore the friends of our people and its survival.

Recently the Central Committee of the Polish Jews sent a memorandum to the World Jewish Congress urging its participation in the World Conference for Peace to be held in Paris on April 20th to 23rd. It urged the Congress to "demonstrate publicly and unequivocally where it stands in this grave period of struggle between the forces of peace and progress and the forces of war and aggression. We believe that neutrality in any form on this question objectively aids the cause of those who are against the peace aspirations of the Jewish people."

Certainly the survivors of the Warsaw ghetto, of Maidanek and of Treblinka, the handful that is rebuilding life anew on the ruins of the old, have a right to make this demand of a world Jewish body that claims to speak in the name of the Jewish people. We do not know what answer the Congress leaders have already given or will give to this request. But we are aware that too many of them have, by their actions over the past few years, demonstrated their readiness to join the imperialist camp, and that others who fear to state this publicly have attempted to cover up their tracks by proclaiming the so-called theory of neutrality.

In the columns that follow we print excerpts from some of the speeches delivered at the historic peace conference, so that those who were not so fortunate as to attend, may read for themselves the views of a number of men, who, though differing on many questions, occupy common ground for the cause of peace.

NO MORE WAR!

By W. E. B. Du Bois

This Cultural and Scientific Conference for world peace has been a success. In a time of hysteria, suspicion and hate, we have succeeded in bringing face to face in friendly meetings, one of the largest gatherings of creative artists and thinkers the world has seen; and it would have been quite the largest if all who wished to come were here. Meeting together for three full days, we have found wide agreement and sympathy, we have established ideals and friendships belting the globe. We have not and are not now in complete agreement on all matters; but in one vital respect our agreement is complete: *No More War!*

We are of many minds and backgrounds, separated not only by space but by the terrible barriers of language and social patterns; we face deliberate crime, ignorance and misunderstanding. These three: but we firmly believe that the greatest of these is misunderstanding.

We know and the saner nation knows that we are not traitors nor conspirators; and far from plotting force and violence it is precisely force and violence that we bitterly oppose. This conference was not called to defend communism nor socialism nor the American way of life. It was called to promote peace! It was called to say and say again that no matter how right or wrong differing systems of beliefs in religion, industry or government may be, war is not the method by which their differences can successfully be settled for the good of mankind. To the defense of this absolutely indisputable thesis, proven by oceans of blood and worlds of human suffering, we have invited the cooperation of all men; and that cooperation to abolish war does not compel or even ask men to surrender their opinions. It simply insists that force is not reason and beliefs cannot be changed by suppression.

But there is one aspect of our conference which has forced itself upon the attention of us all. That is the effort of the press and certain leaders of public opinion to spread the idea that some persons here are by their beliefs and actions so beyond the pale of humanity as to deserve neither sympathy nor confidence. Particularly have the people of the Soviet Union been singled out for something bordering on insult and repeatedly accused of war-mongering and aggression. I do not pretend to be an expert on Russia but seeing what the press can do to a conference like this in misinterpretation and distortion, I wonder if what is called aggression in the Balkans may not be liberation of landless serfs and giving their ignorant masses in 25 years such

education as American Negro slaves have not received in 75; and of sending their former masters not to the legislature but scurrying over the earth like rats distributing lies.

All this I do not know but it can be true. I do know that if the press has lied about Russia as it has lied about American Negroes for 300 years, I for one will con-

W. E. B. Du Bois

demn neither Russia nor communism on such testimony. But beyond and above this there arises before this conference the plight and cause of the vast majority of mankind who are not white. These colored races, the Chinese, Japanese, Indians and Indonesians: the peoples of Africa, many of those of South America and most of those of the Caribbean, with 15,000,000 Negroes of the United States—these are the vast majority of mankind, whose condition and future are the crucial test of the attitudes of those peoples who today demand mastery of the world. Secluded for the most part in colonies or dominated areas, they have been enslaved and insulted, kicked in the teeth and used for the rape and exploitation of the British, French, Dutch, Belgian, Spanish and Italian empires. This great America, this vast and rich land around you is built on the slavery, toil and degradation of Africans; here until well into the second half of the nineteenth century they were sold like cattle and New York did not stop to picket abolitionists, they tarred, feathered and killed them. Today in this land we have risen from the dead not to full manhood and citizenship but to the place where we can at least stand and yell our own protest. We thank the America that helped us.

But we know well that unless we had helped ourselves, we would still in New York City be exactly where our brothers are in Mississippi, where I ride in Jimcrow cars and would be kicked out of any hotel or public library. When such a nation arraigns Russia, all that I with the best will can remember is that the Soviet Union alone of all modern nations has prohibition of race and color discrimination written into its fundamental law and that unlike similar words in our constitution, their law is enforced.

I saw the birth of the League of Nations and I sat in San Francisco when the United Nations was born. In both instances I worked and pleaded for the darker peoples, particularly those in imperialist colonies. We got mandates at Geneva which meant nothing. We got trusteeships at San Francisco and there again a determined blocking of all real meaning of colonial freedom by the united effort of Great Britain and the United States and the sole opposition of Russia. Again in the Marshall Plan the nations helped are the colonial imperialists and no colored people unless, like Chiang Kai-shek, they are puppets of world exploiting investors.

I tell you, people of America, the dark world is on the move! It wants and will have freedom, autonomy and equality. It will not be diverted in these fundamental rights by dialectical splitting of political hairs. We know what the Atlantic Pact proposes for the protection of colonial serfs of European imperialists. We know why Italy has been promised Ethiopia's territory by the Department of State. We know why the President of the United States goes fishing when the charter of Negro American rights is laughed to death by Democrats and Republicans, and lynching and disfranchisement go merrily on. We know all this and so does every dark man on earth. The white race may, if it will, tax itself into poverty, and arm itself for suicide, but the vast majority of mankind will march on and over them to freedom and self-rule! . . .

W. E. B. DU BOIS is an eminent Negro author and scholar who helped found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He was honorary chairman of the panel on Writing and Publishing and delivered the above speech at Madison Square Garden on March 27.

NO PLACE TO HIDE

By Rabbi Louis I. Newman

If church and synagogue leaders were so minded today, they might attempt to go into the sub-cellars to escape the cyclones of opinion raging in the world. But they realize that literally and figuratively "there is no place to hide." Moreover, they would consider themselves derelict touching their mission as religionists were they silent or evasive in the presence of the issues at stake.

Religionists, who have seen two terrible world wars, look with horror upon the prospect of a still deadlier Third World War, and they are determined to do their utmost, whatever the misunderstanding and the cost, to prevent its coming. The war system seems more entrenched than ever, and in an atmosphere of mutual suspicion and incitement, nations are piling up armaments lest they be at "the mercy of an incident." In our boasted 20th century culture we have seen many religionists and laymen abandon the concept of "One World" motivated by the ideal of cooperation; instead, we hear the menacing drum-beat of new war-makers; we see the expenditure of vast sums which otherwise might be utilized for domestic improvement on behalf of the people; we find ourselves victimized by all-pervasive conditioning so that multitudes are preparing themselves to die in the belief that another war is unavoidable. Ecclesiastics preach in the name of the "Prince of Peace," but they urge a new "Holy War" as a punitive measure against those with whose economic and political program they disagree.

Now, as always, it is the duty of the church and synagogue to be faithful to the Isaianic vision of a world in which "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

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20th Century: 'The Century

Problem of 20th Century Is Problem of Color Line

Here Lies Area of Last Battle for the Complete Rights of Negroes in U. S.

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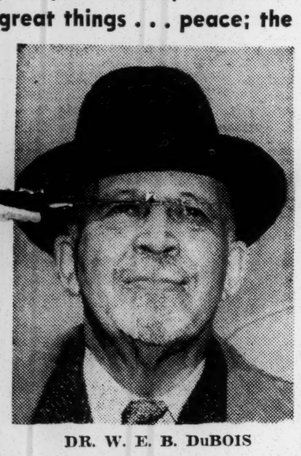
* * *

By W. E. B. DuBOIS

WE are just finishing the first half of the Twentieth Century. I remember its birth in 1901. There was the usual discussion as to whether the century began in 1900 or 1901; but, of course, 1901 was correct. We expected great things . . . peace; the season of war among nations had passed; progress was the order . . . everything going forward to bigger and better things. And there was the not so openly expressed, but even more firmly believed, the rule of white Europe and America over black, brown and yellow peoples.



DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS

I was 32 years of age in 1901, married, and a father, and teaching at Atlanta University; with a program covering a hundred years of study and investigation into the condition of American Negroes. Our subject of study at the turn was education: the college-bred Negro in 1900, the Negro common school in 1901. My own attitude toward the Twentieth Century was expressed in an article which I wrote in the Atlantic Monthly in 1901. It said:

"The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color-line . . . I have seen a land right merry with the sun, where children sing, and rolling hills lie like passioned women wanton with harvest. And there in the King's Highway sat, and sits, a figure veiled and bowed, by which the Traveler's footsteps hasten as they go. On the tainted air broods fair. Three centuries' thought have been the raising and unveiling of that bowed human soul; and now behold, my fellows, a century new for the duty and the deed! The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color-line."

* * *

What Has Been the Result?

This is what we hoped, to this we Negroes looked forward; peace, progress and the breaking of the color line. What has been the result? We know it all too well . . . war, hate, the revolt of the colored peoples and the fear of more war.

In the meantime, where are we; those 15,000,000 citizens of the United States who are descended from the slaves, brought here between 1600 and 1900? We formed in 1901, a separate group because of legal enslavement and emancipation into caste conditions, with the attendant poverty, ignorance, disease and crime. We were an inner group and not an integral part of the American nation; but we were exerting ourselves to fight for integration.

The burden of our fight was in seven different lines. We wanted education; we wanted particularly the right to vote and civil rights; we wanted work with adequate wage; housing, without segregation or slums; a free press to fight our battles, and (although in those days we dare not say it) social equality.

* * *

We Were Oppressed . . .

In 1901 our education was in perilous condition, despite what we and our white friends had done for thirty years. The Atlanta University Conference said in its resolutions of 1901: "We call the attention of the nation to the fact that less than one million of the three million Negro children of school age are at present regularly attending school, and these attend a session which lasts only a few months. We are today deliberately rearing millions of our citizens in ignorance and at the same time limiting the rights of citizenship by educational qualifications. This is unjust."

More particularly in civil rights, we were oppressed. We not only did not get justice in the courts, but we were subject to peculiar and galling sorts of injustice in daily life. In the latter half of the Ninteenth Century, where we first get something like statistics, no less than 3,000 Negroes were lynched without trial. And in addition to that we were subject continuously to mob violence and judicial lynching.

* * *

Disfranchised by Violence

In political life we had, for twenty-five years, been disfranchised by violence, law and public opinion. The 14th and 15th amendments were deliberately violated and the literature of the day in book, pamphlet and daily press, was widely of opinion that the Negro was not ready for the ballot, could not use it intelligently, and that no action was called for to stop his political power from being exercised by Southern whites like Tillman and Vardaman.

We did not have the right or opportunity to work at an income which would sustain a decent and modern standard of life. Because of a past of chattel slavery, we were for the most part common laborers and servants, and a very considerable proportion were still unable to leave the plantations where they worked all their lives for next to nothing.

There were a few who were educated for the professions and we had many good artisans; that number was not increasing as it should have been, nor were new artisans being adequately trained. Industrial training was popular, but funds to implement it were too limited, and we were excluded from unions and the new mass industry.

We were housed in slums and segregated districts where crime and disease multiplied, and when we tried to move to better and healthier quarters we were met by segregation ordinance if not by mobs. We not only had no social equality, but we did not openly ask for it. It seemed a shameful thing to beg people to receive us as equals and as human beings; that was something we argued "that came and could not be fetched." And that meant not simply that we could not marry white women or legitimize mulatto bastards, but we could not stop in a decent hotel, nor eat in a public restaurant nor attend the theatre, nor accept an invitation to a private white home, nor travel in a decent railway coach. When the "public" was invited, this did not include us and admission to colleges often involved special consideration if not blunt refusal

Finally we had poor press . . . a few struggling papers with little news and inadequately expressed opinion, with small circulation or influence and almost no advertising.

This was our plight in 1901. It was discouraging, but not hopeless. There is no question but that we had made progress, and there also was no doubt but what that progress was not enough to satisfy us or to settle our problems.

We could look back on a quarter century of struggle which had its results. We had schools; we had teachers; a few had forced themselves into the leading colleges and were tolerated if not welcomed. We voted in Northern cities, owned many decent homes and were fighting for further progress. Leaders like Booker Washington had received wide popular approval and a Negro literature had begun to appear.

* * *

The Real Battle Was On

But what we needed was organized effort along the whole front, based on broad lines of complete emancipation. This came with the Niagara Movement in 1906 and the NAACP in 1909. In 1910 came the Crisis magazine and the real battle was on.

What have we gained and accomplished? The advance has not been equal on all fronts, nor complete on any. We have not progressed with closed ranks like a trained army, but rather with serried and broken ranks, with wide gaps and even temporary retreats. But we have advanced. Of that there can be no atom of doubt.

First of all in education; most Negro children today are in school and most adults can read and write. Unfortunately this literacy is not as great as the census says. The draft showed that at least a third of our youth are illiterate. But education is steadily rising. Six thousand Bachelor degrees are awarded to Negroes each year and Doctorates in philosophy and medicine are not uncommon. Nevertheless as a group, American Negroes are still in the lower ranks of learning and adaptability to modern conditions. They do not read widely, their travel is limited and their experience through contact with the modern world is curtailed by law and custom.

* * *

Negro's Greatest Advance

Secondly, in civil rights, the Negro has perhaps made his greatest advance. Mob violence and lynching have markedly decreased. Three thousand Negroes were lynched in the last half of the Nineteenth Century and five hundred in the first h[alf] of the Twentieth. Today lynching is comparativ[ely] rare. Mob violence [still] has deserved [its] in evidence, and sum[mary] and unjust court p[roceed]ings have taken the place of open and illegal acts. But the Negro has established, in the courts, his legal citizenship and his right to be included in the Bill of Rights. The question still remains of "equal but separate" public accommodations, and that is being attacked. Even the institution of the "jim-crow" in travel is tottering. The infraction of the marriage situation by law and custom is yet to be brought before the courts and public opinion in a forcible way.

Third, the right to vote on the part of the Negro is being gradually established under the 14th and 15th amendments. It was not really until 1915 that the Supreme Court upheld this right of Negro citizens and even today the penalties of the 14th amendment have never been enforced. There are 7,000,000 possible voters among American Negroes and of these it is a question if more than 2,000,000 actually cast their votes. This is partly from the national inertia, which keeps half of all American voters away from the polls; but even more from the question as to what practical ends the Negro shall cast his vote.

* * *

Question of Occupation

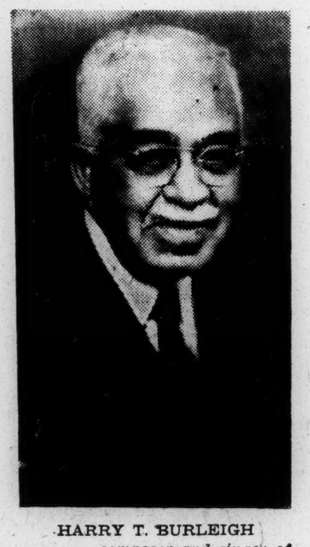
He is thinking usually in terms of what he can do by voting to better his condition and he seldom gets a chance to vote on this matter. On the wider implications of political democracy he has not yet entered; particularly he does not see the economic foundations of present civilization and the neces-

Foreword

THE roots of the future are always bedded in the past. The future, the next fifty years, of the American Negro will be a natural outgrowth of the past half century. For that reason, The Pittsburgh Courier believes it important that the record of the past fifty years of American Negro achievement, and failure, should be examined to discover a guide and inspiration for the years that lie ahead.

The Pittsburgh Courier has invited some of our foremost students, thinkers and writers to examine the record of the American Negro during the past fifty-five years and to write their comments. These studies and comments will be published in full-page feature articles every other week in 1950. They will cover Negro progress in the fight for civil rights, in education, in labor, in the church, in fraternal orders, in insurance, in politics, in government service, in art, in literature, in agriculture, in health, housing, sports and other fields. Some of the persons who will participate in this symposium, a PITTSBURGH COURIER FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY FEATURE, will be Walter White, James Ivy, Dr. Charles Thompson, Theophilus Lewis, Albon L. Holsey, Col. Campbell C. Johnson and a score of others.

The feature this week begins this new history of FIFTY YEARS OF NEGRO ACHIEVEMENT. It is written by Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, a brilliant part of the age which produced him. For this occasion, Dr. DuBois has employed the best of his unusual talents to compose an over-all survey of Negro life during this past half century. This is DuBois at the acme of his skill—writing beautifully, trenchantly, challengingly. Here Dr. DuBois presents not simply the mere facts, but the facts that make you think and swell with pride.



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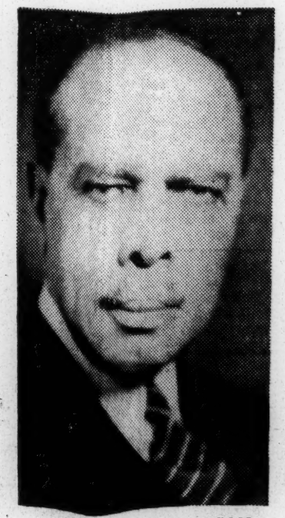
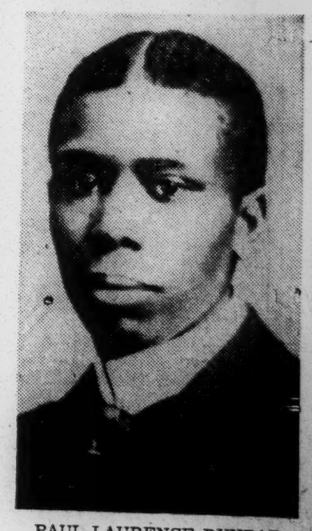
. . . composer and singer of international standing



JAMES WELDON JOHNSON
. . . poet and reformer advocating universal democracy

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON
. . . race leader and educational reformer

KELLY MILLER
. . . educator, author and controversial writer



PAUL LAURENCE DUNBAR
. . . poet of the lowly life of the Negro

32-39-46

of the Color Line'—Dr. DuBois

sity of his attacking the rule of corporate wealth in order to free the labor group to which he belongs.

Fourth, there is the question of occupation. There are our submerged classes of farm labor and tenants; our city laborers, washerwomen and scrubwomen and the mass of lower-paid servants. These classes still form a majority of American Negroes and they are on the edge of poverty, with the ignorance, disease and crime that always accompany such poverty.

If we measure the median income of Americans, it is $3,000 for whites and $2,000 for Negroes. In Southern cities, 7 per cent of the white families and 30 per cent of the colored families receive less than $1,000 a year. On the other hand the class differentiation by income among Negroes is notable: the number of semi-skilled and skilled artisans has increased or will as membership in labor unions. Professional men have increased, especially teachers and less notably, physicians, dentists and lawyers.

The number of Negroes in business has increased; mostly in small retail businesses, but to a considerable extent in enterprises like insurance, real estate and small banking, where the color line gives Negroes certain advantages and where, too, there is a certain element of gambling. Also beyond the line of [illegible] of Negroes have made [illegible]. All this [illegible] there has arisen in the Negro group a distinct stratification from poor to rich. Recently I polled 490 Negro families belonging to a select organization forty-five years old. Of these families 127 received over $10,000 a year and a score of these over $25,000; 200 families received from $5,000 to $10,000 a year and eighty-six less than $5,000.

* * *

Following American Pattern

This is the start of a tendency which will grow; we are beginning to follow the American pattern of accumulating individual wealth and of considering that this will eventually settle the race problem. On the other hand, the whole trend of the thought of our age is toward social welfare; the prevention of poverty by more equitable distribution of wealth, and business for general welfare rather than private profit. There are few signs that these ideals are guiding Negro development today. We seem to be adopting increasingly the ideal of American culture.

Housing, has, of course, been a point of bitter pressure among Negroes, because the attempt to segregate the race in its living conditions has not only kept the more fortunate ones from progress, but it has confined vast numbers of Negro people to the very parts of cities and country districts where they have fewest opportunities and least social contacts. They must live largely in slums, in contact with criminals and with fewest of the social advantages of government and human contact. The fight against segregation has been carried on in the courts and shows much progress against city ordinances, against covenants which make segregation hereditary.

Literature and art have made progress among Negroes, but with curious handicaps. An art expression is normally evoked by the conscious and unconscious demand of people for portrayal of their own emotion and experience. But in the case of the American Negroes, the audience, which embodies the demand and which pays sometimes enormous price for satisfaction, is not the Negro group, but the white group. And the pattern of what the white group wants does not necessarily agree with the natural desire of Negroes.

* * *

Negro Literature Divided

The whole of Negro literature is therefore curiously divided. We have writers who have written, not really about Negroes, but about the things which white people, and not the highest class of whites, like to hear about Negroes. And those who have expressed what the Negro himself thinks and feels, are those whose books sell to few, even of their own pople; and whom most folk do not know. This has not made for the authentic literature which the early part of this century seemed to promise. To be sure, it can be said that American literature today has a considerable amount of Negro expression and influence, although not as much as once we hoped.

Despite all this we have an increasing number of excellent Negro writers who make the promise for the future great by their real accomplishment. We have done something in sculpture and painting, but in drama and music we have markedly advanced. All the world listens to our singers, sings our music and dances to our rhythms.

In science, our handicaps are still great. Turner, a great entomologist, was worked to death for lack of laboratory; just never had the recognition he richly deserved, and Carver was prisoner of his inferiority complex. Notwithstanding this, our real accomplishment in biology and medicine; in history and law; and in the social sciences has been notable and widely acclaimed. To this in no little degree is due our physical survival, our falling death rate and our increased confidence in our selves and in our destiny.

* * *

Influence of American Press

The expression of Negro wish and desire through a free press has greatly improved as compared with 1900. We have a half dozen large weekly papers with circulations of a hundred thousand or more. Their news coverage is immense, even if not discriminating. But here again, the influence of the American press on us has been devastating. The predominance of advertising over opinion, the desire for income rather than literary excellence and the use of deliberate propaganda, had made our press less of a power than it could be, and leaves wide chance for improvement in the future.

In comparison with other institutions, the Negro church during the Twentieth Century has lost ground. It is no longer the dominating influence that it used to be, the center of social activity and of economic experiment. Nevertheless, it is still a powerful institution in the lives of numerical majority of American Negroes if not upon the dominant intellectual classes. There has been a considerable increase in organized work for social progress through the church, but there has also been a large increase of expenditure for building, furnishings, and salaries; and it is not easy to find any increase in moral stamina or conscientious discrimination within church circles.

The scandal of deliberate bribery in election of Bishops and in the holding of positions in the churches without a hierarchy has been widespread. It is a critical problem now as to just what part in the future the church among Negroes is going to hold.

* * *

Question of Social Equality

Finally there comes the question of social equality, which, despite efforts on the part of thinkers, white and black, is after all the main and fundamental problem of race in the United States. Unless a human being is going to have all human rights, including not only work, but friendship, and if mutually desired, marriage and children, unless these avenues are open and free, there can be no real equality and no cultural integration.

It has hitherto seemed utterly impossible that any such solution of the Negro problem in America could take place. The situation was quite similar to the problem of the lower classes of laborers, serfs and servants in European nations during the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries. All nations had to consist of two separate parts and the only relations between them was employment and philanthropy.

That problem has been partly solved by modern democracy, but modern democracy cannot succeed unless the peoples of different races and religions are also integrated into the democratic whole. Against this large numbers of Americans have always fought and are still fighting, but the progress depite this has been notable. There are places in the United States, especially in large cities like New York and Chicago, where the social differences between the races has, to a large extent, been nullified and there is a meeting on terms of equality which would have been thought impossible a half century ago.

On the other hand, in the South, despite religion, education and reason, the color line, although perhaps shaken, still stands, stark and unbending, and to the minds of most good people, eternal. Here lies the area of the last battle for the complete rights of American Negroes.

* * *

There Are Disquieting Signs

Within the race itself today there are disquieting signs. The effort of Negroes to become Americans of equal status with other Americans is leading them to a state of mind by which they not only accept what is go[illegible]merica [illegible] and threaten[illegible] equally. This is p[illegible] the development of [illegible]rld culture.

After two world wars of unprecedented loss of life, cruelty and destruction, we are faced by the fact that the industrial organization of our present civilization has in it something fundamentally wrong. It went to pieces in the first world war because of the determination of certain great powers excluded from world rule to share in that rule, by acquisition of the labor and materials of colonial peoples. The attempt to recover from the cataclysm resulted in the collapse of our industrial system, and a second world war.

In spite of the propaganda which has gone on, which represents America as the leading democratic state, we Negroes know perfectly well, and ought to know even better than most, that America is not a successful democracy and that until it is, it is going to drag down the world. This nation is ruled by corporate wealth to a degree which is frightening. One thousand persons own the United States and their power outweighs the voice of the mass of American citizens. This must be cured, not by revolution, not by war and violence, but by reason and knowledge.

Most of the world is today turning toward the welfare state; turning against the idea of production for individual profit toward the idea of production for use and for the welfare of the mass of citizen. No matter how difficult such a course is, it is the only course that is going to save the world and this we American Negroes have got to realize.

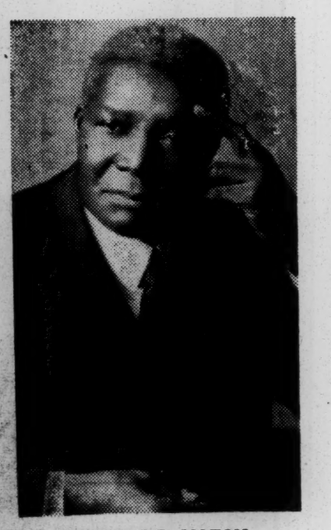
We may find it easy now to get publicity, reward, and attention by going along with the reactionary propaganda and war hysteria which is convulsing this nation, but in the long run America will not thank its black children if they help it go the wrong way, or retard its progress.

The Author

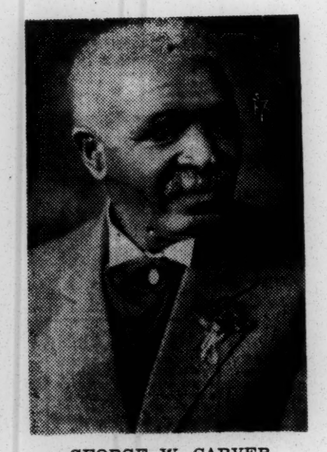
DR. WILLIAM E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS was born in Great Barrington, Mass., Feb. 23, 1868. He earned a Bachelor's degree from Fisk University in 1888 and from Harvard University in 1890. He also earned the Master's degree at Harvard in 1891 and the Doctor of Philosophy degree in 1895. He has been the recipient of honorary degrees from Howard, Fisk and Atlanta Universities. He studied at the University of Berlin. He taught Greek and Latin at Wilberforce University from 1894 to 1896 and was an assistant instructor at the University of Pennsylvania in 1896-97. He was professor of economics and history at Atlanta University from 1897 until 1910.

From 1910 until 1932, Dr. DuBois was director of publications for the NAACP and editor of the Crisis. He was head of the department of sociology at Atlanta University from 1933 until 1944 and edited the Atlanta University Studies between 1897 and 1911. He is the founder of the Pan-African Congress, a member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters and a Knight Commander of the Liberian Order of African Redemption.

Among the many writings of Dr. DuBois are The Suppression of the Slave Trade, The Philadelphia Negro, The Souls of Black Folks, John Brown, Quest of the Silver Fleece, The Gift of Black Folk, Black Reconstruction, Darkwater, Dusk of Dawn, Color and Democracy, and The World and Africa.



ROBERT R. MOTON
. . . president emeritus of Tuskegee Institute



GEORGE W. CARVER
. . . agricultural chemist, experimented with peanut

JOHN HOPE
. . . educator and outstanding American leader

ROBERT L. VANN
. . . late editor of The Pittsburgh Courier and statesman

ERNEST E. JUST
. . . teacher and noted expert in marine biology

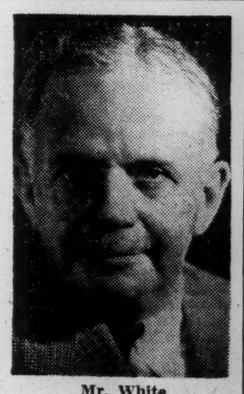
Don't Miss . . .

Walter White's

"Fifty Years of Fighting for Civil Rights"

* * *

in the January 28th issue of The Pittsburgh Courier



Mr. White

Address Of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

at the St. Thomas Chamber of Commerce, 27 February, 1952.
At St. Thomas, V. I.

* NOTE: William E. Burghardt Du Bois, born at Great Barrington, Mass., 1863, was educater in the public schools, Fisk University (A. B.), Harvard (A. M. and Ph. D.), and University of Berlin. Teacher at Wilberforce and Atlanta Universities. His famous book, "The Souls of Black Folk," ranks with the best in literature. Much of Du Bois' prose is essentially poetic. His one great prose poem, "A Litany of Atlanta," "Done in the Day of Death, 1906," was wrung from his soul by the horrors of a race riot in which nearly a score of people, most of them innocent, were killed and wounded. According to world famed critics, "There is hardly a more powerful piece of writing in American literature; no student of English can afford to overlook it."

All my life the West Indies have fascinated my imagination. First, because on them my father's father was born and later because in the last 35 years I have from time to time travelled along the flowering peaks of this famous chain of submerged mountains whose heights [illegible] Club. Jamaica, Haiti, Puerto Rico with islands dis[illegible]ing southward to the windward seas. With the world I have felt increasingly the inherent paradox of this center of the work and play of modern human culture, beauty and poverty. This combination is not peculiar to the West Indies but in our day here lies in microcosm the problem of our time. How shall the work of man be carried on so as to make mankind happy and not for the most part miserable as has been true in the history of the world?

Of this struggle the West Indies have for five centuries been a deliberate laboratory where Europe experimented in organized industry first importing and impounding workers as tools, then, in the 19th century using them as wage earners and finally in the 20th beginning to wonder if in this area of the world there could arise a common wealth of free men skilled in modern technique and intelligent enough to carry on government by democratic methods and yet help and not hinder the economy of the world. Not that this is yet widely admitted, only its possibility is surveyed. And it must be contemplated because of the sheer logic of the situation; the equitable climate, the natural resources, the abundance of flower and fruit which from the first stamped these as the long sought fortunate isles of everlasting life.

Yet, try as we will to forget—and we do try—what has happened to this paradise? Every sort of cruelty and pain, war, murder and slavery, and such long drawnout hunger, disease and ignorance that the children of the West Indies have run away and sought refuge in every corner of the universe, robbing this land of its most valuable product: its own brain and blood which were and are more valuable than sugar, fruit, mahogany and fibre. This, even now, we do not quite believe. We still look upon the West Indies as sources of goods and not men, much less of the thought and feelings of men. This is direct heritage from the past when these islands became for the first the great source of European capital—that is, of good raised in order to obtain more and other goods and not for direct consumption by the worker or owner. Thus out of the West Indies arose that greatest discovery of modern times, the capitalist system on which modern civilization has been built. This system was not perfect as no human invention is or can be. So today in mid Twenthieth Century we find ourselves striving in blood and sweat to rescue the advantages of capitalism in order to use its miraculously increased power of production to abolish and not prolong poverty, disease and ignorance.

This world problem of all men and nations it not a foreign problem or a problem solely of vast nations. It is, on the contrary, especially the problem of such a community as this and reduces itself to a plain, pressing question; For what do the Virgin Islands exists? For the health and happiness of their people right here and now—workers and housewives, merchants and teachers and civil servants, or are they and must they be areas where Americans and British can make the largest returns by any methods they please to use? It is no longer possible to argue that what makes the largest profit for the foreign business man is necessarily the best policy for the Virgin Islander. Just as it is equally clear that unless the work of the Virgin Islander satisfies his own needs he will have no interest in it. Manifestly then, what must take place in West Indian industry is; that in this industry in what it does, whose wants it fills and how its income is distributed, the people of these islands must have voice and consideration. If they do have such voice there will eventually live on these islands a class of efficient workers skilled in modern technique and intelligent enough to know their real needs and seek them not in opposition but in cooperation with the peoples of the earth.

This is, of course, axiomatic, but many of you will see difficulties. Some will ask can you develop such workers in the Virgin Islands? This is but echo of that past which firmly believed that West Indians could never become a free working class. Others will ask but can workers effectively exercise any real voice in industry—determining what good shall be made, what wage shall be paid and what prices shall be charged? The general answer will be—No! And that answer will be given not only here but by some persons in almost every modern land. But this answer contradicts Democracy in which most intelligent men have long professed firmly to believe. For Democracy is voice in one's own government and government is that which rules your actions and what rules the action of human beings more completely than his work and the earning of a living? If a worker is to have no voice in industry by which he earns his living then he can never be a free citizen of a democracy. Many persons firmly and honestly believe this. They say "Yes" persons may vote, they may hold office, they may help make laws, but most men are not capable of helping plan and direct industry and even if they were they should not be permitted to do so. If this is true (and I am not pausing to argue this) I am simply saying that if it is true then let us stop talking about Democracy because democracy is impossible and we must continue to be ruled by small groups of men chosen by chance or wealth on the assumption that most men can work but cannot determine the work which they must do or share in the result which is rightly theirs. [illegible] if a community like this could [illegible] this conclusion, they must remember, and this is important [illegible] yoh [illegible] the world does [illegible] with it—that the [illegible] the 20th century is the rise of the working class not simply to a vote in political life but to voice and power in industry. This is especially true in the United States and Britain and more and more true in Eastern, Northern and Western Europe and slowly starting to be true in Asia and Africa. It is the meaning of what we call the modern labor movement, the rise of Trade Unions, the legislation for social uplift in housing, social security and wage—floors and particularly of universal compulsory education. Social uplift in the 20th century is not the philanthropy of the 19th, but the social power of the free worker.

At what then does the Virgin Islander today aim? Does he envisage a great people part of an island empire separated by green and shining waters yet united by the blood of Africa in culture and history working together to satisfy their needs under the severe discipline of modern technique and intelligent enough to recognize not

(Continued on Page 3)

FOR SALE
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PUBLICATION

Pursuant to Section 5 of the Trade Tax Law of 1947, trade taxes for the quarter ended December 31, 1951 are now due, and will be received at the Department of Finance, St. Thomas and the Office of the Administrator, Apollo Bay, St. John. [illegible] aforesaid [illegible] ject to taxation to call at the Department of Finance to pay the trade taxes in full. Upon second day of March, 1952 for trade taxes not paid by the the preceding quarter, there missioner of Finance an addishall be collected by the Comtional sum of 1% of the tax for each month or fraction thereof, for which said taxes are delinquent. The law further provides that upon neglect or refusal to pay the trade tax within 60 days after March 2, 1952, the Sheriff shall, upon written order of the Commissioner of sale of personal property of same by the attachment and Finance, proceed to collect the such debtor.

Municipality of St. Thomas and St. John, Charlotte Amalie
St. Thomas, Virgin Islands
February 25, 1952
Louis Shulterbrandt
Commissioner of Finance

WANTED

Our Agents are making L100 and more by taking orders for Personal Christmas Greetings Cards and Calendars. On request, Britian's largest an foremost Publishers will send a Beautiful Free Sample Bool for 1952 to Genuine Agents Write today. Highest Commission paid.

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SATURDAY, MARCH 1, 1952

THE RED CROSS

Every public-spirited individual is familiar with the Red Cross and the work it does to relieve human suffering, but how many of us know that this organization, which has become internationally famous, derived its name from its emblem—a Greek cross on a white ba[illegible] ground—very simple [illegible] of chapters established into 1944, civilized countries of the world to world following a conference in Geneva in the year 1864. At that conference an international treaty was formulated the rules of which have served to carry medicine and food to friend and foe alike in times of war.

Most of us, however, are more familiar with the American Red Cross as founded by Clara Barton and which operates under a charter granted by the Congress of the United States on January 5, 1905 with the president of the United States as its customary head. This familiarity stems from the ever presence of this particular branch in this and surrounding areas in times of distress brought about by hurricanes, fires and earthquakes as well as for relief for economic destitution and public health services

The symbol of this organization has become a welcome sight at times of disaster, whether in peace or war.

Here is the Virgin Islands the work of the Red Cross has even more added significance. The help to stranded seamen, those made homeless by hurricanes and fires, the benefits derived by children whose parents are unable to provide such necessary items as eye glasses, dental care, milk and medicine as well as ass stance given to families of men who through economic reasons or induction into the armed forces are off the island bears witness to the public service rendered by this movement.

Today the 1952 Red Cross Fund Drive begins and as is customary everyone in the community will be approached for contribution toward reaching the quota as set for the Virgin Islands. Now more than ever it is imperative that every one make special efforts to contribute. The threat of war and the resultant conflicts and suffering lurks at our doorsteps. Remember the best way to meet disaster is by being prepared—the only way the Red Cross can be prepared to meet the occasion should it arise is by your contribution—Give now.

CALL FOR BIDS

Lease of Government-owned Motor-boat "St. John"

The 50-foot government-owned motorboat "St. John" now laid up at Cruz Bay, St: John, is available for lease "as is and where is" for commercial operation between the Islands of St. Thomas and St. John: [illegible]eeds engine repairs [illegible] of engine, be-[illegible]ut into oper[illegible]

Wa[illegible]

E[illegible] interested in leasing [illegible]oat are requested to submit sealed bids to the Department of Finance not later than 11:00 A. M., March 3, 1952, when all bids will be publicly opened. Bidders should state clearly and in detail:

(a) Their identity and previous experience in the operation of motorboats;

(b) Their plans for the use of the "St. John";

(c) Their ability to put the boat in operation within sixty (60) days after award;

(d) The amount of annua rental to be offered.

No bidder will be considered if he does not guarantee the continued operation of this vessel in the passenger service between the Islands of St. Thomas and St: John: Bids will be evaluated not only upon the amount of the renta consideration, but also upon the financial responsibility and purposes of the bidder to operate the boat in the best interest of the Municipality.

The Government will reserve the right to reject any or all bids, as well as to waive any informality of bids.

February 25, 1952
Department of Finance
St. Thomas, Virgin Islands
Louis Shulterbrandt
Commissioner of Finance

ADDRESS OF DR. DU BOIS

(Continued from Page 2)

only their essential needs but the ways of planning their satisfaction in accord with the best interest of the human race? This will not be complete freedom. It will be discipline. It will not leave the kind of product and its price to be determined in London and New York exclusively but they will be determined with due regard to the wish of St. Thomas.

This result will be hard to plan and harder to achieve. That I grant you. But that it is imposible I deny in the face of all that the world has said and believed in the past and still widely and stubbornly clings to. Men here and elsewhere will attempt this ideal in different ways and with failure, setbacks and widely differing results. But the end is written in the stars. Human work is going increasingly, in the future to be guided by those who perform it and its results are going to be distributed justly among the participants in a democratic society We will preserve capital in order that labor may work efficiently but capital will not rule because capital is Things while workers are Men. Men will rule because they fulfill the wants of men and have the intelligence to know the value of these wants and how to meet them.

Such masters of industry will not be misled by the ideal of conceiving the West Indies merely as the playground of the idle rich but rather guide these islands towards a place where the man of moderate means and the sick of no means and the West Indians themselves may enjoy for reasonable sums this paradise of sun and sea. Above all a land where the workers gain by discipline, by free enterprise that is limited by public welfare and individual initiative that never lets your effort stop or discourage mine and thus leaves for the world that end of all life Art; that creative effort for fullness of sentiment and emotion, for Music and Dancing, for History and Fancy; for the higher and simpler life in which the human spirit blooms and unfolds.

Where else but right here, my masters, can man imagine a finer setting for those finer arts, which today stagger in war and drown in blood? Here it can begin! Here it can flower! Here and Now!

NOTICE
COTTAGE FOR RENT

On the island of St. John, Cruz Bay, Qtr. Four rooms, [illegible] porch, refrigerator, furnished rooms, 3/4 acre of surrounding ground. An ideal site. Long term lease or monthly rental.

Contact Ptlm. L. Jürgen
No. 5 Haabets Gade

NOTICE

FURNESS WEST INDIES LINES

R.M.S. "Fort Townshend"

R: M. S. "FORT TOWNSHEND" from Trinidad, Grenada, St: Vincent, Barbados, Martinique, Antigua, St. Kitts and St: Croix is due here on Monday the 3rd March 1952 and will be d spatched for New York accepting passengers and freight.

St: Thomas, V. I. 28 February 1952

EMILE A. BERNE, Agent

Rosenberg clemency campaign is growing

(Continued from Page 1)

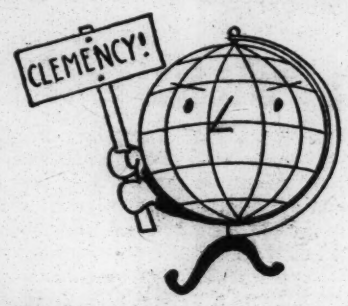
public anxiety and to give assurance that those charged with the protection of vital information were alert and diligent in the performance of their obligations."

THERE'S NO DISPUTE: The government's admission that one of its important witnesses lied on the stand was minimized by the judge. The prosecution, in an affidavit, confirmed a defense charge that its "surprise" witness, produced on the last day of the trial to identify the Rosenbergs as a couple who had come to him for passport photos a few months earlier, had been taken secretly—and illegally—to court to look at the Rosenbergs the day before he took the stand. From the witness chair he swore he had not seen the Rosenbergs since he had taken their photos.

Judge Ryan conceded that the defense charge "is not disputed" but found there "was no motive of falsehood" and the lie "does not stamp the witness with perjury." The judge similarly dismissed impressive scientific testimony that the alleged atom-bomb secret had long been public knowledge.

DEATH HOUSE DIARY: Last month in his cell in Sing Sing's death house, Julius Rosenberg began a diary; after each day's entry he notes the number of days of life left to him and his wife. Throughout the document he maintains their absolute innocence, writes of the prosecution:

They wanted me to confess to crimes I did not do, to bear false witness against innocent people and to allow myself to be used as a tool to create anti-Soviet and anti-Communist propaganda to add to the hysteria and the cold war. . . . The only documentary evidence produced by the government to tie us up with this case was a tin collection can: "Save a Spanish Republican Child." . . .



This can was supposed to be used to collect funds to aid the innocent victims of . . . Franco. We admit we are ardent anti-fascists. Not only did we donate money to help refugees but we collected funds and signed petitions to aid the Republican cause.

I remember when the rebellion broke out in Spain, and my wife and I decided to help the Loyalists. Ethel had studied voice. She is a coloratura soprano and she sings beautifully. I had studied Spanish in college and I taught her the words to two songs: "Tango de las Rosas" and "Ay-ay-ay." Then, together with a few of our friends, we went to Times Square on Saturday night. Ethel sang these two Spanish songs and "No Pasaran," and the rest of us held the corners of a Spanish Republican flag. The people contributed generously, coins and dollar bills. The public was overwhelmingly in favor of the Republican Spanish cause. . . . For this we are condemned, with 42 days more left to live.

The remaining days to live were already under 30; but the fight for clemency was growing each day here and abroad. Preparations went ahead for a prayer vigil in Washington, D.C., on Jan. 4 even though permission to use the National Guard Armory, the capital's largest hall, was rescinded last week with no reason given. These were some of the new organizations and individuals joining the movement for clemency:

CHICAGO: The Student Government of the University of Chicago voted 19 to 16 to authorize letters and appeals to the President urging clemency. A meeting sponsored by the University of Chicago Committee on the Rosenberg Case heard Prof. Malcolm Sharp of the Law School:

If [the death sentence] is likely to do altogether disproportionate harm to our old conservative doctrines of liberty and free association, and make international settlement more difficult. . . .

The only intelligible theory on which this sentence could be based is one of deterrence. But the judge gave no attention to this and reverted to a primitive revenge theory. . . .

The sentence was never reviewed. It rests on the judgment of one judge, who revealed great emotional tension, and confusion of mind, and it is uniquely severe in peace time. . . . It will increase the tendency to attack anyone with political beliefs that are unpopular, and increase red-baiting and fear. These are very deplorable, and not counter-balanced by the spy peril.

The Southside Committee for Clemency made public an open letter to Mr. Truman signed by more than 80 prominent citizens of the community, including many University of Chicago educators.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: The Baptist Ministers Conference of Washington and Vicinity, in a letter signed by Rev. Edward Thomas, president, and Rev. E. C. Smith, chairman of the civic committee, wrote the President that the organization

. . . most humbly petitions you to temper justice with mercy in the case of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. Since no one has ever paid with life for the crime of which they stand guilty, it is our prayer that these two be spared the supreme penalty.

NEWARK, N.J.: Four Essex County clergymen, including Rev. Dr. Arthur J. Dumper, dean of Trinity Cathedral, Newark, petitioned the President for clemency.

PABLO PICASSO
They remember Dreyfus

OAKLAND, CALIF.: The executive board of the East Bay Division of Local 6, Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, adopted a resolution asking the President for clemency, and voted:

- To send a delegation to the Oakland Tribune protesting its refusal to accept a paid advertisement listing the signatures of hundreds of petitioners for clemency;
- To ask all shop stewards to circulate clemency petitions;
- To allow a speaker on the Rosenberg Case to appear before the next East Bay membership meeting.

TRADE UNIONS: Joseph P. Selly, intl. pres., American Communications Assn., in a letter to the President said that clemency

. . . would be greeted throughout the world by the Jewish people and by all people who will see in that generous act a sign of humanity and decency.

Other N.Y. unions that took action included the CIO United Shoe Workers Local 65; AFL Jewelry Workers Local 1; N.Y. Board of the Marine Cooks & Stewards; CIO Furniture Workers Local 140; and AFL Painters Local 704.

In Detroit the 218-member General Council of Ford Local 600 (57,000 members) of the United Auto Workers, CIO, adopted a resolution urging clemency.

CANADA & ENGLAND: From Canada came a petition signed by 15 Canadian war veterans, all with active service records in World War II.

From London came this letter from the Natl. Rosenberg Defense Committee adressed to Julius Rosenberg:

We are sending you our best wishes and greeting in this, your time of suffering. We are gathered at the Holborn Hall in London to protest against vicious witch-hunt, whose victims you are. The assembled 300 citizens of London will send their protest to the American Embassy tonight and demand a retrial of your case. We shall continue to fight for the retrial, for we know that your innocence can be proved.

FRANCE: In France the Rosenberg campaign took on proportions reminiscent of the great public outcry against the Dreyfus frame-up. The French Comm. for the Defense of the Rosenbergs includes Louis Aragon, leading poet; Fernand Leger, muralist, who decorated UN headquarters in New York; author Jean-Paul Sartre; screen actress Francoise Rosay; and Prof. Weill-Halle, member of the Academy of Medicine.

The committee was organized by the Movement Against Racism, Anti-Semitism and For Peace, whose honorary president is artist Marc Chagall. Other leading members include Gabriel D'Arbousier, vice-president of the French Assembly; Albert Bayet, president of the College of France; Aime Cesaire, Deputy; Yves Farges; Grand Rabbi Kaplan; and Alain Le Leap, secy.-gen. of the General Confederation of Trade Unions.

The official paper of the organization, **Droit et Liberte** (Right and Liberty), in its latest issue devoted almost three of its six pages to the Rosenberg case. It reported a capacity crowd of "several thousand" at a Rosenberg meeting in the Salle de la Mutualite Dec. 8. Pablo Picasso presided. Speakers included some of the top names in French public and professional life.

ITALY: Three winners of Italy's top literary award, the Primio Viareggio—Carlo Bernari, Marcello Venturoli and Renata Vigano—protested to Mr. Truman and to U.S. officials in Italy. Other prominent Italians joining the clemency movement include Luciano Emmer, film director just returned from the U.S.; Pietro Calamandrey, noted lawyer, Parliamentary Deputy and editor of the monthly **Il Yonte:** Prof. Luigi Russo, noted critic and editor of the cultural **Belfagor;** and Corrado Cagli, artist, who lived in the U.S. many years and served in the U.S. Army.

For Ethel Rosenberg

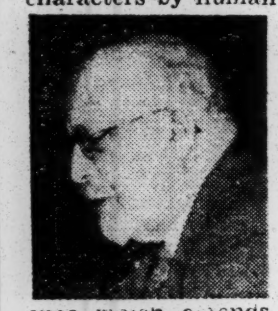
"The cobblestones roused my interest for their variety of colors: red, blue, green and grey. Especially during the endless winter months, when one longs for a little bit of lively green, my color-thirsty eyes feasted on the brightness of these stones and drank their stimulation from them. More so now that summer's come: what wonders and excitement one can find between these stones. . . ."

Rosa Luxembourg: "Letters from Prison"

W. E. B. DuBois

In defense of beasts

THE eruption of the epithet "goose" in the British parliament warns us of a possible movement bound sooner or later to take place. I am sure the geese, jackasses, rats, sheep, donkeys, mules, snakes, goats and elephants will sooner or later protest vigorously against the misuse of their names and misreading of their characters by human beings. I have a feeling that the friends of Mr. Shinwell ought certainly to be required to apologize, but not to Mr. Churchill; rather to all geese!



In my personal experience which extends back to early association with geese as a student in Germany, I have always found them exceedingly well-bred, dignified and much more consistent in their outlook upon the world than Mr. Churchill. I myself have been guilty of calling people "rats." I am afraid that that also is unfair to the average rat who, so far as I have known the breed, is not at all deceitful, but on the contrary rather frank, and prone to bite only when pushed into a corner.

THEN there is this matter of donkeys, mules and jackasses; terms used currently in a very derogatory way, implying ignorance and stubbornness. As applied to Congressmen and as a symbol for a current political party, they are grossly unfair. The donkey is, to be sure, democratic, but not Dixiecratic. The mule is more appropriate. Most of these animals, whom I have met, are placid and polite, having manners far better than the average American. They may not be classed as bright, but how many of us are today?

Elephants have a right to resent being used as examples of overweight or symbols of a political party which recently bought the Presidency at the highest price ever paid. For their own purposes elephants are of quite handy size; and fancy comparing these frugal beasts, satisfied with peanuts, with a party so in debt that the Chase National Bank is already foreclosing!

Snakes I would particularly defend. They are not sneaking, poisonous and hateful as men contend, but lively, silken and shy, and rarely carry poison; and then only in self-defense from cruel, clumsy Heels. Sheep have most deeply been maligned. Their skins formerly were universally used as evidence of high intellectual training. Lately, learning being cheaper, universities have for purely economic reasons substituted paper, but sheep had no hand in this and probably resented it. At any rate, instead of representing stupidity I would say that most sheep are conservative or perhaps even reactionary because of current subversive trends.

MUCH more could be said in this line, but what I am emphasizing just now is that a movement of these beasts, perhaps in a convention, could put up a pretty good defense against being continually maligned and caricatured by the general run of human beings; and could initiate a strong attack upon writers, members of Congress, legislators, and judges in particular.

I shall certainly attend such a convention when it is held, and put in a word of support even at the risk of being jailed for contempt of most of our current courts. After all, this habit of wholesale attack of human beings on beasts, birds and insects has got to stop. We may I suppose, if we wish, ruin our own rights, dignities and freedoms; but let us leave something decent in the world when we leave it after the Third World War.

OBITUARY

Robert Minor

ROBERT MINOR, artist, newspaperman, "winner of lost causes" in half a century of people's battles, died in New York Nov. 24 as the result of an ailing heart at the age of 68.

Texas-born Bob Minor had been one of the nation's best-known and highest-paid political cartoonists (San Antonio **Gazette**, St. Louis **Post-Dispatch**, N.Y. **World**). He foresook this career to become a people's journalist-artist—but did more than record the battles he saw; in many cases he led them. He suffered jail terms and beatings on picket-lines; once a court-martial sentenced him to death—for denouncing the intervention against the Russian revolution while serving as war correspondent. Among the many causes for which he fought were freedom for Tom Mooney and for the Scottsboro Boys, the rights of labor and the unemployed, and the Spanish Republic.

He was a founder of the U.S. Communist Party and when he died was helping the defense of its leaders on trial under the Smith Act. More than 1,000 gathered for funeral services Dec. 1 in New York's St. Nicholas Arena.

[1953]

The American Negro in my time

Dot 32-33-0

W E B DU BOIS

The greatness of Dr. Du Bois comes from more than embracing the whole of modern Negro history within his own lifetime. He has written its basic chapters with "poetry and courage", with a vision sharpened by hatred of oppression wherever it occurs. On his eightieth birthday in February 1948, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru cabled greetings which reflected a widespread feeling: "India remembers with gratitude your sympathy during her struggle for freedom".

I WAS born four years after the close of the American Civil War which abolished legal slavery of Negroes in the United States. My active life covers the time from 1890, when I received my Bachelor's Degree from Harvard, to the present.

A word must be said as to the prelude of my day. The North did not conquer the South in order to abolish slavery. The majority of Americans, including Abraham Lincoln, were willing for slavery to continue to exist in the South; but the North refused to let the South secede and thereby break up the economic and social unity of the nation. The North had become the centre of processing and manufacture. The South was an agricultural region, with its great crops of raw material like cotton, and minor crops like sugar. This union of cheap raw material and manufacturing was profitable to the North, while the South might have found a better market in Europe. But the North refused to have the union disrupted in this way.

In the ensuing Civil War, the North, in order to obtain victory, had to use the Negroes first as labourers and then as armed soldiers. For this reason the South surrendered. It was threatened by the loss of its labouring force which was supporting its soldiers in the field; and it knew that these black labourers could be turned into a million soldiers. In fact, 200,000 were under arms at the time of the surrender, and the South itself tried to attract Negro soldiers to its ranks. But it started too late and gave up in despair.

Thereupon, the South agreed to submit to continued economic and social unity with the North, but on condition that it was allowed to restore slavery in all but the name. There were three kinds of opposition to this programme. First, the resistance of the freedmen themselves, who had long revolted against slavery either by force or by running away and finally as soldiers in the war. Secondly, the pressure of a large group of Americans, white and Northern Negro, who were determined upon the abolition of slavery; and thirdly, by the organized industry of the North which feared that the restored South, with increased political power due to emancipation and by alliance will the agrarian West, would lower the tariff walls which had built up manufacturing in the North; and also might repudiate the war debt or add to it the debt of the States which had rebelled.

These three conditions led the nation to give the ballot to the freedmen in 1867, despite the often expressed warning that without education, land and some minimum of capital, the freedmen would never be able to defend their rights. The resulting bargain of 1877 between Northern financiers and Southern planters, resulted in the disfranchisement of the freedmen in the South by tacit agreement, and reduction of these freedmen to serfdom and colour caste, on condition

that the political power of the South was to be used to retain high traiff rates and pay the National debt in gold.

There was thus created a new and unusual status: a democracy with more than a twelfth of its inhabitants disfranchised; a caste system depending on skin colour or previous condition of servitude, with resultant rotten boroughs whose power lay in political control based on disfranchisement. And in addition to this, a working class divided into two parts by colour and privilege, yet competing for the same jobs and wages; which meant of course that the lowest paid labour would oust the privileged white labour from much of its work. Hates, crime and violence developed in these ways.

In to this situation I was born and began my work.

There were in the United States in 1890 some 7½ million persons of acknowledged Negro descent who formed nearly 12 per cent of the total population. There were many other Americans of Negro descent with so small a proportion of Negro blood that they were not classed as Negroes. Also within the so-called Negro group there was a large proportion, officially stated as 15 per cent but probably 35 per cent or more, of persons who were descendants not only of Negroes but of European whites and of Indian.

As a group these people were poor, ignorant and diseased, chiefly as the result of the slave system which had existed legally for 271 years. By 1890, half the Negro breadwinners of the nation were partially submerged by a bad economic system, an unjust administration of the laws, and enforced ignorance. A million and three-quarters economically just above these, began fighting a fierce battle for admission to the industrial ranks of the nation—for the right to work. They were handicapped by their own industrial history, which has made them often shiftless and untrustworthy. A quarter of a million stood at the head of the Negroes, and by a peculiar self-protecting group economy were making themselves independent of prejudice and competition.

At the beginning of the twentieth century 2 million Negroes were occupied as farmers, a million as labourers and servants, and most of the rest as artisans of various sorts, with a few teachers and clergymen; making the total of Negroes in gainful occupations about 4 million. In the registration area, the Negro death rate was 30 per thousand, or nearly twice that of the whites; and as most of the Negro population lived outside this area, the discrepancy of the total Negro population was even greater. During the first decade of the new century, a concerted effort was made to strengthen a legal Negro caste system in the former slave states. This new caste separated Negroes in education, travel, on railways and streetcars and in the use of public facilities, like parks and railway stations; and limited or totally denied the right to vote. These laws applied principally to the South but customary action in accord with these laws was followed in many Northern states.

From this depth of half citizenship, the Negroes began to organize and fight for social progress. They first demanded political and civil equality, but as progress towards this was slow, they offered compromise. The first distinct proposal came from the Negro leader, Booker T. Washington, who in 1896 proposed that Negroes should cease to demand political rights and restrain their effort towards civil and social rights but ask for technical training for industry. This program received wide acquiescence from southern and northern whites and from some Negroes. But gradually it was opposed bitterly by a group of young Negroes who contended that: first, the Negro must have educated leadership in accord with the best modern methods; second, he must insist on political rights in order to meet the competition of white workers; and third, he must not give up his demand for civil and social rights. An organization taking this stand was formed at Niagara Falls in 1905, and issued a manifesto in 1906 demanding equal rights:

"We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn American, political, civil, and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone, but for all true Americans. It is the fight for ideals, lest this, our common fatherland, false to its founding, become in truth the land of the Thief and the home of the Slave—a by-word and a hissing among the nations for its sounding pretensions and pitiful accomplishment."

Three years later this movement merged into a larger movement known as the NAACP (the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People). This united coloured and white people in one organization, which was incorporated in 1909. I was asked to come as Director of Publication and Research. I began my work by publishing and editing a small magazine called the *Crisis,* which was first issued in November 1910. It started with a circulation of 1000

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and by 1918 we were selling over 100,000 copies a month.

With this organization of Propaganda, together with a legal bureau and with lectures and writers, the NAACP was able to organize one of the most effective assaults against prejudice and reaction which the modern world has seen. We placed before the country a clear-cut statement of the legitimate aims of the American Negro and the facts concerning his condition. We began to organize his political power. We started a campaign against lynching and mob law, and we gained a series of court victories before the highest courts of the land.

I attended the great Races Congress held in London in July, 1911, which would have marked an epoch in the cultural history of the world, if world war had not followed so quickly. Amongst the many Indian sponsors of this Congress were Bipin Chandra Pal, G. K. Gokhale, Surendranath Banerjee, and a modest barrister from Johannesburg known as Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. The tone and scope of the Congress were set by an opening contribution from a scholar of truly remarkable learning and personality, Professor Brajendranath Seal.

Returning to New York, I faced the political campaign of 1912. The attitude of Taft, candidate of the Republican Party, was disappointing; but I thought that the Bull Moose movement under the first Roosevelt might be a refuge for us. I proposed this plank for the Chicago meeting in 1912:

"The Progressive Party recognizes that distinctions of race or creed in political life have no place in a democracy. Especially does the party realize that a group of 10,000,000 people who have in a generation changed from a slave to a free labour system, re-established family life, accumulated $1,000,000,000 of real property, including 20,000,000 acres of land, and reduced their illiteracy from 80 to 30 per cent, deserves and must have justice, opportunity and a voice in their own government. The party, therefore, demands for the Americans of Negro descent the repeal of unfair discriminatory laws and the right to vote on the same terms on which other citizens vote."

Jane Addams, Joel Spingarn and others supported it, but Theodore Roosevelt would have none of it. Woodrow Wilson became president of the United States, and I joined Bishop Walters of the African Zion Church to secure a statement of his attitude towards the Negro. He wrote over his signature "his earnest wish to see justice done to coloured people in every matter; and not mere grudging justice but justice executed with liberality and cordial good feeling. I want to assure them that should I become president of the United States they may count upon me for absolute fair dealing in everything by which I could assist in advancing the interest of their race in the United States."

For this reason I supported Wilson, and tried to induce as many Negroes as possible to do the same. But unfortunately, with his accession to the presidency in 1913, there opened for the American Negroes a period of six years of cruelty, discrimination and murder. This was because the southern democracy had come to power for the first time since the Civil War; because of resentment in the South against the NAACP; and especially because of increasing economic rivalry between white and coloured workers. No less than 20 bills advocating race segregation in various ways were introduced into Congress. In addition, Wilson segregated nearly all the federal coloured employees in Washington, herding them in separate rooms with separate eating and toilet facilities. When we protested, Wilson angrily dismissed the Committee and declared their language "insulting".

There followed a number of city ordinances segregating Negroes in housing, and in 1915 the United States seized Haiti and killed 3000 of its citizens. Then came the attack upon the American Negro in the film "Birth of a Nation"; mob murders had so increased that nearly 100 Negroes were lynched during 1915.

In 1917 we entered the world war and there came the draft with colour discrimination and mob rule. First, the nation refused to allow coloured soldiers to volunteer in the army. Then, when war was declared, the draftees were segregated according to colour which meant that some 83,000 Negro draftees had to train in separate encampments where almost no preparation had been made for them. Nearly all were sent South to be insulted under southern law and custom. Hundreds were drafted regardless of their home duties and physical health, and some draft boards like that of Atlanta had to be dismissed for open race discrimination. Once in camp most of the coloured soldiers were trained as labourers and not as soldiers. There have been few periods in the history of the American Negro when he was more discouraged and exasperated.

The NAACP fought back to secure decent treatment in encampments; to see that reasonable numbers of Negro soldiers went to the front as soldiers bearing arms; and to ask that some Negroes be commissioned as officers. The oppo-

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sition to Negro officers was intense and bitter. A conference of Negro organizations was called in Washington and adopted resolutions which I wrote:

"We trace the real cause of this World War to the despising of the darker races by the dominant groups of men, and the consequent fierce rivalry among European nations in their effort to use darker and backward people for purposes of selfish gain, regardless of the ultimate good of the oppressed. We see permanent peace only in the extension of the principle of government by the consent of the governed, not simply among the smaller nations of Europe, but among the natives of Asia and Africa, the Western Indies and the Negroes in the United States."

Efforts were made in Washington to placate the Negroes. A Negro Civil Consultant was appointed in the War Department, and two Negro regiments planned. After much agitation, it was decided that since Negroes could not be trained in a regular officers' camp, a separate Negro camp should be instituted. This was resented by many leading Negroes, but finally in October 1917, 639 Negro officers were actually commissioned.

In 1917 migration of Negro workers out of the South began in order to man the war industries in the North. Perhaps a quarter of a million came North during the year, and as a result this was a time of division and hesitation among the coloured people. I felt it in my own thought. I tried on the one hand to be patriotic and ask Negroes to "close ranks" and wholeheartedly join in the war. On the other hand I refused to give up criticism and complaint. I tried to have the voice of Africa and the Negro people heard during the Congress of Versailles; and through the French Black Deputy from Senegal I succeeded in holding a Pan-African Congress in Paris in February 1919, with some 57 delegates from various groups of Negroes.

I discovered during my sojourn there a less than human document which the Americans had issued to guide the French in treating the Negroes. I had it published in the *Crisis,* and for a time our mailing privileges were withdrawn. Then they were hastily restored, and we sold 100,000 copies of the *Crisis* that month.

The year 1919 was for the American Negro one of extraordinary reaction. There were two causes: the competition of Negro workers pouring into Northern industry, while the South was deprived of its customary cheap labor; and the resentment of American soldiers, especially those from the South, at the recognition which Negroes received in the World War. There were during the year race riots in 46 American cities. In Chicago in August 38 Negroes were killed, between 35 and 50 in Arkansas, and 6 in Washington. For a whole day the city of Washington in July was actually in the hands of a black mob fighting with hand grenades against the aggression of whites.

The NAACP thereupon staged the determined fight against lynching. A national conference was held in New York City; and among those who signed the Call was an ex-President of the United States, an Attorney General and Governors of seven states. The chief speaker at Carnegie Hall was the Chief Justice of the United States. We gained victories before the Supreme Court in the Grandfather Case of 1916, the Segregation Case of 1917, and the Arkansas Case; and in the freeing of Dr. Sweet, who had been sentenced to death in Detroit for defending his home against a mob.

Between 1918 and 1928, I made four trips to Europe in addition to the three made before 1918: to France during the Congress of Versailles; to England, Belgium, France and Geneva during the earliest days of the League of Nations; to Spain, Portugal and Africa in 1923 and 1924; to Russia in 1926.

Meanwhile the American Negro population was changing. The nine million of 1900 had grown to thirteen million in 1940 and probably fifteen million in 1950. White immigration had reduced its ratio to the total population from one-twelfth to one-tenth, but that tenth was a far more powerful body in education and income than the twelve per cent of 1900. By migration, 30 per cent of the Negro population was now in the Northern states instead of ten per cent as at the beginning of the century. The Negro death rate decreased markedly, but was still much higher than that of the whites. Most important, however, was the development of economic and social classes among Negroes. A professional and business class had arisen, with incomes from $3,000 to $50,000 a year, and with it grew up the clerical, artisan, domestic and labouring classes. About half of the Negro population now lives in cities, a great change from the 23 per cent in 1900. But the rural Negroes are still very poor, and of the total Negro group, city and country, in 1940, 49 per cent had annual incomes of less than $500 a year, compared with 17 per cent of the whites. The Second World War improved the condition of Negroes by increasing employment and entrance into trade unions. Meanwhile the education of Negroes increased. Before 1914, less

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than 5,000 Negroes had received the bachelor's degree, while over 6,000 received such degrees in the single year 1947. Illiteracy has fallen from 44 per cent in 1900 to perhaps 20 per cent or less to-day.

These vast social changes have brought new and intricate problems of development. American Negroes have now entered the current of world affairs. Their labouring classes are part of the labour of the world; their incipient capitalists are part of world capital investors. Their intelligentsia are among the thinkers of the world. They no longer form a group entirely segregated and apart; indeed they are no longer one solid group or so far as they are, their inner struggle parallels the struggle of the modern world.

In 1936, through a grant given me by the Oberlaender Trust, I made another trip to Europe for purposes of study. I spent five months in Germany, and a second visit of ten days in Russia which took me across the whole land from Moscow to Otpur. I had short visits in Manchuria, China and Japan and came home by way of Hawaii.

It is difficult for me to realize what has happened to the world since 1940. Ten years have passed: the most fateful and arresting in the history of modern civilization. I have found myself forced on conflicting currents but, on the other hand, I have become more and more convinced as to the future path which the world and my people ought to follow. My belief in Socialism, in the social control of wealth and state ownership of capital has become firm. After three trips to Russia (the last in 1949), I consider the Soviet Union the most hopeful of modern states; and with it I couple the People's Republic of China and the new governments of Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Balkans. I am deeply sensitive, at once, of the terrible struggle which these countries have had to establish their regimes, and of the numberless mistakes and crimes which have been committed during the revolution. I am not at all sure that any smaller toll of blood could have brought the present result.

Yet I do not believe that, in the economic revolution through which the present world is bound to go, force or violence is necessary. Mankind surely is coming to the stage when great and revolutionary change can be brought about by reason and peace. Indeed, that seems to me to be the only conclusion to which men can come now that we are on the threshold of a Third World War which may destroy present civilization. Peace is not an object in itself; it is a method, a path to an ideal. We who ask for peace, and peace now, do not for a moment believe that peace will settle all or any of the deep and serious differences between men and nations. What we insist upon is that by no other method save peace can we be in a position to begin the settlement of world problems. Happily, I have gathered from many signs that this is also the feeling of the peoples and governments of India, China and most of the Asian nations.

So American Negroes face a new change in their problems. We have today more than ever before among us the rich, the well-to-do and the poor. And we have got to face this problem as most of the rest of the world has faced it. If we are wise, we will realize that the day of exploitation of the poor by the rich is passing: we must socialize our wealth. We must take up the cause of the masses; we must submit to that discipline which is going to result in a more equitable distribution of wealth among us; we must work for the abolition of poverty and its natural concomitants: ignorance, disease and crime. This is the new problem which faces the American Negro,—the problem which many other coloured and colonial peoples have already faced. We have not yet frankly faced it, but as I look back upon the struggles of my time I feel sure that we will.

Unfortunately, I was born poor—and coloured—and almost all the prettiest roses I have seen have been in rich people's yards —not in mine. That is why I cannot write exclusively about roses and moonlight—for sometimes in the moonlight my brothers see a fiery cross and a circle of Klansmen's hoods. Sometimes in the moonlight a dark body swings from a lynching tree—but for his funeral there are no roses.

Langston Hughes: My Adventures as a Social Poet. *Pylon* (Atlanta University), Vol. VIII, No. 3, 1947.

"MY BELIEFS ARE NONE OF YOUR BUSINESS"

Dr. Du Bois insists State Dept. give him passport

Early last June, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, distinguished American historian and scholar, a Fellow of the American Assn. for the Advancement of Science, received an invitation to Poland. It came from the organizers of World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship, scheduled for Warsaw July 31-Aug. 14. The letter to Dr. Du Bois (he will be 88 in February) said in part:

"As you know, it is expected that 30,000 young people, from over 100 countries, will come together at this Festival to express their desire to live side by side with one another in peace and friendship.

"It would be a great honor for us, and a source of tremendous encouragement and inspiration to young people everywhere, if you were able to be with us in Warsaw, and we sincerely hope that you will be able to take advantage of our invitation. Your activities for peace and human brotherhood are known and admired by young people in all countries.

"We look forward to receiving your reply at the earliest possible moment."

* * * *

On June 7 Dr. Du Bois applied for a passport. He has held American passports since 1892, but has been denied one since January, 1952. On July 2 he received a communication from Frances G. Knight, director of the Passport Office of the State Dept., dated July 1. Following are excerpts from Mrs. Knight's letter:

"I regret to inform you that after careful consideration of your application for passport facilities, the Department of State is obliged to disapprove your request tentatively on the ground that the granting of such passport facilities is precluded under the provisions of Section 51.135 of Title 22 of the Code of Federal Regulations. . . .

"In your case the Department has concluded that your case falls within the scope of Sections (a) and (c) of the aforementioned Regulations since it is alleged that you are a Communist and as the Congress which you wish to attend is Communist inspired.

"Under Section 51.137 of the Regulations you may present your case and all relevant information informally to the Passport Office. If you desire to take advantage of this provision you may appear before a hearing officer of the Passport Office and you may be represented by counsel. In such case, you will be required to submit a sworn statement as to whether you are now or ever have been a Communist.

"If you do not desire a hearing, the Department will give consideration to any written statement under oath which you may desire to submit concerning the matter, provided that you include therein a statement as to whether you are now or ever have been a Communist.

"If a reply to this letter is not received within 30 days, it will be assumed that you do not wish to have your case reconsidered at this time."

* * * *

On July 13, Dr. Du Bois sent this letter to Mrs. Knight:

"I regard the reasons which you give as both illegal and personally insulting. For 60 years I have held passports from the United States, beginning

FIGHTERS BOTH
Dr. Du Bois with the late Vito Marcantonio

with Passport No. 42015, issued June 24, 1892, by the Acting Secretary of State, William F. Wharton. With these passports I have made 13 trips to Europe and visits to Asia, Africa and the West Indies. During this time I have never been accused of crime and have received recognition of many kinds, including the rank of United States Special Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to the Republic of Liberia.

"My continued and continuing advocacy of world peace once brought the demand that I register as a Foreign Agent. I refused, was indicted and acquitted by a Federal Court.

"The regulations of your department which you adduce are not statute law, but represent the effort of the State Department to arrogate to itself the judicial right to inquire into and judge my political beliefs and opinions. This is an unconstitutional assumption of power. As a free American citizen, I maintain that it is none of your business what I believe or think so long as I transgress no law. Nor will I be intimidated by secret "allegations" of unnamed informers which have no stature in law.

"I therefore absolutely refuse to sign or submit to you or anyone else any affidavit concerning my beliefs nor have you any right to decide what lawful assemblies I shall attend or whose voices I shall listen to.

"I therefore repeat my demand for a passport, in accordance with the Constitution of the United States, the laws of the land and the decision of the courts. Further refusal will confirm my conclusion that you are resting your hope for continued illegal procedures on the cost of litigation which you assume only the rich can afford."

* * * *

Late in July, shortly before the Festival was to open, Dr. Du Bois received from Mrs. Knight a reply to his letter. There was no date on the Knight letter. It said:

"The receipt is acknowledged of your letter of July 13, in regard to your passport case. The matter is being given careful consideration and you will be advised as soon as a decision is reached."

* * * *

In response to this letter, which ignored Dr. Du Bois' indictment of the Passport Office, Dr. Du Bois wrote on Sept. 8:

"Referring to your letter without date, may I say that in my application for a passport, June 7, 1955, I asked to attend the World Festival of Youth in Warsaw, July 31 to Aug. 14, 1955; and also to visit Czechoslovakia and other countries for reasons of health and recreation.

"You have delayed decision on my passport until the World Festival with 30,000 youth from 114 nations is over. This was, I assume, deliberate on your part. Nevertheless, I write to say that my application for a passport still stands and I wish to repeat my application to visit Poland, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Germany, France and England for health and recreation. My wife wishes to accompany me. In accord with your letter of mid-July without date, may I ask for a decision in my case as soon as possible."

* * * *

There the matter stood at presstime: Mrs. Knight had not yet replied. As in the case of Paul Robeson, the State Dept. has raised a wall to contain our country's noblest cultural figure at a time when the President of the United States has been pleading with socialist nations to improve cultural relations between East and West.

And the world looks on.

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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AMERICANS!

Let's restore democracy to America

By W. E. B. Du Bois

TO YOUR TENTS, AMERICANS! We have gone far enough into this morass of fear, war, hate, lying and crime. We face a crisis and our first great duty is here and now.

For the time being, never mind the Soviet Union; forget China; ignore Germany!

Come back home and look at America.

Come back to the problem of American Negroes which we have muddled over for 300 years.

• In 1655 Spain laid plans for bringing to America 3,000 black men from Africa each year. The colonizers ignored Las Casas who worked for the abolition of slavery in Spanish America, and knighted John Hawkins in his slave ship, called the "Jesus."

• In 1755, new, free America held 300,000 black folk, nearly a fourth of the total population, in human slavery; we ignored Milton, Baxter and Burke and refused to stop the African slave trade.

• In 1855, the Supreme Court was about to declare that, from the birth of the nation, Negroes had no rights which a white man was bound to respect; and the South was ready to risk Civil War to make slave territory of the whole United States.

There followed a century of war, violence and Color Caste, until the nation ashamed, started back toward Democracy. Lynching reached climax and declined; Negroes were disfranchised and then began to vote and hold office; Negro education increased, but not as fast as it should increase. Then, in 1954, the Supreme Court declared race segregation in public education was unconstitutional because it retarded education.

• In 1955, murder, violence and economic repression began to increase, especially in Mississippi, and also widely throughout that part of the nation which once fought for human slavery and long refused to obey the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. Southern governors and United States senators threatened to nullify the unanimous decision of the Supreme Court.

What are we going to do about it? There is but one right path: the restoration of democracy in the United States.

WE ARE TOLD that we can do nothing: that South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, as well as many parts of other Southern states, are superior to the people of the U. S.; and that as the Justice Dept. of the U. S. has just said, when a 14-year-old black boy is murdered in Mississippi, and no one is punished, the nation is powerless.

Is that true?

We have argued at length on the power of the Federal government and of the states. It is the considered opinion of the nation that the state and the locality should be responsible for local government, while the Federal government deals with the larger over-all matters which cannot be of simply local concern. **But this means that the democracy which the Federal government, by virtue of Article 4, Section 4 of the Constitution, must guarantee each state, must be enforced in each state; that the people of the locality must have a voice in their own government and choose their own officials.**

In that county of Mississippi where the boy Till was murdered, the majority of the population have no right to vote. They have no voice in the legisture or city councils. They sit on no juries. They do not share

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A Happy New Year to All Our Readers

McMANUS AND ARONSON CALLED AGAIN

McCarthyism revival seen in Eastland press probe

THE SENATE Internal Security subcommittee, headed by Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss.) set Jan. 4 for the opening of public hearings in its continuing witch-hunt of the press.

Summoned to appear at 1:30 p.m. in Room 318 of the Senate Office Building in Washington on opening day are the GUARDIAN's general manager John T. McManus and executive editor James Aronson.

Last month McManus and Aronson, along with 35 other New York newspaper employes and veteran members of the N. Y. Newspaper Guild appeared before the committee in closed session. One reason for the assault on the press was given last week by N. Y. Daily News columnist John O'Donnell (12/27):

> "This investigation has as its background frequent charges (some soundly justified, in this reporter's opinion) that news reports of the early hearings held by the late Sen. McCarran of Nevada . . . and the later hearings by Sen. McCarthy were given a false emphasis and twisted interpretation, in print and on the air, when they finally reached the eyes and ears of great segments of the republic."

TOTAL SERVITUDE: Of all New York dailies only the N. Y. **Post** has denounced the hearings. In an editorial (12/27) the **Post** quoted O'Donnell ("whose relations with the Eastland Committee are notoriously intimate") and charged the hearings were a "punitive expedition" against the press which had criticized "excesses of the Congressional inquisitors." The editorial then sounded the alarm:

> "If the U. S. press is prepared to have its news-columns policed by Senator Eastland of Mississippi and John O'Donnell of the **News**, it is headed for total servitude. It is time for publishers and editors to stand up and be counted. The silence has already been disgracefully long."

As the hearings approached there seemed to be an effort to recreate the mood and settings of the McCarthy era. Between Christmas and New Year's Day, the Eastland Committee issued a "Handbook for Americans" covering "The Communist Party in the United States of America—What It Is—How It Works." In it the committee answers its own questions from its own previous witch-hunts, lists "most typical sponsors of front organizations," tells how to spot a "sympathizer" and defends the use of informers.

"RADICAL RIGHT": Also during the holiday week, the **Times**, singled out for attack by the witch-hunt, published a three-column survey of "detention camps" established under the McCarran Act to hold "security risks" in time of national emergency. The **Times** reported six camps ready to accommodate 5,000 immediately; "thousands more could be put in detention camps as fast as they were rounded up." While dis-

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A PETITION FOR AMNESTY

Prominent citizens ask President to free jailed Smith Act victims

SINCE WORLD WAR I it has become almost traditional that U. S. political prisoners (a category not recognized by U. S. governments since the Civil War) go to jail under Democratic presidents and are freed by Republican presidents. When amnesty for political prisoners has been proclaimed it has been almost always at Christmas time.

In line with this tradition, a group of 46 prominent U. S. citizens, including Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, on Dec. 20 petitioned President Eisenhower for a Christmas amnesty for 16 Communist leaders still serving prison sentences under Smith Act convictions, and for a postponement in the cases of 180 others who are currently on trial or awaiting trial or whose cases are on appeal.

The petitioners acted independently (their appeal came as a surprise to the Communist Party) and each one signed as an individual. They stressed their

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT
In the name of humanity

"fundamental disagreement with the philosophy of the Communist Party and with essential elements in its program" but said they are "motivated . . . by their attachment to the democratic way of life." They asked that sentences of those still in prison be commuted to time served.

NEW TREND: The appeal noted that several of the prisoners are elderly and ill, and that their trials "were carried through in a period of the 'cold war' and in an atmosphere often marked by hysteria." They quoted a dissenting opinion of Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black in 1951 in which he emphasized that none of the Smith Act defendants had been charged with acts aimed at overthrowing the government but were accused only of planning sometime "in the future to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the government."

STARTED BY MUSTE: Signers included Norman Thomas, six times the Socialist Party's candidate for President; Henry Steele Commager, Prof. of History at Columbia; Elmer Rice, playwright; and Lewis Mumford, author.

The amnesty appeal was initiated by the Rev. A. J. Muste, secretary emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. A pacifist, the Rev. Muste himself was given a suspended jail sentence last week as one of 20 persons who defied an air raid drill last summer by refusing to take shelter. He enlisted the support of Thomas, Mumford and six others, including Dean John C. Bennett of Union Theological Seminary, who, as an initiating committee, solicited the other signatures.

The 16 still in prison are:

Alexander Bittelman, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Philip Frankfeld, Betty Gannett, Gus Hall, V. J. Jerome, Arnold S. Johnson, Albert F. Lannon, George Meyers. Jacob Mindel, Pettis Perry, Carl Ross, Sid Stein, Robert Thompson, Louis Weinstock, and William W. Weinstone.

BACK TO JEFFERSON: First great campaign for amnesty for political prisoners in the U. S. came in 1798 in behalf of victims of the Alien & Sedition Laws. It was a key issue in the election in 1800 of Thomas Jefferson, who nullified the laws and freed all those jailed under them.

In 1886 four Haymarket Martyrs in Chicago were executed, but an amnesty campaign won a commutation of sentence to life imprisonment for four others, who were eventually pardoned by Gov. John Peter Altgeld in 1893.

During World War I thousands of political dissenters, war resisters, pacifists, unionists and radicals of all opinions were imprisoned, but by 1924 all of them were freed. They were all prosecuted under President Woodrow Wilson who refused to intercede for any of them after the war. Biggest campaign was waged in behalf of Socialist leader Eugene V. Debs, who was sentenced to 10 years for opposing the war. On Christmas Day, 1921, Republican President Warren G. Harding released Debs and 23 other political prisoners. Harding's successor, Calvin Coolidge, released the last of the wartime prisoners during Christmas, 1923. (In 1937 President Roosevelt issued full pardons to a number of the World War I victims.)

In 1936 California Gov. Olsen pardoned Tom Mooney who had been framed 20 years earlier during the hysteria of World War I. In the early part of World War II President Roosevelt pardoned Earl Browder, then head of the Communist Party, who was serving a sentence under a charge of violating passport regulations.

OTHER SIGNERS: Following are other signers of the Smith Act amnesty plea:

ROY FINCH, Sarah Lawrence College; DONALD HARRINGTON, Community Church, New York; CHARLES R. LAWRENCE, B'klyn College; PAUL E. SCHERER, Union Theological Seminary; ROWLAND WATTS, secy., Workers Defense League; ROWLAND H. BAINTON, Yale Divinity School; GUSTAVE J. BISCHOF, City College; STEPHEN G. CARY, secy., Amer. Section, Amer. Friends Service Comm.; ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE, Harvard Univ.; HENRY H. CRANE, Central Methodist Church, Detroit; W. J. FAULKNER, Congressional Church of Park Manor, Chicago; RICHARD B. GREGG, author, Jamaica, Vt.; GEORGIA HARKNESS, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Calif.; ALFRED HASSLER, editor of "Fellowship," New York; The Rev. JOHN M. KRUMM, chaplain, Columbia Univ.; KENT LARRABEE, secy., New York region, Fellowship of Reconciliation; PAUL LEHMANN, Princeton Theological Seminary; SID LENS, manager of an AFL-CIO union in Chicago; HENRY LOFQUIST, secy., South Presbyterian Peace Fellowship, Bessemer, Ala.; PAUL G. MACY, regional secy., Fellowship of Reconciliation; ALLEN O. MILLER, Eden Seminary, Webster Groves, Mo.; PAUL S. MINEAR, Andover-Newton Theological School, Newton Center, Mass.

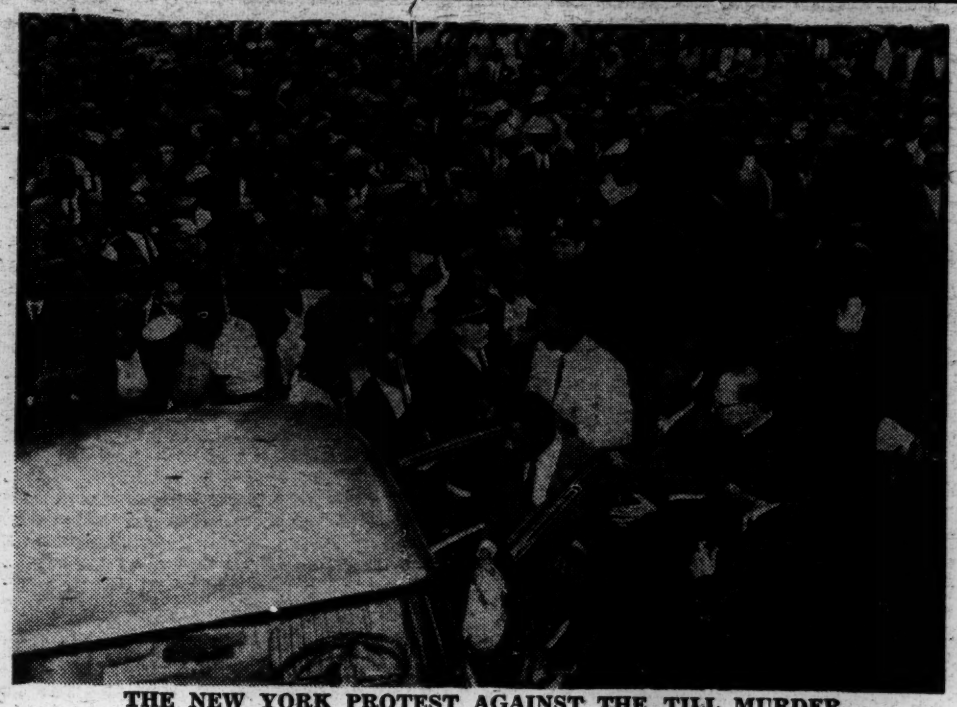
JEROME NATHANSON, Society for Ethical Culture, New York; HAZEL L. PERKISON, B'way Congregational Church, New York; JOHN HENRY RANDALL Jr., Columbia Univ.; CONSTANCE H. RUMBOUGH, teacher, weekday religious education program, Harrisburg, Va.; CULBERT G. RUTENBER, Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Philadelphia; JOHN NEVIN SAYRE, Intl. Fellowship of Reconciliation; MARK R. SHAW, northeastern secy., Democracy, Unlimited, Melrose, Mass.; EMIL PARKER SIMON, exec. dir., Baltimore Peace Section, Baltimore; ARTHUR L. SWIFT, Union Theological Seminary; JOHN SWOMLEY, secy., Fellowship of Reconciliation; LOREN WALTERS, Evangelical & Reformed Church hdq., Philadelphia; ROBERT F. WEISKOTTEN, St. John's Lutheran Church, Richmond Hill, Queens; NORMAN J. WHITNEY, Syracuse Univ., N. Y.; HERMAN HILL Jr., vice-chairman, Fellowship of Reconciliation; CHARLES F. FORMAN, Yale Univ.; WALTER MITCHELL, retired Bishop of Arizona, Rancho Sante Fe, Calif.; ROBERT H. HAMIL, Ottawa Street Methodist Church, Joliet, Ill.

(See Standard Brand ad, p. 10)

'No reaction'

THE PRESIDENT and his Attorney General weren't unmindful of the Christmas spirit of forgiveness. On Dec. 23 Mr. Eisenhower gave full pardons to 42 persons who had long since served their full sentences for what the N. Y. Times called "relatively minor felonies." One of those pardoned was a man convicted of manslaughter in 1898. A soldier who shot an elderly German couple to death after they gave him a ride as a hitch-hiker had his death sentence commuted to 55 years at hard labor.

White House press secretary James C. Hagerty told reporters that he had heard "no reaction" to the appeal for amnesty for the Smith Act victims.



THE NEW YORK PROTEST AGAINST THE TILL MURDER

Let's restore democracy to America

(Continued from Page 1)

in the election of Sheriff H. C. Strider, in whose hands the enforcement of the law lies.

Till was murdered in the Third Congressional District of Mississippi; in that district live 412,547 persons of whom in 1950, 308,752 were colored. There were 270,000 persons of voting age in this district. Yet Frank E. Smith, the U. S. Congressman, was chosen in 1950 in an election where 7,058 voted. Compare this with the Third Congressional District of New York, with a population of 317,414 persons in 1950; here in the election which chose L. W. Hall, 164,341 persons voted. In Mississippi most Negroes and many whites did not vote.

If the Negroes of the county where Till was murdered had the right to vote, his murderers would be punished. If we are trying to recognize state rights and refusing to impose Federal enforcement of local law and order on states, counties and towns, then democratic government must prevail in these states, and the government must not be solely in the hands of local landlords and merchants, while labor is largely held in peonage.

THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT to the Constitution of the United States says:

> 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State. [The 19th Amendment in 1920 barred denial of the right to vote on account of sex.—Ed.]

What right have representatives from Mississippi to sit in Congress and legislate for the nation, so long as democracy is denied most of her citizens?

The failure of national democracy in one state means its failure in the nation.

The South has refused to make the Negro really free despite the 13th Amendment; despite the 14th Amendment, the South has disfranchised most Negroes and still counts them as the basis of its representation in Congress. So that for years the South (which is the most poverty-stricken, most ignorant and most diseased part of the United States) has in Congress at least three times the political power of the North and West.

In spite of this, in the face of this, we boast to the world of our democracy. We stand ready to teach democracy to the world.

DOES THE WORLD BELIEVE US? If it does, then we cruelly deceive it as to what democracy can accomplish if it has a real chance.

If the world does not believe our boasting, then we are wasting our strength in war, murder and destruction, crying for a democracy which we do not ourselves possess.

To your tents, Americans!

Set your own house in order before you try to rule the world, or to buy its submission with five billion dollars in foreign subsidies.

42-SC-5 [JAN 16, 1956]

W. E. B. Du BOIS BEGINS HIS SERIES

The Negro in America today

By W. E. B. Du Bois

THERE IS CURIOUS and puzzling contradiction in current reports on the status of the Negro in the United States. It is said on the one hand that his progress is marvellous and his present status so encouraging that time and patience will soon see the Negro recognized in law and custom as an American, with all the rights enjoyed by other Americans.

In support of this view are cited the increasing number of Negro voters and office-holders; the recent decisions of the Supreme Court against segregation; and a general disposition in the nation to recognize the Negro as a citizen.

Contradicting this view is the fact that Negro suffrage is progressing but slowly and the Negro vote is still practically suppressed in many states; that in the South the Negro fills almost no public offices; and that murder, lawlessness, economic oppression and injustice in the courts are still the lot of millions of Negroes; that segregation in schools still remains in most of the South, and complete nullification of the Supreme Court decision is bitterly advocated.

NO NATIONAL SURVEY: The solution of this contradiction lies in the fact that it is true that the emergence of American Negroes from slavery in 1863 to partial freedom 90 years later is remarkable and hopeful. But it is equally true that American Negroes are not free compared with the working classes of the Western world or of the Soviet Union and China; that white color caste in some groups and places, especially in the North and West, has largely disappeared, yet in general it still prevails widely in the South; and it is true that as a group the Negro is poor, ignorant and sick, despite his struggles. He has difficulty in getting work and his wage is invariably substandard. In considerable portions of the United States, it is no exaggeration to say that a Negro still gets less consideration than a dog.

Just what the total situation is, reduced to actual facts and figures, nobody knows exactly and everybody guesses broadly. The United States as a nation has doggedly refused to conduct or encourage a scientific and complete study of the Negro population, because it feared to face the facts, whether favorable or discouraging. The national census deliberately hides the total picture. Twice Atlanta University has proposed and begun such a study: in 1896 to 1914, and again in 1941-44. In neither case could adequate support and cooperation be secured.

SECURITY IN ISOLATION: Many individual and group studies have been made, culminating in the Gunnar Myrdal report in 1944; nevertheless, today, no one can say with accuracy how far and how fast the Negro is escaping color caste. This is to the shame of American social science. Faced with an unusual opportunity for a laboratory test of human development; with a great group, so segregated by color and social conditions as to be easily made the object of observation and measurement, the opportunity has been deliberately and continuously neglected.

Negroes themselves do not know their condition. They live in widely differing localities and social environments. Wherever they live and under whatever circumstances, they make desperate effort, by protective isolation and careful compliance with public opinion, to achieve security and comfort.

A Negro in Atlanta sends his children to separate schools, attends a separate church, lives largely in sections of the city separate from whites. He pursues limited and largely separate occupations, and is paid lower wages for the same kind of work than whites get. He buys at stores, but is careful to frequent those stores where he knows his patronage is wanted, and where he will be fairly treated. Even in these he will not attempt to eat lunch or try on shoes or hats. He does not frequent parks or theaters except in very special circumstances. In fact, he lives in a world largely Negro; but there he is unmolested and may have a comfortable and successful life. If asked, he declares that he meets little or no race friction, which is true.

NEGROES IN THE NORTH: The city group of Negroes is recruited increasingly by influx from the rural districts. This migration is so large and continuous that while 77% of the Negro population was rural in 1900, in 1950 only 38% were in the country districts. This brings new city problems of crime and delinquency. In the rural communities and the small towns in the lower South, six million Negroes are still near slavery in many districts. They are running away to cities at the rate of tens of thousands a year. Discrimination in housing, North and South, by law and covenant, has been widespread and still prevails despite court decisions.

In the North, Negroes are mainly in the large cities. There the limitations are fewer, but they exist. In New York their chances to earn a living have increased since World War II but still are limited; there are certain jobs for which they do not apply; in the jobs they hold they can seldom expect high pay or promotion. The mass of ordinary workers keep largely to themselves; they do not in any large numbers go to downtown theaters, restaurants or places of amusement; they seldom go to a white church; they join few public organizations. They live largely in a colored world.

SOCIAL BARRIERS HOLD: The well-to-do Negroes move more freely, but not widely; they can enter the more expensive hotels; they can be served at most restaurants but they are not always welcome and realize it; they are invariably refused at summer resorts, at recreation centers and usually at automobile camps; and are not too welcome at many public assemblies. Not a single Negro in New York City has ever become a member of a recognized social club, despite the fact that Negroes have often gained high political position and many have wealth and culture.

They have recently gained high political office—a federal judge; three colonial governors; Congressmen and ministers to foreign lands; state senators; City Councilmen, city judges, Borough President in New York City, etc. Still, in most cases, they are careful not to appear at social functions where their presence might be unwelcome. There have been several instructors in the large universities and a few professors, but not many.

Negroes have advanced in art, especially music; less in literature; considerably in science and the profes[illegible] though in the latter case they are largely confine[illegible] tice among Negroes.

NEXT WEEK: Economic classes among Negro[illegible]

COLOR CASTE AND SOCIAL EQUALITY

How united are Negroes?

By W. E. B. Du Bois

THE OUTSTANDING FACT about the Negro group in America, which has but lately gained notice, is that it is flying apart into opposing economic classes. This was to be expected. But most people, including myself, long assumed that the American Negro, forced into social unity by color caste, would achieve economic unity as a result, and rise as a mass of laborers led by intelligent planning to a higher unity with the laboring classes of the world.

This has not happened. On the contrary, and quite logically, the American Negro is today developing a distinct bourgeoisie bound to and aping American acquisitive society and developing an employing and a laboring class. This division is only in embryo, but it can be sensed.

FRANKLIN FRAZIER
It was published in French

In New York the Negro families receiving an income of $5,000 and more a year form about 10 per cent of the Negro population. That means that they have an income of at least $30,000,000 a year which puts some of them into the capitalist class. On the other hand, there are at least 50,000 Negro families in the city whose income is less than $1,000 a year, which is near pauperism. They are open to exploitation and crime.

THE NEGRO BUSINESSMAN: In the 18th century, the Negro slaves and freedmen were guided within by Negro religious preachers in church units. Then, in the 19th century, they developed leaders in the Abolition movement. After emancipation they had the intelligent leadership of preachers, teachers and artists who, together with philanthropic black men of affairs, guided and advised the group.

But from 1910 until after the First World War, Negro businessmen forged to the front and today they form the most powerful class among Negroes and dominate their thought and action. This class bases its ideals on American business methods and aims. They spend conspicuously, organize for widespread social enjoyment and extravagance and regard the private profit motive as the end of thought and life.

The 300 or more Negro newspapers, with few exceptions, are mouthpieces of this bourgeoisie and bow to the dictates of big business which monopolizes newsprint, world news and credit facilities. Franklin Frazier, a leading American sociologist, once president of the American Sociological Society, has recently emphasized the significance of this development in his **Bourgeoisie Noire,** published in French in the Librairie Plon, in Paris.

THE NEGRO WORKER: Negro public opinion is thus tied to current American thought either by reasons of security or sometimes by direct money bribery, especially during political campaigns. The dream among the intelligentsia of an independent Negro vote devoted to Negro progress, has therefore largely disappeared except under stress of some particular outrage like the Till murder.

Class differentiation in Negro organizations is developing more slowly than in general life. In the church organizations there is a distinction between the churches of the very poor and ignorant and those of the well-to-do. But in the latter the main support comes from the workers; and in control the physician often shares office and power with the janitor and porter.

In a mass organization like the NAACP, the bulk of support from the beginning has come from the working class. Recently the well-to-do and rich have notably increased their contributions. It is still the dollars of the poor which support the organization and keep it a popular movement, except in some localities. The Negro control of the organization also is still the domain of the Negro intelligentsia rather than the businessman.

Opposite the small Negro bourgeoisie is the great mass of black labor. It is at present only vaguely aware of its conflict of interest with the Negro businessman. This businessman employs a considerable number of Negroes and exploits them quite as much and often more than whites because of the limited jobs open to Negroes. As, however, the Negro laborer joins the white unions, he is drawn into the great labor movement and begins to recognize black business exploitation. But the main mass of American labor is at present in conservative unions under reactionaries like Meany. So far as these unions admit Negroes, the Negroes follow the reactionary philosophy of the white.

Here the black, like the white, is restrained by charges of subversion and fear of loss of jobs.

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seph and Stewart Alsop wrote in the N.Y. Herald Tri[illegible] who vouched for [illegible] bility in sweepi[illegible]

NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

Democracy in America

(Continued from Page 1)

port of the Declaration, heralding these self-evident truths, they pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. . . . And now the moment has come when these vows must be fulfilled to the letter. In securing the Equal Rights of the freedman, and his participation in the Government, which he is taxed to support, we shall perform those early promises of the Fathers, and at the same time the supplementary promises only recently made to the freedman as to the condition of alliance and aid against the Rebellion. A failure to perform these promises is moral and political bankruptcy . . ."

So in 1876 this nation went into moral bankruptcy; democracy languished and freedom was lynched. Gradually political democracy was disowned of its own children. Walter Lippmann has just voiced this repudiation:

"Where mass opinion dominates the government, there is a morbid derangement of the true functions of power. The derangement brings about the enfeeblement, verging on paralysis, of the capacity to govern. This breakdown in the constitutional order is the cause of the precipitate and catastrophic decline of Western society. It may, if it cannot be arrested and reversed, bring about the fall of the West."

NO, NO! THIS IS NOT HISTORY; it is the fiction which the people of this nation are hearing today from men who prostitute their brains for wealth and security. Democracy planned to educate the mass of people so that they would understand life, rescue, discover, and cultivate talent and genius and let science and art lead the people to the promised land; until the day when the average man would not, to be sure, be a Lippmann, but abundantly able to distinguish between a McCarthy and a Paul Robeson. Instead of this, instead of the education which should be preparing the mass of citizens for guidance of government and understanding of civilization, education has been let to languish; truth has forcibly been kept from the ears of the masses, discussion curtailed, and the destiny of this nation has been pictured not as civilization but as that revival of barbarism which is universal world war.

WHEN WE WELCOMED 38 MILLION IMMIGRANTS from the slums of Europe to our shores, we tried to use them for private profit in exploitation of labor, in degradation of political methods and exacerbation of class divisions. When, fighting back, their trade unions forced high wages and a decent standard of living, what did we teach them to do? To join the colonial imperialism through which Europe blocked the further growth of democracy in the modern world by conquering the peoples of Asia, Africa and America, and stealing their land, labor and material. The wealth and power of nineteenth century Europe was concentrated in the hands of the rich to hold back the escape of the poor into equality.

This colonialism America joined, and now leads. Colonialism has by blood and tears and the jealousies of the the white nations been transformed from outright slavery and theft to wage poverty and private profit, but it remains as the chief method of building white ascendancy on the degradation of the majority of mankind. This has been accomplished by bribing white workers with higher wages and using them as soldiers to keep the dark world in submission. For this purpose the United States leads the world toward war today, by an insane pouring out of wealth for war which is sufficient to realize the highest dreams of the world's greatest minds if used intelligently and not worse than wasted.

OF COURSE EVERYBODY agrees with Mencken and Lippmann and a thousand thinkers that nations should be governed by brains and taste and ability. But to this there is no more royal a road than to government by blood, privilege or "grace of God." How shall we get the brains save by education of the mass? How rare a contribution of talent and genius have we lost in America by malingering, and cheating, and blunt refusal to educate the Negro race! HOW SURELY HAVE WE CURTAILED FREEDOM AND STRANGLED DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA BY OUR "NEGRO PROBLEM"!

By W. E. B. DuBois

IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY, belief in democracy is fading and freedom is more and more limited. Freedom as too many Americans understand it is the opportunity of persons who are smart or lucky to make large personal incomes with the least interference on the part of the government; and with limited opportunity for public opinion to express itself. Democracy reduces itself to the rule of property over jobs and news so that elections present few choices for the voters but register decisions already agreed upon by the groups in control. As a nation, we are convinced that if such groups control "free elections" in Germany, Viet-Nam, Guatemala and the United States, all will be well.

Democracy among the "free democracies of the West" no longer envisages equality. Real equality in a day of machine and technique means essential equality of income. Without that, and with private monopoly of natural resources and private profit from national industry, the working people must obey the owners of wealth. They cannot cast a free ballot. But we no longer believe that even approximately equal distribution of wealth is possible or desirable. We must have poor workers or rich industrial leaders cannot survive. Without masters of wealth, who would furnish the ten million dollars of "expense" which the election of 1956 is going to cost?

YET THERE WAS ONCE A DAY—how long ago it seems! —when this nation dreamed of real democracy, in an El Dorado beyond the golden West, where human beings of every sort, with essentially equal standards of living, with freedom to believe in any creed they chose, could live together in peace. We said that all men should have a voice in their government. If men are ignorant, teach them. If they are poor, see that they have sufficient income to share the surrounding standard of life; if they are sick, heal them; if through inexperience they make mistakes, let them learn by these very mistakes. If they are inherently evil, try by every reasonable method to raise their ethical standards.

What killed this mighty dream before it was fully born? Our own sin and greed. We exterminated the red Indians because we wanted their land. We imported black labor and reduced it to the last stage of exploitation so as to steal all it produced.

Then when the freedom of white men was threatened by the greed of Britain, we awoke and cried to the hills in 1776: "All men are created equal," and we started to free the black slave. But no! Slaves raised cotton. Cotton became king about 1820 and the king's courtiers began to fight to spread Negro slavery all over America so as to make slaveholders a special and superior breed of men. But no nation can exist "half slave and half free." The white worker began to fight in Kansas in 1854 to escape the fatal competition of the black slave. He won when he made Lincoln President in 1861. But the angry slave barons plunged the nation into civil war. Then the nation had to do what it did not want to do. It freed the black slaves, not willingly, but as Charles Sumner said:

> "Reason, humanity, justice were powerless in his behalf; but necessity was irresistible. And the result testifies how wisely the Republic acted. Without emancipation, followed by the arming of the slaves, rebel slavery would not have been overcome. With these the victory was easy."

THUS IN 1863 AGAIN for a moment this nation aimed at democracy and glimpsed "the glory of the coming of the Lord"; a nation of free and equal citizens with no distinctions of class or race. But only for a brief moment. The "dog is turned to his own vomit again." Flushed with the rich loot of war, Northern industry joined the slaveholders' wrath and opened the door to re-enslave the Negro and the white worker beside him in order to make America the wealthiest nation on earth.

Charles Sumner stood in the Senate chamber 90 years ago this very month and warned. The House of Representatives crowded in. The world listened to this man, whom a slavedriver had tried to kill in 1856 on the floor of this very Senate and nearly succeeded, while Massachusetts veiled her face and mourned. Frederick Douglass sat in the gallery and heard. Sumner said:

> "Our fathers solemnly announced the Equal Rights of all men, and that Government had no just foundation except in the consent of the governed; and to the sup-

(Continued on Page 2)

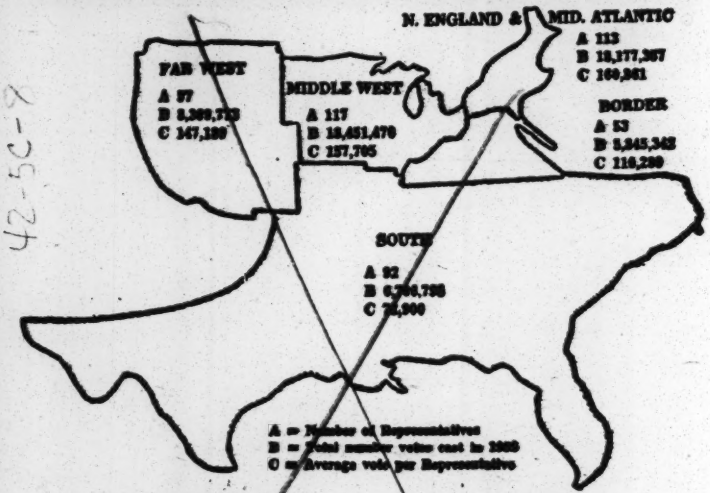
THE NEGRO IN AMERICA TODAY

The political power of the South

By W. E. B. DuBois

WHAT EFFECT DOES the disfranchisement of Negroes have on democracy in the U.S.? This is a question of national importance. It does not rest on sectional jealousy or bitter memories of the Civil War. It is not a question of race prejudice or of love or hate for Negroes. It is a practical question of democratic government in the U.S.; of permitting public opinion and not private wealth to rule.

As matters stand today, representation in Congress rests on population. If any part of the population is not allowed to vote, then representation in Congress should not be based on this disfranchised part. It is the law that Negroes are American citizens and must be counted in basing representation in Congress. Any section or state which counts the Negro population as basis for its representation in Congress, and then does not allow citizens to vote, not only degrades Negroes but takes from other parts of the nation power which belongs to them. It transfers this power to the disfranchising section. It rewards lawlessness with power. It distorts and ruins democracy. For instance:



A distorted map of the U.S. showing the disproportionate power of the South.

The elections of 1952

Section	Votes Cast	Rep. Elected	Votes per Rep.
South	6,706,798	92	72,900
Border States	5,845,342	53	110,289
Far West	8,389,773	57	147,189
Middle West	18,451,470	117	157,705
N. E. & Mid. Atl.	18,177,357	113	160,861
TOTAL	57,570,740	432	

SOURCE: Statistics of the Presidential and Congressional Election Nov. 4, 1952. Compiled from official sources by Earl Rockwood under direction of Lyle O. Snader, Clerk of the House of Representatives. Corrected to May 12, 1953.

SIX AND SIX, BUT . . .: Mississippi and Kansas had about the same population in 1950, and each had in Congress six Representatives, based on that population. Yet Kansas needed 600,000 voters to elect her six Congressmen, while only 150,000 voters were needed in Mississippi. Practically each voting Mississippian went to the polls with four ballots in his hand, where the Kansan had one. Yet Mississippi is one of the most illiterate and lawless states in the Union, and Kansas one of the most intelligent and law-abiding.

Why does Mississippi wield such political power? Because she disfranchises her Negro population and many of her whites, and yet uses that same disfranchised population as basis for her representation in Congress. We reward her crime against democracy by giving her four times as much political power as she deserves.

What can be done about this nullification of democracy in the U.S. by states which for nearly a century have refused to obey the national will?

- We can reduce their representation in Congress, or refuse to seat any of the representatives from such a state.
- We can encourage participation in democracy by basing representation in Congress on the votes cast and not on population.
- The Federal government can take charge of Federal elections and count the votes, and not leave them at the mercy of local politicians who can enhance their own power by disregard of Federal law, or by state laws which conflict with national law. No other nation on earth has, like the U.S., surrendered its power over its own elections to officials over whom it has no control.

NO CANDIDATE SPEAKS: Why does no candidate of either the Democratic or Republican Party even mention, much less discuss, this matter? How can Eisenhower and Stevenson afford not to discuss Negro disfranchisement? Why does no candidate or prospective candidate ask and answer these pertinent questions:

- Can a state refuse to obey the U.S. Constitution?
- Can a state repudiate a Supreme Court decision?
- Will the world believe us when we thus let democracy be nullified?

It may be answered that disfranchisement gradually is disappearing in the South. Is this true, and how far is it true? There are no official figures and no state is compelled to collect or report such figures. Our only unfailing measure is the number of votes cast, and even this depends entirely on what state officials say. The Federal government has no check on these reports.

The nation stands helpless. If Southern Negroes could vote, the states would have greater chance to obey the national will. Only national action can save national democracy.

~~Listen, Fellow Boobs!~~ Just why should the South, most of which is about to secede and use Force and Violence to nullify national law—just why should the South with six and a half million votes, have 92 Congressmen while the Far West with eight million votes has 52?

DU BOIS WRITES AN OPEN LETTER TO NKRUMAH

A future for Pan-Africa: Freedom, peace, socialism

On March 6, 1957, the Gold Coast, a British colony on the West Coast of Africa, will become a Dominion of the British Commonwealth, ranking with Canada, Australia and the Union of South Africa. This former center of the slave trade to America will assume the name of Ghana, an ancient Negro kingdom of northwest Africa which, between the 5th and 15th centuries, included much of the present territory of the Gold Coast.

Ghana will occupy an area about as large as the United Kingdom, with 4,125,000 inhabitants, nearly all of whom are black Africans. Within its borders will lie the ancient kingdom of the Ashanti, which fought six wars against England and, despite insult and humiliation, never surrendered the golden stool of its sovereignty. Ghana will be independent and self-governing and the inauguration of this state will be witnessed by officials from many of the world's leading nations, including the Vice President of the United States.

I have just sent the Prime Minister, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the following greeting:

I HAVE your kind invitation of Jan. 22, 1957. In behalf of myself and of my wife, Shirley Graham, I thank you for it and want to say how great was our desire to accept it. But since the U.S. government refused to issue us passports, we must with deep regret inform you of our inability to accept. I have recently also, and for the same reason, been compelled to my sorrow to decline a trip to China for lectures and participation in the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin.

However, because of the fact that I am now entering the 90th year of my life, and because of my acquaintanceship with you during the last 12 years, which cover the years of your imprisonment, vindication, and political triumph, I trust you will allow me a few words of advice for the future of Ghana and Africa.

I venture the more readily to do this because, 40 years ago at the end of the First World War, I tried to establish some means of co-operation between the peoples of African descent throughout the world. Since then five Pan-African Congresses have met and, at the last one in England in 1945, I had the pleasure of meeting you.

TO DAY, when Ghana arises from the dead and faces this modern world, it must no longer be merely a part of the British Commonwealth or a representative of the world of West Europe, Canada, and the U.S. Ghana must on the contrary be the representative of Africa; and not only that, but of Black Africa below the Sahara desert. As such, her first duty should be to come into close acquaintanceship and co-operation with her fellow areas of British West Africa and Liberia; with the great areas of black folk in French West and Equatorial Africa; with the Sudan, Ethiopia, and Somaliland; with Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika; with the Belgian Congo and all Portuguese Africa; with the Rhodesias and Bechuanaland; with Southwest Africa,

A SMILE AND A BALLOT IN GHANA
Miss Betty Smith of Accra, capital of the new state, shown voting in recent municipal elections.

the Union of South Africa and Madagascar; and with all other parts of Africa and with peoples who want to co-operate. All the former barriers of language, culture, religion and political control should bow before the essential unity of race and descent, the common suffering of slavery and the slave trade and the modern color bar.

Ignoring the old sources of division and lack of knowledge of and sympathy for each other, Ghana should lead a movement of black men for Pan-Africanism, including periodic conferences and personal contacts of black men from the Sahara to the Indian Ocean. With a program of peace and with no thought of force, political control or underground subversion, a new series of Pan-African Congresses should be held: they should include delegates from all groups and especially from the African congresses which already exist in many parts of Africa and which got their inspiration in most cases from the first Pan-African Congress in Paris in 1919.

THE NEW SERIES of Pan-African Congresses would seek common aims of progress for Black Africa, including types of political control, economic co-operation, cultural development, universal education and freedom from religious dogma and dictation.

The consequent Pan-Africa, working together through its independent units, should seek to develop a new African economy and cultural center standing between Europe and Asia, taking from and contributing to both. It should stress peace and join no military alliance and refuse to fight for settling European quarrels. It should avoid subjection to and ownership by foreign capitalists who seek to get rich on African labor and raw material, and should try to build a socialism founded on old African communal life; rejecting on the one hand the exaggerated private initiative of the West, and seeking to ally itself with the social program of the progressive nations: with British and Scandinavian socialism, with the progress toward the welfare state of India, Germany, France, and the U.S.; and with the Communist states like the Soviet Union and China, in peaceful co-operation and without presuming to dictate as to how socialism must or can be attained at particular times and places.

Pan-African socialism seeks the welfare state in Black Africa. It will refuse to be exploited by people of other continents for their own benefit and not for the benefit of the peoples of Africa. It will no longer consent to permitting the African majority of any African country to be governed against its will by a minority of invaders who claim racial superiority or the right to get rich at African expense. It will seek not only to raise but to process its raw material and to trade it freely with all the world on just and equal terms and prices.

PAN-AFRICA will seek to preserve its own past history, and write the present account, erasing from literature the lies and distortions about black folk which have disgraced the last centuries of European and American literature; above all, the new Pan-Africa will seek the education of all its youth on the broadest possible basis without religious dogma and in all hospitable lands as well as in Africa and for the end of making Africans not simply profitable workers for industry nor stoolpigeons for propaganda, but for making them modern, intelligent, responsible men of vision and character.

I pray you, my dear Mr. Nkrumah, to use all your power to put a Pan-Africa along these lines into working order at the earliest possible date. Seek to save the great cultural past of the Ashanti and Fanti peoples, not by inner division but by outer cultural and economic expansion toward the outmost bounds of the great African peoples, so that they may be free to live, grow, and expand; and to teach mankind what non-violence and courtesy, literature and art, music and dancing, can do for this greedy, selfish, and war-stricken world.

I hereby put into your hands, Mr. Prime Minister, my empty but still significant title of "President of the Pan-African Congress," to be bestowed on my duly-elected successor who will preside over a Pan-African Congress due, I trust, to meet soon and for the first time on African soil, at the call of the independent state of Ghana.

W.E.B. Du Bois

A GEORGIA OFFENSE: MIXED POPCORN EATING

Nightriders fire on Koinonia Farm as interracial settlement battles boycott

By Eugene Gordon

KOINONIA FARM, under harassment by racists (GUARDIAN, Feb. 25), is not only beginning to feel a tightening of the economic screws, but is now under armed attack. The 14-year-old 1,100-acre interracial cooperative near Americus, Ga., reported in a recent newsletter that a wholesale hardware company, a mechanic's shop, and a livestock barn have been frightened into joining a boycott against it. Night-riders have fired on the settlement recently.

NIGHT IN THE COUNTRY: An earlier newsletter described the Jan. 14 destruction of the community's Roadside Market by dynamite. Up to that time there had been no special attempt on anybody's life. But the latest newsletter reports:

"The first effort [to kill] came at 1:15 a.m. on Jan. 29, when a speeding car raked the residence nearest the highway with what seemed to be machine-gun fire. A burst was also fired at the car in which [cooperative member] Harry Atkinson was sitting as he kept watch that night. One bullet entered the car on a level with Harry's head, about a foot and a half to the right. Harry isn't too sure of what happened after that, because he thinks he ducked so hard that his head got caught between the clutch and the brake pedals."

As he ducked, there was a burst at the house in which several people were sleeping.

THE POPCORN SCANDAL: Shortly after nine three nights later "two cars came from the direction of Americus and opened fire with shotguns." A volley blasted the cluster of residences. Stray pellets rained about children playing on a lighted volley-ball court. One shot pierced the window of a house, barely missing a young girl. Sheriff Fred Chappell reckoned that one to be a .22 rifle bullet.

Complaints of Chappell's seeming unconcern with these attacks include the charge that he neglected to respond to an emergency call from Koinonia. Instead of denying it, he gave it credence by indicating that he shared the attackers' viewpoint. One news story quoted Chappell:

"We get reports of whites and Negroes strolling down the street together in Americus. One report said a white girl and two Negro boys walked down the street all eating popcorn out of the same bag."

OR WAS IT PEANUTS? The voluntary, uninhibited social contact of white members with Negro members, arising from their working and living side by side—that seems to be the ghost which never-endingly haunts neighboring white-supremacists. As the sheriff's statement implied, the horror is most aptly symbolized in terms of Negro male-white female relations: very bad when the male is a boy; much worse when he is a man.

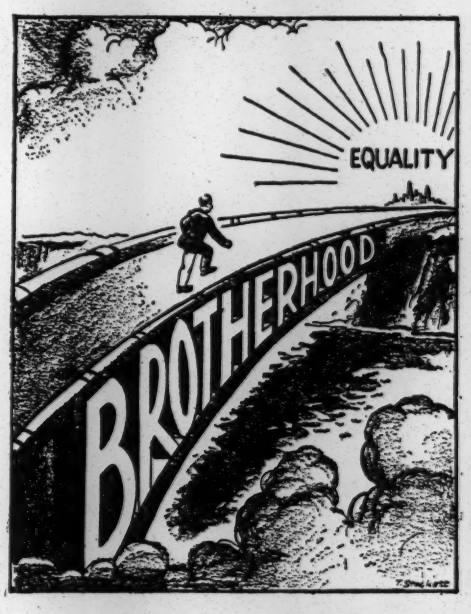
A **Newsweek** report on Koinonia Farm probably relates to the incident reported by Sheriff Chappell:

"Local feeling was summed up by Charles F. Crisp, president of the Americus Bank of Commerce . . . 'But when they deliberately tried to upset our equilibrium by having a white girl and a Negro man walk down the street side by side, eating peanuts out of the same bag—it was a calculated affront . . .'"

Clarence L. Jordan, a 44-year-old Southern Baptist minister and a co-founder of Koinonia, said "the trouble" complained of by the sheriff and the bank president is not always easy to avoid.

He cited an example: "Say our kids are going into town to get [medical] shots. Are we going to run a car in to get white kids shots and then come back and make another trip for the Negro kids? They say: 'They came in to flout our traditions.' We didn't. We came in to get the shots."

THE KKK WAY: Koinonia Farm work-coordinator Norman Long reported last week that, following an Americus fairgrounds rally, a KKK motorcade of 150 robed but unmasked Kluxers had driven into the interracial community. The leader suggested that the way to end the



Stockett in Baltimore Afro-American
The only bridge to universal peace

shootings, the house- and cross-burnings and the bombings would be to sell out.

Long said: "We told them that there was another way of life, the American way, which gives us all the freedom to live according to our consciences and that we were trying to practice that way of life by staying here. We told the Klan that there's no freedom in being allowed to live as everybody else lives; that there's freedom only if you're allowed to be different."

from DÉMOCRATIE Nouvelle, July 1957

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Qui est le Dr N'Krumah ?

par WILLIAM E.B. DU BOIS

Les pages que nous publions ci-après ont paru dans le numéro de mai de la revue culturelle nord-américaine Mainstream. *Elles constituent un éloge chaleureux de la personnalité et de l'action du Premier ministre du Ghana (anciennement Côte de l'Or anglaise), Etat africain promu à l'indépendance politique le 6 mars dernier (1).*

Sans doute pourrait-on faire des réserves quant au rôle qu'est appelé à jouer le Dr N'Krumah, dont on a dit qu'il était « un Washington noir » ou qu'il voulait être « le Nehru du continent noir ». N'Krumah déclare que le Ghana doit demeurer dans le giron du Commonwealth britannique. Il aura une partie difficile à jouer, car les monopoles anglais ont conservé au Ghana des privilèges économiques, et ceux des Etats-Unis intriguent de leur mieux pour s'y ménager des positions dominantes sous couleur d'aide technique ou financière.

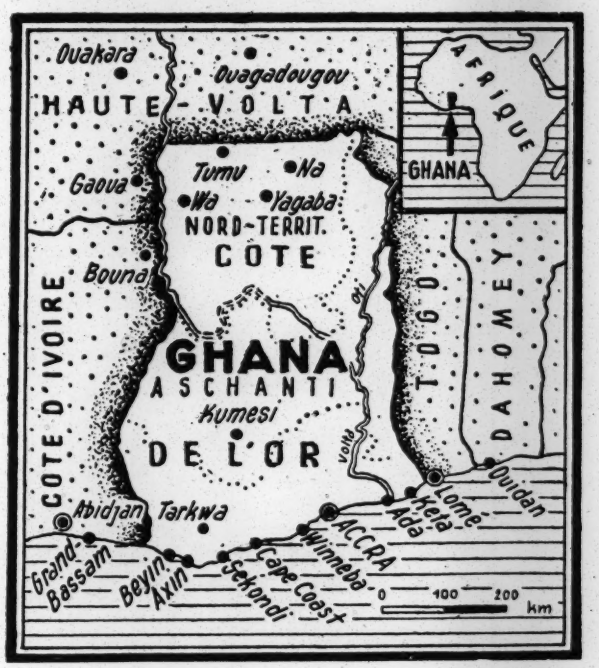
Mais il est incontestable que le nouveau chef d'Etat a lutté courageusement pour l'indépendance de son pays, qu'il y jouit d'une immense influence et que les résultats obtenus par le peuple de l'ex-colonie de la Couronne, sous sa direction, exercent sur tous les noirs d'Afrique et d'Amérique un puissant attrait, une sorte de fascination.

C'est ce qui provoque l'enthousiasme du vieux lutteur noir d'Amérique qui a consacré sa vie — une longue vie, car il est âgé de près de 90 ans — à l'émancipation de ses frères de couleur en même temps qu'à la cause de la paix du monde. Le professeur William E.B. du Bois jouit d'un grand renom dans le monde scientifique, comme anthropologiste-sociologue. Il fonda en 1909 l'Association nationale pour le progrès des peuples noirs (N.A.A.C.P.) et dirigea sa revue jusqu'en 1933. Il fut un temps vice-président du « Conseil pour les questions africaines ».

Ses efforts inlassables en faveur de la démocratie et de la paix lui ont naturellement valu la haine des impérialistes yankees, à laquelle il opposa toujours une attitude d'une admirable dignité et un grand courage personnel. Candidat progressiste au Sénat pour l'Etat de New-York en 1950, il tint tête à une campagne raciste forcenée et obtint 200.000 voix. Peu après, la « justice » fédérale le poursuivait pour ne pas s'être fait enregistrer comme agent étranger (!) : il était en effet coupable d'avoir été l'un des animateurs du Centre d'information pour la paix, que les fauteurs de guerre classaient parmi les organisations rouges d'inspiration soviétique. W.E. du Bois fut à cette occasion traité comme un criminel de droit commun. Devant ses juges il revendiqua hautement « le droit de parler en faveur de la paix ».

On comprend que le vétéran de tant de luttes pour la liberté ait été rempli de joie intense par l'accession de la Côte de l'Or à la souveraineté. D'autant plus que le Ghana est aujourd'hui un pôle d'attraction pour toute l'Afrique noire, en même temps qu'un sujet de profond souci pour les colonialistes. Le Figaro *écrivait à ce propos le 25 mai dernier :* « Au moment où s'ouvre à Londres une conférence africaine qui pourrait mener rapidement à l'indépendance du Nigéria, l'attitude du docteur N'Krumah au Ghana n'est pas sans susciter outre-Manche des inquiétudes assez nettes... Les mêmes observateurs voient enfin, assez bien, le docteur N'Krumah convoquer à brève échéance une conférence des Etats africains indépendants et prendre la tête d'un mou-

(1) Voir la chronique du n° d'avril 1957 de *Démocratie Nouvelle* et l'article de Maurice Bourjol, n° de février 1955.



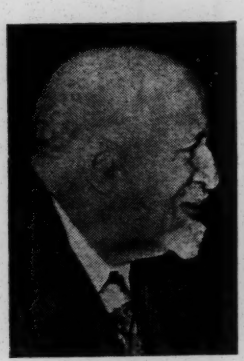
vement dont l'objet serait d'encourager la constitution de l'Ouest africain en un bloc indépendant... Il est bien évident que ces tendances, si elles devaient se confirmer, comporteraient pour la France de sérieux inconvénients en Afrique noire. »

La conférence de Londres dont il est question réunit les trois premiers ministres des régions du Nigéria et les représentants du gouvernement britannique. Le Nigéria est la plus grande des dernières colonies anglaises, elle compte plus de 33 millions d'habitants (1).

L'aspiration générale à l'indépendance y a refoulé à l'arrière-plan les intérêts régionaux limités ; à l'appel du Dr Azikiwe, et appuyés par un vote unanime de l'Assemblée fédérale, les trois premiers ministres se sont entendus avant de partir pour Londres sur la revendication populaire commune : indépendance totale du Nigéria en 1959.

Les profiteurs anglais et français de la colonisation ne cachent pas leurs alarmes considérablement accrues depuis que N'Krumah s'est installé dans la résidence traditionnelle du gouverneur à Accra, qu'il a remplacé le God Save the King *par un hymne national nigérien et qu'il envisage un échange de missions diplomatiques avec l'Union soviétique. Autant d'insolences inimaginables encore ces dernières années, qui soulèvent un grand enthousiasme dans toute l'Afrique et encouragent le développement du mouvement de libération nationale à travers le continent. Sans vouloir préjuger de la mesure dans laquelle le Dr N'Krumah œuvrera à réaliser ses rêves que nous fait connaître W.E. du Bois, on peut être certain que ce dernier a raison d'exalter l'exemple contagieux du Ghana.*

(1) Voir l'article « Nigéria en mouvement », *Démocratie Nouvelle* de novembre 1955.



QUAND on se rappelle le mépris insultant que la civilisation blanche, sa littérature, son église, ses universités ont fait planer comme une malédiction sur le peuple noir pendant plus de 400 ans — sans parler de l'esclavage, de la ségrégation, du lynch, il est assez extraordinaire de lire dans cette biographie, la vie limpide d'un homme qui, après avoir connu les pires calamités de cette sombre époque se trouve maintenant à la tête d'une nation, tandis que tous les pays du monde viennent lui rendre hommage.

Le territoire du Ghana n'est pas très vaste, pas plus que l'Angleterre. Mais ses 9 millions d'habitants forcent l'attention par leur importance économique, leur unité culturelle et leur *joie de vivre* (1). C'est un pays qui a connu l'oppression depuis le jour où cette canaille de John Hankins vint en reconnaître les côtes, sur son bateau « le Jésus », et captura des esclaves qui lui valurent d'être fait chevalier par la reine Elisabeth, jusqu'à celui où, après 6 guerres, étalées sur plus de 90 ans, l'Angleterre, non contente de s'emparer du grand Etat d'Ashanti, humilia le roi en exigeant qu'il vint baiser le pied du nouveau gouverneur blanc.

Aux Etats-Unis

VENONS-EN à Nkrumah. D'origine modeste, il fait ses études dans des écoles de missionnaires puis au collège gouvernemental à Achimota, sous la direction de Kweqyir Aggrey, un professeur africain formé aux U.S.A. et qui l'engage à aller continuer ses études en Amérique. Grâce aux lettres de recommandation d'un chef noir qui avait participé au premier congrès pan-africain, puis convoqué un congrès du même type au Nigéria, il est admis dans un établissement noir des environs de Philadelphie, la *Lincoln University*.

Les dix ans qu'il passe en Amérique lui donnent l'occasion d'apprendre ce que c'est d'avoir la peau noire « au pays des hommes libres ». Comme il manque d'argent, il cherche du travail pendant les vacances. Il gagne trop peu à vendre du poisson à Harlem. Alors il accepte de travailler dans une fabrique de savon.

« *C'était en fait le travail le plus répugnant que j'ai jamais fait. Les camions venaient décharger dans une cour d'énormes paquets de gras d'animal et d'entrailles pourries. Armé d'une louche je devais remplir de cette marchandise infecte une pleine brouette, puis la transporter jusqu'aux machines et recommencer. Bien loin de m'y habituer, j'éprouvais de jour en jour une difficulté croissante à ne pas vomir sans arrêt* ».

Il fut aussi garçon de café et plongeur. Plus d'une fois il dut dormir à la belle étoile, dans un parc. Il mangeait pour pas cher dans les restaurants de « Father Divine ». Un jour à Baltimore il osa demander un verre d'eau à un garçon de café, un blanc qui, du doigt lui montra le crachoir.

En plus de cette activité extra-universitaire, il travaillait avec acharnement. En 1939, il obtint son premier diplôme à la *Lincoln University* et fut élu « l'élève le plus intéressant » de sa promotion. Il aurait voulu entrer dans une école de journalisme à Columbia, mais il était sans le sou et les « missionnaires » en profitèrent naturellement pour essayer de l'orienter vers le Ministère : il suivit à la fois les cours de la *Lincoln University* (Faculté de théologie) et ceux de l'Université de Pensylvanie, à 50 miles de là.

En 1942 licence de théologie à Lincoln et licence d'enseignement à l'Université. L'année suivante

(1) En français dans le texte.

il est diplômé de philosophie. Il ne lui reste plus qu'à rédiger une thèse pour passer docteur. Mais déjà il se passionne pour l'avenir de l'Afrique occidentale et il élabore plusieurs des projets qu'il réalise aujourd'hui. Il a de nombreux contacts avec les autres étudiants africains. Il donne des cours et même quelques conférences.

Mais il faut vivre : « *Je travaillais par tous les temps, dans un chantier naval de Chester, de minuit à huit heures du matin. Parfois il faisait si froid que j'avais du mal à décoller mes mains de l'acier et j'avais beau porter sur moi tous les vêtements que je possédais, j'étais glacé jusqu'à la moëlle. A huit heures du matin je rentrai dans ma chambre, et après avoir déjeuné et dormi quelques heures, je me plongeais dans la rédaction de ma thèse* ».

Bien entendu la pneumonie ne se fait pas attendre. Aussitôt rétabli, en mai 1945, il quitte New-York pour Londres. C'est en octobre 1945 que je vis Kwame Nkrumah pour la première fois, à Manchester où se tenait le 5e congrès panafricain. Il y avait près de 200 délégués et il faisait partie d'un groupe de jeunes Africains qui revenaient d'un congrès syndical à Paris. Je n'eus pas vraiment l'occasion de le connaître. Il était tout à son travail d'organisation, un peu miteux, et pas bavard. Cependant je fus frappé de sa sincérité et je gardai un souvenir très vif de son intelligence. Nous avions un ami commun en George Padmore, le brillant animateur de ce congrès.

A la tête de la lutte contre le colonialisme

DEVENU secrétaire au secrétariat national d'Afrique occidentale pour qui il éditait une revue, Nkrumah passa deux ans à Londres. Il tenta d'y organiser les travailleurs noirs et d'établir des liens étroits avec les dirigeants du parti travailliste. Il assista à plusieurs meetings du Parti communiste. Mais sa foi dans le travaillisme anglais s'évanouit rapidement : ce n'est pas d'Europe qu'on pourrait diriger l'Afrique. En novembre 1947 Nkrumah quittait Liverpool pour rejoindre la Côte de l'Or, après avoir été retenu quelque temps par les autorités, en raison de son activité politique à Londres.

Au moment de son retour en Afrique occidentale, le système si longtemps vanté en Angleterre de la « gestion indirecte » par l'intermédiaire des chefs de tribu africains commençait à se disloquer. Les chefs n'étaient plus que des mercenaires aux mains des fonctionnaires anglais et après les deux grandes guerres mondiales, le peuple de la Côte de l'Or commençait à renier ses chefs traditionnels et à exiger son indépendance. Conscientes de la faiblesse d'un pays où régnaient la pauvreté, l'ignorance, la maladie, les masses l'étaient aussi de leur force et de la valeur du cacao et des autres produits qui s'en allaient enrichir les Blancs en Europe. Mais elles restaient divisées par les jalousies séculaires entre tribus et les querelles traditionnelles entre chefs dont la noblesse remontait parfois à plusieurs générations. Nkrumah décida de négliger les chefs noirs aussi bien que les souverains britanniques pour s'adresser aux masses qui jusqu'ici n'avaient jamais vraiment participé au pouvoir. *La Convention pour l'Unité de la Côte de l'Or* fut conçue comme une organisation neutre de dirigeants.

Mais Nkrumah sentit bientôt la nécessité d'une véritable orientation politique et il mit sur pied le *Parti de la Convention du Peuple* qui exigeait l'indépendance immédiate. Il s'affirma ouvertement socialiste comme il le fait à nouveau dans son livre. Son plan, tel qu'il l'exposait dans « Le Cercle », prévoit la constitution d'une avant-garde révolutionnaire luttant pour l'unité de l'Afrique occidentale et son indépendance. Le P.C.P. eut bientôt des ramifications dans chaque village sur tout le territoire de la Côte de l'Or. Des organismes sociaux couvrant toutes sortes d'activités d'intérêt public, y furent incorporés, il y eut un siège social, des journaux et de nombreux meetings populaires furent organisés.

Alors un incident que Nkrumah avait espéré éviter, vint combler les vœux des autorités britanniques : des démobilisés organisèrent un

boycott contre la vie chère, et la police tira sur de paisibles manifestants. La ville tout entière d'Accra fut bientôt aux mains des émeutiers qui pillaient les magasins et attaquaient les blancs dans la rue. Immédiatement Nkrumah et ses proches collaborateurs qui, loin d'être les instigateurs de ce soulèvement, l'auraient vivement déconseillés, furent arrêtés. En fait c'était un mouvement spontané et strictement incontrôlable mais il fournissait au gouvernement un prétexte admirable. Nkrumah avait sur lui un exemplaire du « *Cercle* » prévoyant la socialisation du pays ; on lui rappela son activité politique à Londres et, taxé de communisme, il dut rester en prison pendant huit semaines. Plusieurs de ses camarades le trahirent. Enfin il fut jugé et condamné à 3 ans de prison.

Mais dehors, le parti tenait bon. Il en était à son quinzième mois de prison quand les élections eurent lieu. Nkrumah, élu avec 22.780 voix sur 23.122 votants, fut relâché et porté en triomphe par une foule immense jusqu'au siège de son parti. Devenu ministre des Affaires économiques, il s'attaqua à diverses réformes : refonte de l'administration, intégration de fonctionnaires noirs, réorganisation du marché officiel du cacao et de l'abattage des arbres malades. Enfin il chercha à susciter les investissements étrangers et à promouvoir l'expansion industrielle.

Cela n'était pas facile, car il se heurtait à l'opposition des fonctionnaires anglais, des chefs noirs et des producteurs de cacao eux-mêmes qui restaient attachés aux privilèges traditionnels des chefs de tribu. Sans relâche, Nkrumah pressait les Anglais de fixer une date précise pour l'indépendance de Ghana, tandis que ceux-ci s'efforçaient d'enterrer ou de mutiler le projet. Ils finirent par exiger de nouvelles élections avant la fin de la session parlementaire en cours, persuadés par les aigris que Nkrumah subirait une défaite écrasante. Contrairement à leur attente, Nkrumah accepta ce « test ». Son parti obtint 72 sièges sur 104. Nkrumah devient premier ministre et le 6 mars l'indépendance de Ghana est proclamée.

Des problèmes à résoudre

ET maintenant ? Une nation si jeune et de 9 millions d'habitants n'a généralement pas grande importance dans le monde moderne — si ce n'est comme butin possible pour les grandes puissances. Mais l'Etat de Ghana constitue une exception : car il fournit la quasi totalité du cacao et du chocolat mondial. Le gouvernement contrôle plus de 20.000 km2 de feuillus. La pêche rapporte chaque année 20.000 tonnes de poisson, et un plan de modernisation des bateaux de pêche vient d'être élaboré. Ghana possède aussi d'énormes gisements de bauxite sans parler du manganèse, de l'or et des diamants. Récemment doté d'un système d'éducation populaire en pleine expansion il peut compter sur l'honnêteté, le courage et l'intelligence de son chef qui connaît bien le monde moderne.

Restent trois problèmes essentiels que Nkrumah doit résoudre : 1°) l'unité de Ghana, par l'intégration des chefs de tribu et de la population musulmane qui vit dans le nord du pays.

2°) Réaliser l'industrialisation afin de se dégager de l'exploitation étrangère. Déjà Nkrumah s'est heurté aux compagnies minières qui, obtenant des concessions à bas prix et des avantages fiscaux disproportionnés réalisaient d'énormes bénéfices, tout en payant des salaires dérisoires ; les éliminer sans délai comme elles le méritent ? Oui, mais où trouver le capital nécessaire à l'exploitation de la bauxite et à la fabrication de l'aluminium ? Où trouver les fonds indispensables à l'aménagement énergétique de la Volta ?

Nkrumah sans prendre aucun engagement a fait preuve d'une réserve prudente : ne pas effaroucher les éventuels bailleurs de fonds, ne pas leur promettre de profits démesurés. S'il peut obtenir des capitaux à des conditions raisonnables, il les accueillera avec joie et leur offrira toute garantie. Déjà il s'efforce de mettre un frein à l'avidité des sociétés minières ; le transport et la vente du cacao ont été nationalisés, ainsi que l'entretien et le renouvellement des plants (1). Sous le contrôle du gouvernement l'industrialisation a pris un bon départ dans les petites industries : savon, allumettes, cigarettes et scieries... Imaginez Ghana traitant seul son cacao !

Troisième problème, et bien plus vaste, encore : Nkrumah a l'intention d'aborder de front et de résoudre la question plus générale de la situation et du sort de l'Afrique noire dans la civilisation moderne. Il se propose de donner suite au programme pan-africain élaboré en 1919 sous l'impulsion des Noirs d'Amérique. Et pour cela Ghana occupe une position-clé.

Nkrumah a l'intention, et cela sera l'un des premiers actes de son nouvel Etat, d'inviter les dirigeants nationalistes à tenir un congrès sur la situation et l'avenir de l'Afrique. L'indépendance, dit-il dans le dernier chapitre de son livre, ne sera pas limitée au territoire de Ghana :

« Désormais le nationalisme pan-africain et l'idéologie politique reposant sur la prise de conscience et l'émancipation politiques de l'Afrique doivent se répandre par tout le continent, et en pénétrer les moindres recoins. Jamais je n'ai considéré l'indépendance de Ghana comme un objectif isolé ; j'y ai toujours pensé comme à un aspect d'une évolution générale à l'échelle du monde. L'un après l'autre, les pays de notre immense Afrique se réveillent et la lutte pour sa liberté continue. Nous constituons une avant-garde dont le devoir est d'aider de toutes nos forces ceux qui sont engagés dans une lutte identique à celle qui nous a déjà menés à la victoire. »

(1) En effet les plants restent propriété paysanne.

WE REMEMBER HIM FOR HIS CHARACTER

By W. E. B. DuBOIS

This tribute to James W. Ford, Negro Communist leader, who died June 21, was read by the famous Negro historian and sociologist, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, at a memorial meeting June 25 attended by several hundred persons.

* * *

James Ford was a man to be remembered for his character. That is a word which we do not use often today. We speak of what a man has done or what he possesses. We relate what positions of influence he has occupied. For none of these things are we remembering James Ford tonight. He was, to be sure, a good citizen. He worked for a living. He served as a soldier. He obeyed the law.

But it was not so much what he did as how he did it and why. It was for the kind of human being he was rather than what he accomplished that we honor him tonight, because it is the doer rather than the deed that makes civilization. Massive and magnificent as the building may be, it is the soul and sight of the architect which spells its meaning. The doer transcends the deed and this great truth the world in each age must learn anew.

James Ford was honest; he had manners; he respected women. He could and did work and he was a straightforward radical.

JAMES W. FORD

Let us examine this list of virtues. When James Ford talked, he said what he meant. His words did not have two meanings, and you could believe in his honesty. He might be wrong, but he was honestly wrong. He was a man of good manners. He was neither loud nor rude, but courteous and dignified. He regarded women neither as playthings to be pawed over, nor beasts of burden, but as co-workers with whom he did his share of work. He was a man who did an honest job of work, toiling long and thoroughly until the end.

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HE WAS a radical; not one who cursed and complained, but one who believed that this nation needed fundamental change and could get it by clear thinking and right voting. The child of a Negro artisan and a servant, he knew poverty and worked hard for an education, interrupted it to fight as a soldier in the First World War, and completed his education after an honorable discharge from the ranks. He became a socialist because he believed that the object of industry was the welfare of the mass of the people and not the wealth of the few.

He became a member of the Communist Party because he believed that its program of complete socialism was better than any plan of partial or gradual socialism. He became a candidate for the Vice-Presidency on the Communist ticket and campaigned on a platform of peace and reason, leading by open democratic processes to change in our form of economic organization.

He and his party failed, not because he was outvoted, but because the nation never had the opportunity to know what the object of Communism was nor what it had accomplished in the Soviet Union or China. Nor could Americans know the advance which socialism had made and is making all over the civilized world. In addition to a totally false picture of the socialist world and a terrible memory of war, there was added a charge of planned murder and treason against Communist leaders, which led to imprisonment of men for what they were said to think and for nothing they ever did.

Through this time of disappointment and despair, James Ford walked calm and upright, insisting on his beliefs and still expressing his determination to work for a radical reform of this nation.

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ON THE fundamental proposition which the Socialists and Communists placed before the nation, the people of the United States never voted, and never had a chance to vote. We went into the First World War after an overwhelming vote for peace. We fought the Second World War side by side with the Communist Soviet Union who conquered Hitler for us. We went into the Korean War against China without any vote at all. Yet we call this a free democracy of the west.

During this time, James Ford went his quiet, courteous way, stating his beliefs and reiterating his platform. There was little he or any radical could do amid cowardice and silence, surrounded by spies and liars. But what Ford did he did openly and clearly, and especially he tried to allay panic and surrender among his own comrades.

His last work was to arouse American Negroes to a realization of what their African cousins were doing to build Socialist states. To this man, our deep appreciation and reverence.

On the Way

percent of the population—is the fact that the daily **Detroit Times** on Monday, June 24, published a special souvenir edition expressly for the convention. Four entire

BOOKS

DR. DUBOIS AT 90 OFFERS A PIECE OF ADVICE

To an American born last Christmas Day

On March 2 the Grand Ballroom of New York's Roosevelt Hotel was filled to overflowing with more than 1,000 guests at the 90th birthday party of Dr. W. E.B. DuBois. Friends who hadn't seen each other for five or ten years exchanged excited greetings. There were familiar faces from Jersey, Philadelphia, Wilmington, Baltimore and Washington, D.C. The greetings came from all parts of the world. One observer said: "It takes Dr. DuBois to bring out the best in us."

Author Truman Nelson paid glowing tribute to "this Country's First Citizen." Dr. John Hope Franklin, head of the Brooklyn College History Dept., acknowledged the debt he and other scholars owe to Dr. DuBois. He announced that, in partial fulfillment of their obligation, the DuBois Lectures are being established at Fisk University. Former N.Y. Domestic Relations Court Justice Hubert T. Delany presented a handsome, leather-bound book of greetings signed by the guests; and a handsome check to help enable Dr. DuBois to continue his work. Mrs. Eslanda Robeson, who with Angus Cameron headed the Birthday Committee, presided with great charm.

Through all of this the youngest of all the guests reclined in his mother's arms. He uttered not a word, but took in the proceedings with more than casual interest. A grand party came to a perfect end as the oldest of persons present addressed the following words to the youngest:

THE MOST DISTINGUISHED guest of this festive occasion is none other than my great-grandson, Arthur Edward McFarlane II, who was born this last Christmas day. He has kindly consented to permit me to read to you a bit of advice which, as he remarked with a sigh of resignation, great-grandparents are supposed usually to inflict on the helpless young. This then is my word of advice.

As men go, I have had a reasonably happy and successful life. I have had enough to eat and drink, have been suitably clothed and, as you see, have had many friends. But the thing which has been the secret of whatever I have done is the fact that I have been able to earn a living by doing the work which I wanted to do and that work was what the world needed done.

I want to stress this. You will soon learn, my dear young man, that most human beings spend their lives doing work which they hate and work which the world does not need. It is therefore of prime importance that you early learn what you want to do; how you are fit to do it and whether or not the world needs this service.

Here, in the next 20 years, your parents can be of use to you. You will soon begin to wonder just what parents are for besides interfering with your natural wishes. Let me therefore tell you: parents and their parents are inflicted upon you in order to show what

kind of person you are, what sort of world you live in and what the persons who dwell here need for their happiness and well-being.

IT WAS MY UNUSUAL good fortune in the first 25 years of my life to learn by effort and hard competition just what I could do; then to get a fairly good idea of what the world was in which I must work. In these years I had seen the United States, North and South; I had lived in England, France, Germany and Italy; I had listened to the advice of some of the world's greatest minds and I had heard from the lips of human beings just what their problems were. Beside this, I had seen the Atlantic Ocean, the high Alps at Berne, the Venus of Milo and the Sistine Madonna.

Then I came home prepared to work. It was then, in the summer of 1892, 66 years ago, that I made a quite unconscious choice: I chose to begin my life work for the pleasure of doing it and the need of its being done and not for the money I was going to be paid for doing it. This was no great and advertised occasion; I asked no advice and none was proffered. I chose without hesitancy or question.

It was in this wise: after borrowing money to pay for postage stamps, I wrote the nation and offered my services. The response was slow and unenthusiastic. But at last three offers came. Wilberforce, a Negro college in Ohio, offered me $750 a year as a teacher. A state school in Missouri offered me $1,050.

I WENT TO WILBERFORCE not because of any martyr complex but because I knew something about Wilberforce. I knew that in 1787, when this nation was declaring all men equal, two black men were on their knees praying to God in the fashionable church of St. George's in Philadelphia. While St. George's was glad to see Negroes practice the true religion, they did not like them to clutter up the aisles of this church and to assail God with such vehemence. Two deacons therefore approached these black men and whispered gently that it would be more seemly if they would finish their prayers in the balcony. The balcony was much nearer heaven than the main floor.

But these Negroes were stubborn. They said, "No, we are going to finish our prayers right here and now. Then we are going to get up and leave this church and we are never coming back." So one of these men, Richard Allen, left the white Methodist church and founded the African Methodist Episcopal church which today is one of the largest Negro organizations in the world.

And one of Allen's successors, Bishop Daniel Payne, bought a site in Southern Ohio and founded a college called Wilberforce. And Wilberforce in 1892 offered me a job teaching which I hastened to accept because at Wilberforce I planned to develop a university like the University of Berlin for the uplift of the Negro race in America.

QUITE INCIDENTALLY, Wilberforce offered me enough to live on during this work. The fact that the Missouri state school offered me $300 more seemed to me of no importance.

Right here, my esteemed great-grandson, may I ask you to stick a pin. You will find it the fashion in the America where eventually you will live and work to judge that life's work by the amount of money it brings you. This is a grave mistake.

The return from your work must be the satisfaction which that work brings you and the world's need of that work. With this, life is heaven or as near heaven as you can get. Without this—with work which you despise, which bores you and which the world does not need—this life is hell. And believe me, many a $25,000-a-year executive is living in just such a hell today.

Income is not greenbacks, it is satisfaction; it is creation; it is beauty. It is the supreme sense of a world of men going forward, lurch and stagger though it may, but slowly, inevitably going forward, and you, you yourself with your hand on the wheels. Make this choice then, my son. Never hesitate, never falter.

AND NOW COMES the word of warning: the satisfaction with your work even at best will never be complete, since nothing on earth can be perfect. The forward pace of the world which you are pushing will be painfully slow. But what of that: the difference between a hundred and a thousand years is less than you now think. But doing what must be done, that is eternal even when it walks with poverty.

And I care not to garner while others
Know only to harvest and reap.
For mine is the reaping of sowing
Till the spirit of rest gives me sleep.

REVOLT IN PARLIAMENT TOO

Labor's 'Daily Herald' joins British drive to ban A-bomb

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

A WEEK AFTER THE RALLY launching the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (GUARDIAN, 3/3), London's **Daily Herald** caused a first-class political sensation by hopping on the CND bandwagon. The clean break with H-bomb "defense" policy, to which the Labor Party committed Britain when it was in power, was particularly startling in a paper long regarded as the organ of Labor's Right-wing.

Coming out in three scare-headlined editorials for unilateral nuclear disarmament as "A Policy for Staying Alive," the **Herald** after years of sagging circulation suddenly could not meet the demand for copies. From Laborites came two letters to the paper: 69 MP's, including some Right-wingers, supported the **Herald's** opposition to U.S. nuclear rocket bases here under any circumstances. Party secy. Morgan Phillips, recalling assurances that the **Herald** would remain "loyal" after the party relinquished its part-ownership last year, expressed the leaders' "profound disturbance." He accused the paper of appearing to "undermine the party," and to "interfere in private discussion between the party and the Trades Union Congress" on a defense-policy statement.

ALREADY NAKED: Repudiating either pacifism or neutrality, the **Herald** asked for "the pressure of the people—your pressure" to stop Britain in moving any further "along the road to a nuclear hell." It said: "If war starts we shall be exterminated. . . . Britain is already naked; it is an illusion to imagine H-bombs can clothe us in garments of safety or prestige; they can merely bankrupt us. . . . One of the three nuclear Powers must have the courage to break through the fear that petrifies East and West alike. . . . **Somebody** must start, so let **us** start —and blazon our actions across the world." Just before and just after the **Herald's** triple salvo, it was learned that the U.S.S.R. had set off three more nuclear test explosions.

The paper's unexpected stand came after Tory Defense Minister Sandys announced signing of the agreement for an unspecified number of U.S. rocket bases in Britain. On that evening the House of Commons lobby, as during the Suez incident, was filled with hundreds of protesting citizens.

Premier Macmillan, admitting that 80% of the voters in a recent by-election opposed H-bomb policies, said they must be educated to understand the truth. Then defense policy was "debated" through two soporific days in which the nation-wide alarm barely penetrated into a half-empty House.

THE AIM OF DEFENSE: On the government's policy of nuclear reprisals even for non-nuclear "aggression," Labor defense spokesman George Brown "was more vague than the White Paper which he criticized for ambiguity" (**Manchester Guardian**).

Meanwhile the Liberal Party came out officially for British abandonment of nuclear weapons "if their manufacture, testing and use cannot be stopped" everywhere. The **Times** was well to the left of the Labor leadership in endorsing the view that, "if Mr. Sandys really means what he said, he should make way for someone who realizes that the aim of defense is to defend us, not to destroy us."

A veteran Labor MP commented after the debate that Brown and party leader Gaitskell seemed to have "nailed their colors to the H-bomb, and left themselves no escape hatch as Gaitskell did after his first speech on Suez and the rank-and-file reaction against it. There is going to be a showdown between those in our party who want the H-bomb and don't want socialism, and those who want socialism and not the bomb." Many Laborites thought the crisis might blow up into an irresistible demand for a change in party leadership. This would presumably mean the leadership passing to Bevan, who is playing his cards very close to the chest.

THE PROSPECTS: While it is the fast-snowballing demand for a British lead in nuclear disarmament that has brought the Labor Party crisis to a head, discontent on other issues has powerfully contributed to it. These include rising living costs and wage-freezes and unemployment, and above all the decontrolling of rents which, next October, may lead to pitched battles between police and thousands of tenants marked for eviction. On rent decontrol even a score of Tory back-benchers are expressing "urgent concern" to Macmillan.

Labor's rank and file are disgusted by their leader's feeble opposition on all these issues. But it is becoming daily clearer that, except in the most solid Tory areas, candidates of whatever party favoring Britain's continued nuclear armament stand a poor chance of election. And a general election is now not far off.

Sunday Pictorial, London

" . . . And not a word to the neighbors."

March 3, 1959
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PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

Answers to Some Questions About the People's Communes

By the First Secretary of the Kwangtung Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in an interview with Hongkong and Macao newspapermen (p. 6).

Chemical Industry: Big Advance

The achievements of China's chemical industry (p. 10).

China and Africa

A speech by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois at Peking University (p. 11).

Weather Men on the Farms

A new trend in China's meteorological service (p. 16).

Chinese Warning on South Viet-nam Intrusions

Chinese Press Opinion, Sidelights and Other Features

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

COMING SHORTLY

SELECTED WORKS OF LU HSUN

(Vol. Three)

This volume contains ninety-eight of Lu Hsun's essays written during the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-36). They deal with key events in the life and struggles of the Chinese people during this period and reflect important developments in the outlook and thinking of the author.

Lu Hsun's essays have a style all their own. They epitomize his life-long struggle as a thinker and fighter, and the main events in China during the democratic revolution. Although many of his works have been translated, this is the first published selection of English translations of his essays from the above period.

Annals of a Provincial Town

by KAO YUN-LAN

Part of Fukien Province, including Amoy, was occupied by the Japanese forces during their 1937-1945 invasion of China and those were bitter days for its people. In the countryside, traitor landlords battled to keep their land and power by favour of the invaders. They did not hesitate to betray patriot peasants. In the cities, Japanese *ronin* and Chinese traitors ruled the streets. Selfish merchants traded in Japanese goods. Japanese espionage agencies and Kuomintang reactionaries collaborated in a plot to make Fukien "autonomous." But the people fought back valiantly. *Annals of a Provincial Town* is a story of that struggle, of the workers, fishermen, youth, intellectuals and others who joined together in a broad united front to free Fukien.

A native of the province, Kao Yun-lan knows his hot-blooded Fukienese well and he portrays them vividly in all their colourful, impetuous ways. His humour is deft and sharp, and his treatment of romantic love in the midst of war, delightfully human.

TUNG TSUN-JUI: The Making of a Hero

by TSO LIN

The life story of an outstanding hero of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. To save his comrades' lives and clear the way for the liberation of an enemy-held city, he destroyed a Kuomintang block-house at the cost of his own life. This book, describing the development of his character as a result of the education given him by the Chinese Communist Party, has had a tremendous influence on young people in China.

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put forward by the Chinese Communist Party for the simultaneous development of national and local enterprises, of large, small and medium-sized enterprises, of modern and indigenous methods of production, of combining centralized leadership and mass movements on a broad scale.

Government investments in the industry in 1958 alone nearly equalled those of the entire First Five-Year Plan. In 1953-57, the construction of 33 key chemical plants was undertaken; last year work began on another 53.

Considerable, too, was the output of the small workshops and factories using indigenous methods to make chemical fertilizer, insecticides and other chemicals — which also widely spread technical knowledge and productive skills in the rural areas.

During the spring and summer of last year, Honan Province, as a good example, was energetic in such local manufacture of chemical fertilizers and insecticides. On the average, about 370 *jin* of chemical fertilizers made by them were applied to each *mu* of farm land, which was one of the factors for the abundant Honan harvest.

Many advantages make it feasible to spread small chemical workshops using indigenous methods of production more widely in the rural areas. Not requiring very complex equipment or big investments, they yield almost immediate benefits. The skills involved are easy to learn. The rural people's communes are not only a huge market for fertilizers and insecticides but have the raw materials to make them. Once the workshops are built, sweet potatoes, bran, rice husks and grain stalks can be converted into valuable chemicals. This determines the tremendous potential for chemical industry run by the people's communes.

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Mass Technical Revolution

In modern chemical plants, the mass technical revolution centres on innovations in production techniques, the invention or improvement of equipment, heightening the quality of products, the manufacture of new products and the application of up-to-date science and technology. By such means, the Yungli Plant in Nanking succeeded in raising its daily output of sulphuric acid by 30 per cent and the Talien Chemical Works raised its daily output of pure soda by 90 per cent. A new catalyst for the production of sulphuric acid has proved six times as efficient as the one previously used.

Innovations have greatly speeded capital construction in the industry. Installations in the Lanchow Synthetic Ammonia Plant were completed in only 15 months, more than a year ahead of schedule. Its early commissioning will mean a lot to industry and agriculture. One of its teams installed two large high-pressure compressors in the record time of 18 days. Generally two months to install one compressor would be rated good time.

The primary goals of the chemical industry in 1959 are to increase greatly the production of chemicals and to ensure the prior development of heavy industry, and at the same time to take care of the needs of light industry and, wherever possible, agriculture. In the meantime, both large plants and small and medium-sized factories will be greatly developed in a co-ordinated nationwide scheme.

CHINA AND AFRICA

by W. E. B. DU BOIS

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, noted American Negro scholar, who is now visiting China with his wife, the writer Shirley Graham, addressed more than 1,000 faculty members and students at Peking University on February 23, his 91st birthday. Here we present the full text of his speech. — Ed.

BY courtesy of the government of the 680 million people of the Chinese Republic, I am permitted on my ninety-first birthday to speak to the people of China and Africa and through them to the world. Hail, then, and farewell, dwelling places of the yellow and black races. Hail human kind!

I speak with no authority: no assumption of age nor rank; I hold no position, I have no wealth. One thing alone I own and that is my own soul. Ownership of that I have even while in my own country for near a century I have been nothing but a "nigger." On this basis and this alone I dare speak, I dare advise.

China after long centuries has arisen to her feet and leapt forward. Africa arise, and stand straight, speak and think! Act! Turn from the West and your slavery and humiliation for the last 500 years and face the rising sun. Behold a people, the most populous nation on this ancient earth which has burst its shackles, not by boasting and strutting, not by lying about its history and its conquests, but by patience and long suffering, by hard, backbreaking labour and with bowed head and blind struggle, moved up and on toward the crimson sky. She aims to "make men holy; to make men free." But what men? Not simply the mandarins but including mandarins; not simply the rich, but not excluding the rich. Not simply the learned, but led by knowledge to the end that no man shall be poor, nor sick, nor ignorant; but that the humblest worker as well as the sons of emperors shall be fed and taught and healed and that there emerge on earth a single unified people, free, well and educated.

You have been told, my Africa: My Africa in Africa and all your children's children overseas; you have been told and the telling so beaten into you by rods and whips, that you believe it yourselves, that this is impossible; that mankind can only rise by walking on men; by cheating

Uncle Sam: "Now try wearing this one. It's gilded!"
By Jack Chen

them and killing them; that only on a doormat of the despised and dying, the dead and rotten, can a British aristocracy, a French cultural élite or an American millionaire be nurtured and grown. This is a lie. It is an ancient lie spread by church and state, spread by priest and historian, and believed in by fools and cowards, as well as by the down-trodden and the children of despair.

SPEAK, China, and tell your truth to Africa and the world. What people have been despised as you have? Who more than you have been rejected of men? Recall when lordly Britishers threw the rickshaw money on the ground to avoid touching a filthy hand. Forget not, the time when in Shanghai no Chinaman dare set foot in a park which he paid for. Tell this to Africa, for today Africa stands on new feet, with new eyesight, with new brains and asks: Where am I and why? The Western sirens answer; Britain wheedles; France cajoles; while America, my America, where my ancestors and descendants for eight generations have lived and toiled; America loudest of all, yells and promises freedom. If only Africa allows American investment. Beware Africa, America bargains for your soul. America would have you believe that they freed your grandchildren; that Afro-Americans are full American citizens, treated like equals, paid fair wages as workers, promoted for desert and free to learn and earn and travel across the world. This is not true. Some are near freedom; some approach equality with whites; some have achieved education; but the price for this has too often been slavery of mind, distortion of truth and oppression of our own people. Of 18 million Afro-Americans, 12 million are still second-class citizens of the United States, serfs in farming, low-paid laborers in industry, and repressed members of union labor. Most American Negroes do not vote. Even the rising six million are liable to insult and discrimination at any time.

But this, Africa, relates to your descendants, not to you. Once I thought of you Africans as children, whom we educated Afro-Americans would lead to liberty. I was wrong. We could not even lead ourselves, much less you. Today I see you rising under your own leadership, guided by your own brains.

Africa does not ask alms from China nor from the Soviet Union nor from France, Britain, nor the United States. It asks friendship and sympathy and no nation better than China can offer this to the Dark Continent. Let it be given freely and generously. Let Chinese visit Africa, send their scientists there and their artists and writers. Let Africa send its students to China and its seekers after knowledge. It will not find on earth a richer goal, a more promising mine of information. On the other hand, watch the West. The new British West Indian Federation is not a form of democratic progress but a cunning attempt to reduce these islands to the control of British and American investors. Haiti is dying under rich Haitian investors who with American money are enslaving the peasantry. Cuba is showing what the West Indies, Central and South America are suffering under American Big Business. The American worker himself does not always realize this. He has high wages and many comforts. Rather than lose these, he keeps in office by his vote the servants of industrial exploitation so long as they maintain his wage. His labor leaders represent exploitation and not the fight against the exploitation of labor by private capital. These two sets of exploiters fall out only when one demands too large a share of the loot. This China knows. This Africa must learn. This the American Negro has failed so far to learn. I am frightened by the so-called friends who are flocking to Africa. Negro Americans trying to make money from your toil, white Americans who seek by investment at high interest to bind you in serfdom to business as the Near East is bound and as South America is struggling with. For this America is tempting your leaders, bribing your young scholars, and arming your soldiers. What shall you do?

First, understand! Realize that the great mass of mankind is freeing itself from wage slavery, while private capital in Britain, France, and now in America, is still trying to maintain civilization and comfort for a few on the toil, disease and ignorance of the mass of men. Understand this, and understanding comes from direct knowledge. You know America and France and Britain to your sorrow. Now know the Soviet Union and its allied nations, but particularly know China.

CHINA is flesh of your flesh and blood of your blood. China is coloured and knows to what a coloured skin in this modern world subjects its owner. But China knows more, much more than this: she knows what to do about it. She can take the insults of the United States and still hold her head high. She can make her own machines or go without machines, when America refuses to sell her American manufactures, even though it hurts American industry, and throws her workers out of jobs. China does not need American nor British missionaries to teach her religion and scare her with tales of hell. China has been in hell too long, not to believe in a heaven of her own making. This she is doing.

Come to China, Africa, and look around. Invite Africa to come, China, and see what you can teach just by pointing. Yonder old woman is working on the street. But she is happy. She has no fear. Her children are in

school and a good school. If she is ill, there is a hospital where she is cared for free of charge. She has a vacation with pay each year. She can die and be buried without taxing her family to make some undertaker rich.

Africa can answer: but some of this we have done; our tribes undertake public service like this. Very well, let your tribes continue and expand this work. What Africa must realize is what China knows: that it is worse than stupid to allow a people's education to be under the control of those who seek not the progress of the people but their use as means of making themselves rich and powerful. It is wrong for the University of London to control the University of Ghana. It is wrong for the Catholic church to direct the education of the black Congolese. It was wrong for Protestant churches supported by British and American wealth to control higher education in China. The Soviet Union is surpassing the world in popular and higher education, because from the beginning it started its own complete educational system.

The essence of the revolution in the Soviet Union and China and in all the "iron curtain" nations, is not the violence that accompanied the change: no more than starvation at Valley Forge was the essence of the American revolution against Britain. The real revolution is the acceptance on the part of the nation of the fact that hereafter the main object of the nation is the welfare of the mass of the people and not of a lucky few.

Government is for the people's progress and not for the comfort of an aristocracy. The object of industry is the welfare of the workers and not the wealth of the owners. The object of civilization is the cultural progress of the mass of workers and not merely of an intellectual élite. And in return for all this communist lands believe that the cultivation of the mass of people will discover more talent and genius to serve the state than any closed aristocracy ever furnished. This belief the current history of the Soviet Union and China is proving true each day. Therefore don't let the West invest when you can avoid it. Don't buy capital from Britain, France and the United States if you can get it on reasonable terms from the Soviet Union and China. This is not politics; it is common sense. It is learning from experience. It is trusting your friends and watching your enemies.

Refuse to be cajoled or to change your way of life so as to make a few of your fellows rich at the expense of a mass of workers growing poor and sick and remaining without schools so that a few black men can have automobiles.

Africa, here is a real danger which you must avoid or return to the slavery from which you are emerging. All I ask from you is the courage to know; to look about you and see what is happening in this old and tired world; to realize the extent and depth of its rebirth and the promise which glows on yonder hills.

Visit the Soviet Union and visit China. Let your youth learn the Russian and Chinese languages. Stand together in this new world and let the old world perish in its greed or be born again in new hope and promise. Listen to the Hebrew prophet of communism:

Ho! every one that thirsteth; come ye to the waters; come, buy and eat, without money and without price!

Again, China and Africa, hail and farewell!

Birthday Party in Peking

A gala Chinese-style party to celebrate the 91st birthday of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, the famous American scholar and Negro leader now visiting China with his wife, the writer Shirley Graham, was held at Peking Hotel on February 23. Vice-Premier Chen Yi and other Chinese prominent in many fields of work and Americans in Peking were guests. Scrolls with traditional symbols of longevity decorated the walls. A birthday cake and a bowl of "long life" peaches from Premier Chou En-lai, and candles, flowers and miniature cypress trees stood on the ceremonial table.

Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the China Peace Committee, which, with the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, was co-host at the festivities, congratulated Dr. Du Bois on behalf of the millions who have the deepest love and respect for him. "We see in Dr. Du Bois a worthy representative of the American people with whom we hope very much to maintain peaceful and friendly intercourse," he said.

Describing present-day U.S. imperialism as Enemy Number One of the peace-loving peoples of the world, Kuo Mo-jo paid tribute to the struggle which Dr. Du Bois has waged untiringly for his ideals in a political atmosphere heavy with deceit and tyranny. He greeted Dr. Du Bois' efforts as "a brilliant demonstration of the American people's love for peace and justice.... Countless American and African working people, groaning under the yoke of monopoly capital and racial prejudice, look upon Dr. Du Bois as the standard bearer of their struggle." Kuo Mo-jo wished the famous Negro leader long life, saying: "Spring has come for mankind. Supported by your continued efforts, future developments will further encourage and strengthen the confidence of the peoples of the United States, Africa and the whole world in a glorious and happy tomorrow."

Well-known Chinese singers and dancers provided entertainment for the party. Outstanding were two Negro folk songs sung in Chinese. Many veteran Chinese scholars, artists and men of letters presented gifts, paintings and poems to Dr. Du Bois. He received a copy of the Chinese translation of his own work, *Battle for Peace*, and birthday greetings from personal friends in China, the United States, the Soviet Union and many other lands.

Renmin Ribao marked Dr. Du Bois' birthday with an article in its literary columns by the noted Chinese novelist Mao Tun and a couplet by Kuo Mo-jo greeting Dr. Du Bois' great contributions to the cause of peace and freedom.

NOVEMBER, 1959
25¢

New World REVIEW

Special Anniversary Issue

US-USSR RELATIONS AND THE EISENHOWER-KHRUSHCHEV AGREEMENT

42 YEARS OF THE SOVIET UNION

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The Dream of Socialism

by **DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS**

HUMAN minds dream and human dreams come true. Not all dreams, but some. Some day there will be on earth, Liberty, Equality and Brotherhood. Some day but not yet. No Christian nation today pretends to follow even afar the ethics of Jesus Christ. But one dream, old and long-pursued was started toward reality forty-two years ago, and today no one in the world denies that socialism is a reality in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This is reason for world rejoicing that human dreams can come true.

Thinkers have long believed that the evils of capitalism could be cured. But industry supported by private capital ridiculed the idea. They did not deny the evils, but they said that human nature being what it was, would never support a welfare state nor would men work effectively for all instead of striving each for himself. Efforts like the French Commune and many smaller trials failed disastrously; then in 1917 came the Russian Revolution. The world was not content to watch the experiment-making with unbelieving eyes and with no proffer of aid. Oh no! The leading states of the civilized world—Great Britain, France, the United States, Japan and others made every possible effort to compel the proposed experiment to fail. Perhaps the world has forgotten or certainly wants to forget what was done to the struggling socialist state in Russia from 1917 to 1928 and even later. The Soviet Union was attacked not only by armies and navies, but by spies and traitors; by lies, calumnies and suspicion. It came to be the firmly held accusation of the Western world that Russian socialism was a conspiracy against civilization, a crime against religion and culture and a deliberate attempt to turn the clock of human progress backward. The hurt and heartbreak of those awful years will never be adequately recorded. I saw but the dying shadow of it in 1926 when I first visited the Soviet Union.

Today what a change! Not simply a change of world attitude toward the first socialist nation of the modern world, but what actual change in the status and accomplishment of this nation! This great people whom the Western world confidently expected to starve to death, to flounder in anarchy, to commit suicide in civil revolution, or wallow in crime, is not only well-fed and adequately clothed, increasingly housed in comfortable and sanitary homes, cared for in disease and employed in ever-widening industry, but—and this has long been most difficult for the capitalist world

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divide Germany after World War II; which split the attempted union of world trade unionism started in Paris in 1945; that today keeps masses of African workers out of unions entirely and in the United States herds most Negro workers into segregated unions with limited rights. This trade unionism supports world war and hatred of socialism.

This is the world in which we fight for Peace and Freedom. And in this world we rejoice that a great socialist state has been born, lives and expands in deed and influence and bears in its hands the hopes of mankind.

FURTHER REDUCTION IN SOVIET WORKING DAY

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, have adopted a decision to complete the transition of factory and office workers to a reduced working day in the period from the fourth quarter of 1959 to the fourth quarter of 1960. The transition will be effected simultaneously with an adjustment of wages.

The decision envisages the transition of all factory and office workers to a seven-hour working day and those engaged in underground work to a six-hour day.

The decision fixes increased piece rates and a new system of graded rates for workers as well as new salaries for engineering and technical staffs and clerks.

The lowest wage is to be increased at the same time to 400-500 rubles in accordance with the decision of the Twenty-first Congress.

The decision points out that following the workers and employees of the coal industry and the steel industry (and those engaged in underground work) getting a seven-hour working day in 1958-1959, the six-hour day was introduced and new conditons of payment for workers and employees established in the non-ferrous metal industry, the chemistry industry, the cement industry, the manufacture of reinforced concrete articles and structures, the production of salt and ozocerite.

The transition to a shorter working day will begin before the end of this year for factory and office workers in the engineering and metal-working, the oil and gas industries.

The decision emphasizes that the transition to a shorter working day and the simultaneous adjustment of wages—above all, in the principal branches of heavy industry—make an important contribution to the further advance of the socialist economy and the rise in the material and cultural standards of factory and office workers.

September 19, 1959

DEMOCRACY MUST BE RESTORED TO THE U.S.

A program of reason, right and justice for today

By W. E. B. Du Bois

DAILY LATELY AS I READ the morning news, I find myself asking if age is driving me a bit crazy or if I'm living in a crazy nation. I have lived through much history and read far more, but I can remember no situation which parallels the present. Governments and rulers have always lied. But never with the quick, bland, easy assurance such as our transformation of a spying trip which failed into a weather exploration—and then blaming the Soviet Union for "propaganda." We have only to scan our magazines to see how the United States is being transformed from an unsophisticated people of original Tinkers and Thinkers to a nation of Liars and Buyers.

President Eisenhower continues to astonish me. Yesterday this Delphic oracle came from the golf links: "We never enslaved anyone." Today we learn that Turkey is not our spy base but a "bastion of Freedom," where the NATO of the "Free World" dares not stay long enough to hear the President's welcome, because Prime Minister Menderes is trying to outrun angry students threatening his life.

Right here I draw a breath of relief. Students at last to the rescue, even in the West. I had lost faith in them as during the McCarthy nightmare I spoke at a few institutions and looked into their blank faces. But today young seekers after knowledge live again despite a woeful lack of teachers. Not only in Turkey, which we have purchased, but in Japan where they defy Prime Minister Kishi's plan to tie Nippon to the Pentagon; and in South Korea where they have driven a demagogue out of power.

OF COURSE I AM ESPECIALLY uplifted by the revolt of Negro students in America. With neither leadership nor encouragement from their own people (despite all the declarations of the johnnie-come-latelies frantically scrambling aboard the bandwagon), alone and unaided they put their finger on a vital spot and acted. Our Negro Problem is not simply disfranchisement, lynching, mob-law, court injustice and widespread serfdom with poverty and disease: it is a daily, unending series of petty, senseless insults carried out almost everywhere, and always by civilized people of religion and culture, for no earthly reason except senseless meanness and neglect.

In the South a Negro goes downtown to buy a few necessities, and can't buy a bite to eat; he can't get a drink; he can't go to a movie; sometimes he can't sit in a park; and of course he can't bathe in the ocean, as in Biloxi, in the most ignorant state of the Union, where there are 26 miles of beach. Black students—not agitators, not even radicals, since little economics or social science is taught in Southern schools—just honest, clear-headed youth who one day say: "We buy our school books and paper at Woolworth's; why not buy a sandwich?"

Then the proud, cultured South goes berserk. Boys and girls are arrested, clubbed and jailed. Churches sing, pray and send Billy Graham to Africa. Still students "sit down." Then Big Business moves in. It threat-

ens colored college presidents. Some, like Wright of Fisk, refuse to yield. Some, like Trenholm of Alabama, crawl. Then Big Business squeezes parents and some parents, to save their jobs, plead with their children; but at least at one colored college 4,000 students withdraw while their president skulks. They threaten to put a white president in at Lincoln who will teach Negroes their place. They may try this at Howard. They may starve Fisk. What will result? Will the students fall back into line? I think not. Some white students feel the glorious possibilities of this day; but the nation is silent and dumb.

ARE WE HAPPY AT ALL THIS? No, America is scared to death. Asia has arisen. Africa arises. The Soviet Union marches on. East Europe is triumphant. Cuba is free. Panama and Latin America follow. But the United States is stubborn.

We lie about China and support a man on her borders to attack her whom we ourselves have called a scoundrel. We invest six hundred million dollars in slave labor and stolen gold, diamonds and uranium in South Africa where our Boer allies have 18,000 Negroes in jail and ten million more fated to be hammered into slavery. We woo Adenauer to preserve a Germany which our army, with the help of the leader of the AFL-CIO, fashioned as a threat for a Third World War to conquer the Soviets. We bribe Franco, cajole Italy and, as long as possible, we will hang on to Trujillo. We are intriguing in Viet-Nam and Laos and praying for war between India and China, which fails to occur.

Signs of disaster gather about our heads. We are unable to sell enough abroad to pay for what we buy and have been compelled to spend four billions in the last two years out of our hoard of gold to pay the deficit. Our cost of living rises continuously and unemployment spreads, despite our ingenious efforts to deceive the public. The gamblers of the stock market are sweating in vain to unload on the suckers the inflated values of our monopolized industry. We are soaking the sick with high-priced medicines and hospital fees beyond the reach of the poor. We are bribing our skilled labor with high wages paid out of the hides of exploited Negro and Mexican labor and from the poverty and disease of poor whites.

Our justice is showered with injustice. Our jails seethe with the revolts of the wretched and the innocent and of thousands whose only crime is being black. We murder Chessman for no crime we can prove; we jail Uphaus and Sobell, torture Winston and drive Heikkila to death. Why? The bomb-proof shelters of the editorial offices of the New York **Times** hear a rumor that our judges often actually pay two years' salary for nomination.

WE ARE DELIBERATELY DISTORTING history—not simply United States history so as to excuse Negro slavery and deify slave owners, to praise the traitors who solemnly swore to support their country and then fought desperately to betray it and preserve Negro slavery; but especially to twist and distort the world wars and the triumph of socialism.

We started with propaganda which out-Hitlered Hitler. Big Business monopolized news-gathering, newspapers, periodicals and publishing. The nation was led to believe that communism was a conspiracy and crime, and socialism its handmaid. We were told that the communist states were failures, their citizens serfs and prisoners, seething with revolt; their women prostitutes and their education only "brain-washing" propaganda. Many wanted to use our atom bomb immediately on Moscow, but when we found the Soviets already had it we accused them of stealing it from us, as they were certainly too dumb to have invented it.

We planned for war. Our State Department and national leaders cooperated with **Collier's** magazine in 1951. The nation was primed to conquer the Soviet Union in 1960. This is 1960. This was to be the year of conquest. **Collier's** (of blessed memory) foretold the event in 130 pages, written by Allan Nevins, our "leading" historian; Stuart Chase, our "leading" economist; Edward R. Murrow, our "great" news interpreter; Margaret Chase Smith, our woman Senator; Robert Sherwood and J. B. Priestley. Our Senator wrote of "Russia Reborn" under American soldiers, presumably armed with flaming napalm and disease germs. This victory had to be postponed, but our propaganda continued.

WE CONTINUED TO SNEER at education and progress in the Soviet Union. I once heard Conant of Harvard, formerly High Commissioner of Germany, tell the Harvard Club of New York that Soviet leaders repeatedly refused to tell him what examinations were given high school students for entrance into college. He finally learned (here in America) that "the Communist Party would not allow any examinations!" This proved Soviet education a farce. A few years later came Sputnik and the photographing of the back of the moon. We had to acknowledge the superiority of Soviet education, the progress of her science and the fact that her industrial development might soon equal or even outstrip ours.

Khrushchev dared to visit us and, while Congress went into hiding, he made the finest speech for world peace which has been heard here since Lincoln at Get-

GHANA LEADERS ON A RECENT VISIT TO MOSCOW
Premier Khrushchev wraps himself in a Ghana robe while welcoming the African delegation.

Illingworth, London Daily Mail
"Father, I cannot tell a lie . . ."

tysburg. We then photographed Russian fortifications and lied about it. Why? Because Allen Dulles and our military rulers are still determined to smash the Summit conference and plunge the world into war.

Meantime we want to help the world. We remember how American charity has often fed the hungry and healed the sick. Taking every advantage of this memory, Big Business has used it to the hilt. The Marshall Plan was to help war-torn Europe. In reality it helped American business to buy into European industry, beat back socialist labor, bribe skilled labor and pay soldiers. In fact with most of the funds we are arming all foreigners we can bribe or scare to help us fight Communists, and with what's left we are using our public tax funds to give rich American investors private capital, or to bribe native quislings in India and Africa to betray their countries to American industry. Already in New York alone we have four "African" organizations, financed by Big Business, and officered by Negroes supposed to give "information" on Africa. Pious churchmen are furnishing the requisite religious background. For all of this Eisenhower is now demanding four billions of our dollars which ought to be used for social medicine, education and housing.

HOWEVER, MY FRIENDS NOTE, an election is coming up. So what? There is, to be sure, a President soon to be chosen. The expenditure of all candidates for the office in 1956 was said to have been $100,000,000. This year it may be $500,000,000. Only Big Business, well-heeled stock gamblers and the China Lobby can bid. Whether a Democrat or Republican wins, it will be the same gang. You will have no chance to vote for a meaningful third party. You will have no chance to vote for peace or war; for social medicine, housing or decent education. Why?

We know the reason. It is because the United States is no longer a democracy. Most citizens know this well and do not waste time going to the polls. If it were true that we have what we want in this nation, we could sit still and wait on reason. But it is not true. We are ruled by a minority armed with wealth and power. This usurpation we must fight. We must first demand the right to have a third party on the ballot. This the politicians prevent and these politicians must go.

HERE IS A PROGRAM for those who have not lost hope and who yet believe in America. Forget the Presidency. It will make not a jot of difference whether Nixon and Chiang Kai-shek, or Kennedy and Cardinal Spellman, win the office. Concentrate on Senators and Congressmen, legislators and city councilmen and ward heelers.

Insist on a chance to vote for peace, for the total abolition of the color line; for no family income above $25,000 or below $5,000; for free education from kindergarten through college; for housing on a nation-wide scale; for training of all for the work they can do in so far as such work is needed for the best interests of all. Insist on discipline for this work. Allow no laborer to be paid less than his product is worth; and let no employer take what he does not make. Curb corporations by putting most of them under government ownership.

Heal the sick as a privilege, not as a charity. Make private ownership of natural resources a crime. Stop interference with private and personal belief by religious hypocrites. Preserve the utmost freedom for dream of beauty, creative art and joy of living. Call this socialism, communism, reformed capitalism or holy rolling. Call it anything—but get it done!

Perhaps this is insane, but to me it is Reason, Right and Justice. As Bert Williams once said: "I may be crazy, but I ain't no Fool!"

DR. DU BOIS REVIEWS CONGO'S HISTORY

The world must wake soon to bar war in Africa

By W. E. B. Du Bois
Special to the Guardian

FLORENCE, ITALY

CONGO WAS A TRAGIC miscalculation. Little Belgium had inherited El Dorado. Hundreds of millions of dollars poured into this land annually from a great territory 40 times its size. In this empire was one of the world's greatest deposits of copper to carry electric power over sea and land; elephant tusks to furnish piano keys for lovely music, palm oil, fruit, rare woods, fibers and lately uranium for bombs to raise hell.

Nobody knows how vast a horde of wealth Congo has poured into Belgium, Europe and North America in the last century, for this is a secret of individual initiative in the capitalist world of Nordic supremacy. But all men including Pope and Protestant hierarchy and learned colleges know how many cheap laborers were slaves of white Europe to make Belgians clean, comfortable and learned and leaders of civilization. Once the atrocities of the Congo aroused the world and the Belgian folk took Congo out of the private purse of Leopold to rule themselves.

REMEMBRANCE: I remember talking to the first Belgian Socialist premier in the Twenties, and his firm promise to institute reform and stop cutting off the hands of lagging black workers. I remembered the legends of the King of Congo whom the Portuguese met in the 15th century and whose royal son was educated in Lisbon. I had read as a boy Stanley's flamboyant and lying proclamation of the great new Christian Kingdom of Congo which Civilization was about to rear in the Dark Continent, to lead the natives to God.

Centuries passed: The 16th with its great flowering of imperial black Africa south of the Sahara; the 17th, with the duel of Fetish and Moslem, and the Long March of Bantu from Niger to Zambesi; the 18th century and the British trade in slaves from Africa to America; and the 19th century when Europe stole the world and built its culture on the degradation of Asia and Africa.

CENTURY OF WAR: Out of this wretched past was naturally born this century of war and destruction, with the West stubbornly determined to restore its domination of mankind, and with the East —in Europe, Asia and Africa—increasingly set on freedom and independence. Belgium, despite its baptism in war and rapine, because it lay in the crossing paths of greedy empires, made peace with all, and came to understanding with the wheeling buzzards of the West.

If you wanted to make money invest in the Congo enterprises: profitable, respectable private enterprise, paying high and regular dividends, and no questions asked. Moreover the natives were happy; their tribal rule was intact and their chiefs happy so long as the black slaves toiled for their white masters, and the wealth rolled into Europe.

THESE CONGOLESE CELEBRATED ON THE EVE OF THEIR INDEPENDENCE
Since then powerful forces have conspired to keep them in subjection

When in 1921 I held a session of the Pan-African congress in Brussels, and one young Congolese, Panda, ventured to join us in criticism of Belgian rule, the Belgian press raged: "Bolsheviks," spies and revolutionists they called us; the natives were content and the Holy Catholic church was giving them enough education for their good; not too much; not enough to make them unhappy and demanding more than their few brains could use.

BURSTING BUBBLE: Congo had no such unhappy intelligentsia as the British had nursed in West Africa and the French in Senegal. Even if Belgium did not have enough trained Congolese to educate even as physicians, at least Black Congo did not want to vote. So Belgium crowed even as late as the World Exposition of 1958.

And then in 1960 the bubble burst and black Congo demanded not only a share in government but independence. It was inconceivable. It was unbelievable. Even when my wife, Shirley Graham, who read my message to the Sixth Pan-African Congress, meeting as the All-African Conference in Accra in 1958, told me of Lumumba there demanding independence for Congo, I thought he was an unthinking fanatic.

But I pride myself on ability to learn; on seeing what appears before my eyes. Yesterday, I was paying farewell to the President of Ghana, just as he was taking leave of Lumumba, Prime Minister of Congo, who was on his way home from a meeting of the Security Council which had ordered Belgium out of Congo because it dare not do otherwise. After Lumumba flew home in a Russian jet plane, President Nkrumah and I talked for a few moments.

THE BEGINNING: We knew that the trials of Congo had not ended but just begun. The luxury-loving West, which was parading and yachting, gambling and horse-racing, dressing and dancing and keeping darkies out of highly paid unions, was not going to give up Congo millions without a desperate struggle even if it involved world war. Ghana, the Soviet Union and China must furnish capital and technical skill to keep the great wheels of Congo enterprise running; but running not for profit of white skilled labor and the idle rich, but for the starving, sick and ignorant Africans.

From me the President asked but one service: the starting again of the **Encyclopedia Africana** which I tried desperately to begin back in 1900. We must unite Africa, he said, and know its history and culture. Against all dreams of an independent black Congo stand arrayed today forces of terrible strength: the organized business enterprise of the Western world; incorporated monopoly: with secret concealed, anonymous personalities; ruled by dictators, amenable to no laws of morality whose only object is gain of wealth, at any cost of life, liberty or of human happiness.

This faceless, conscienceless power is today armed to the teeth and spending for force and violence more money than for anything else on earth and hiring all the ability and genius of the world which is for sale, for the murder, rape, destruction and degradation of man, which Big Business wants accomplished; and hiding this from common knowledge by every device available to man.

TRUTH IS WINNING: Ranged therefore against free and independent Congo is the Oppenheimer Gold and Diamond Trust, the Lever Brothers world monopolies under its legion of names; the oil trusts, Standard, Shell and others, the French, Swiss and West German cartels, and that part of the Christian church and Moslem religion which is dependent on the charity of the rich.

But the truth is winning; socialism is spreading, communism is becoming more and more possible to increasing millions:

"Fear not, O little flock the foe,
That madly seeks thine overthrow
Fear not its rage and Power!"

Finally down toward Land's End, on the Cape of Evil Omen, are some three million whites in the Union of South Africa, the Rhodesias and Southwest Africa, who are determined to rule 20 or more million blacks as slaves and servants. They say this brazenly and openly in the face of the world and none do anything, save black Africa. And here the next world war will begin unless the world wakes up and wakes soon.

PRO-BOMB LABORITES RIDICULED

Ban-the-bomb rebels win in Britain's trade unions

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

WHILE BAN THE BOMB crusaders got a rousing welcome everywhere on a Scotland-to-London march for peace, right-wing union "leaders" invited national ridicule in their efforts to stem the peace tide within organized labor.

Two resolutions on defense policy confronted the annual Trades Union Congress at Douglas, Isle of Man. On a basis of mandates to delegations, the pro-Bomb resolution reflecting the official Labor Party-TUC line had no chance against the anti-Bomb resolution sponsored by the Transport Workers, Britain's largest union. Among delegations instructed to support the TWU resolution was that of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. In a pre-congress huddle, right-wing AEU president William Carron pressured his delegation into a majority of one for also supporting the official resolution. The two resolutions were diametrically opposed, and even newspapers hero-worshipping Carron for his red-baiting vigor deplored this desperate tactic.

BURLESQUE: The farce degenerated into burlesque when the card votes on the two resolutions were taken. (Under this system, each delegation leader holds up a card bearing the number of his union membership in thousands.) The announced result was a majority of 690,000 for the pro-Bomb and only 235,000 for the anti-Bomb resolution. After evening papers had rushed out "SHOCK FOR THE REBELS" headlines, it was discovered that 930,000 anti-Bomb votes had not been counted, and the anti-Bomb majority was in fact nearly double the pro-Bomb majority.

The error was due to the AEU's Carron having—as the teller explained later—"held his card just in front of his chest, not what I call 'up'" when the anti-Bomb vote was taken. The number on Carron's card was 930. It was noted that the anti-Bomb sentiment was so strong that it would have carried the day even without the AEU.

The machine having got out of control due to progressive Frank Cousins' accession to leadership of the once-docile TWU, the right-wing hierarchy have made increasingly clear their intention to defy contrary decisions on defense policy by the TUC and by next month's Labor Party conference. In a desperate plea for other union chiefs to follow Carron's example, Labor Party defense spokesman George Brown has declared that decisions on the Bomb are "emphatically not fundamental to socialism." Yet even to the Tory pro-Bomb **Daily Mail** the struggle over nuclear defense is "of deep conscience and importance," and the paper is "sickened" by the "threadbare political tricks" with which Labor right-wingers are conducting it in an effort to save party leader Gaitskell.

NEW DEFEAT: A further disaster for Gaitskell, who wants to revise the public-ownership Clause Four of his party's constitution, was a unanimous call by TUC speakers for more public ownership and control of industry. Plenty of Gaitskellites were present, but kept silent in face of the clear majority stand. Once again the press was full of speculations as to how or whether Gaitskell could retain party leadership.

The **Express** predicted he would "ride roughshod over the rebels" at next month's party conference and refuse to resign even in face of clear defeat on defense policy. Other pundits thought that the "frantic efforts" now being made by the Gaitskellites would result in some "compromise" resolution capable of carrying the conference.

This would, according to the **Mail**, "combine adherence to NATO at the present time and a promise to make all-round nuclear disarmament the main prop of any future government." The **Mail** thought that the lack of any strong alternative leader might carry Gaitskell through in this way, but that "there is about as much honor in this 'solution' as in some vicious Victorian family which parades arm-in-arm to Church on Sundays and spends the rest of the week at each other's throats."

THE MARCH: Meanwhile the three-week Ban The Bomb march was moving through northern industrial areas on the second half of the trek to London. The march left Edinburgh 2,000 strong, and the 70-odd "hard core" headed by Canon Stanley Evans of Southwark Cathedral are being joined all along the route by Nuclear Disarmament, Quaker, trade union and other groups. The route is being papered with anti-Bomb leaflets, and rallies are being held in each town. The marchers are sleeping in town halls and schools, and at some places are being given a civic reception.

September's first weekend also saw the campaign to close U.S. bases resumed with fresh vigor, with ten youth organizations participating and demonstrations in London, Manchester, Bristol, Brighton and elsewhere.

Rumania - Bucharest, July, 1961

Ziarul londonez „Times" a publicat, pe o jumătate de pagină, un foto-reportaj de la Expoziția economică a U.R.S.S., organizată la Londra, care se bucură de un mare succes.

Populația de culoare din S. U. A.

Articol scris pentru „Magazin"
de William E. B. Du Bois,
cunoscut savant american care ne vizitează țara

Președintele Curții Supreme a S.U.A. într-o declarație din 1861 afirma că din punct de vedere istoric negrii nu au avut niciodată drepturi pe care albii să nu le fi respectat. Și totuși mii de bărbați negri sau mulatri erau vînduți în secolul trecut la licitație în orașele din sudul Statelor Unite. Mulți americani albi se cutremurau acum un secol la gîndul integrării negrilor în sînul națiunii americane. Ei uitau că în 1861 trăiau în S.U.A. două milioane de femei negre care nu puteau refuza dreptul seniorului de a-și poseda supusele. Că acești seniori proprietari de sclavi își exercitau cu conștiinciozitate acest drept o dovedește existența în 1861 a 588.000 mulatri americani. Și mai rău era faptul că de multe ori copiii sclavilor erau vînduți ca servitori de către seniori care puteau dispune în voie de soarta lor. Toate acestea se întîmplau în America secolului XIX, unde constituția recunoștea sclavia ca pe o instituție legală. Au apărut aboliționiștii, care asociați cu radicalii au recunoscut în negri o ființă egală omului. Lincoln, ales președinte, a fost privit nu ca un adversar al sclaviei ci ca un om care s-a opus extinderii ei. El este acela care a afirmat că nu dorește ca sudul sclavagist să întreacă din punct de vedere economic statele din nord. Tot Lincoln a fost acela care se îndoia că negrii vor putea fi vreodată asimilați națiunii americane. Fără îndoială Lincoln detesta sclavia dar nu a fost în nici un caz campionul eliberării negrilor, cum a fost numit. În schimb națiunea americană, în ansamblul ei, s-a opus categoric sclaviei sau a luptat pentru libertatea negrilor.

Cînd a izbucnit războiul de secesiune mulți americani simpli au declarat că acesta va fi de fapt un război între albi purtat de albi, pentru apărarea intereselor albilor. Revendicările seculare ale populației de culoare nu au fost luate în seamă. Mai mult, sclavia a fost apărată ca instituție oficială. Dacă un general din nord întîlnea în drumul său un negru fugit din sud îl înapoia a doua zi stăpînului său sau îl preda unui nou stăpîn. La ce era bun un sclav care slugărise o viață întreagă ca servitor și căuta acum refugiu? Bietului sclav nu-i rămînea decît moartea. S-a scris mult despre entuziasmul yankeilor din nord față de războiul de secesiune dar mai puțin despre motivele care i-au împins să lupte împotriva sudului. În orice caz nu de dragul eliberării negrilor au făcut aceasta, ci din dorința de a supune din punct de vedere economic statele din sud. Muncitorii, emigranții, fermierii și micii slujbași nu aveau nici un interes de a merge să moară în sud. Aveau în schimb multe interese bogătașii, capitaliștii care își răscumpărau serviciul militar plătind bani și înhățau cu forța în armată proletarii chinuiți de nevoi.

Milioanele de negri din nord, din sud, din vest și din est vedeau în război sfîrșitul suferințelor lor și de aceea doreau să meargă pe front. Au cerut arme, dar guvernul american a fost inflexibil: nu ne trebuie soldați de culoare. Lincoln a zîmbit: „dacă le vom pune arme în mîini, spunea el, a doua zi vor trece de partea dușmanului". Așa s-au întîmplat pe atunci lucrurile. În Carolina de sud unde războiul înclina în favoarea sudiștilor armatele nordului aveau nevoie de întăriri pentru a-și menține pozițiile cucerite. Recrutarea pe scară națională eșuase. În general, Hunter a pus atunci tunuri în mîinile sclavilor eliberați, i-a condus cu viteje în luptă și a învins. Congresul fierbea de mînie. Dar Hunter le-a răspuns: „N-am avut încotro, am pus tunuri în mîinile sclavilor pentru a păstra ceea ce am cucerit". Congresul a izbucnit în rîs. Și primul regiment de culoare s-a născut în istoria armatei americane. Carolina fusese doar începutul. Cînd apăreau armatele nordului sclavii își părăseau munca și se înrolau deîndată, cereau a fi trimiși în recunoaștere, înfăptuiau minunate acte de bravură. Ce și-ar fi dorit mai mult Alexandru cel Mare, Cezar, sau Napoleon?

În schimb guvernul federal din acel timp nu înceta să boicoteze lupta de eliberare a populației de culoare. Orice înfrîngere pe front era pusă pe socoteala celor „întunecați la față" care mîncau hrana celor din nord și făceau „spionaj" pentru cei din sud.

În acest timp sudul cunoștea mari dificultăți. Numai era acel puternic sud din punct de vedere economic reprezentat acum de un grup mic de bogătași, proprietari de sclavi și fermieri de mîna a doua. Albii săraci care nu aveau nici casă nici masă erau chemați să lupte împotriva nordului, înrolați cu forța în armată de unde dezertau a doua zi refuzînd să lupte pentru capitaliști.

Conducătorii sudului au fost în cele din urmă înfrînți. Gînditorii, idealiștii și partizanii abolițiomismului au început să ceară legiferarea eliberării negrilor. Cum dezrobirea negrilor fusese invocată ca pretext pentru acest război, Lincoln se văzu nevoit să ia o hotărîre și anume să oblige statele din sud să accepte eliberarea sclavilor. „Proclamația emancipării" din 1863 a făcut mai mult zgomot decît a fost în realitate. „Negrii sînt liberi de acum înainte și pentru totdeauna", glăsuia această proclamație. S-a înregistrat într-adevăr o anumită emancipare a elitei maselor de negri, a acelor negri bogați, a învățătorilor, puțini la număr dar avînd perspective sigure de emancipare... S-a făurit, după moartea lui Lincoln chiar și un cod special pentru pedepsirea celor care fugeau de emancipare. Anumiți congresmeni ca Stevens și Summer se întrebau dacă nu e cazul să se înființeze un departament al negrilor eliberați, sau să se dea fiecărui sclav o bucată de pămînt și un măgar, să se voteze pentru ei legi protecționiste etc. Summer a cerut și acordarea dreptului de vot pentru negrii din sud deoarece, spunea el, fără împlinirea acestui deziderat nu poate fi vorba de democrație în America. Aceste revendicări au rămas însă literă moartă. În sud au năvălit o droaie de capitaliști, de escroci, de speculanți ca Tweed care au jefuit țara sub pretextul emancipării. Au fost și americani onești care au muncit cu sudoarea frunții alături de căpeteniile sclavilor eliberați și au pornit la ridicarea poporului negru și la vindecarea rănilor războiului de acum un secol. Negrii aspirau la un învățămînt liber cu caracter popular, așa înțelegeau ei emanciparea. Niciodată în lume n-a fost un alt popor mai dornic de a se instrui ca poporul negru din Statele Unite. Mulți intelectuali idealiști și socialiști utopici din nordul Statelor Unite au venit în ajutorul lor. Marii fermieri însă alături de capitaliști refuzau să sprijine asemenea acțiuni și au făcut totul pentru a le zădărnici. Un alt exploatator a fost biserica, care a acționat de comun acord cu proprietarii de sclavi și cu capitaliștii. Masa populației de culoare din fostele state sclavagiste era prea ignorantă pentru a se apăra. Lipsită de conducători, supusă la un regim de exterminare din partea albilor această populație a luat drumul pribegiei.

Capitalismul, industria a făcut fără voie mai mult decît îi convenea. Industria l-a transformat pe negru în muncitor. Iar muncitorul negru a început să devină conștient de rolul său în societate. Această conștiință a mers pînă acolo încît în 1905 s-a format cunoscuta Mișcare a negrilor din Statele Unite, cu revendicări politice și economice cunoscută sub numele de „Niagara Movement of Negroes". Această mișcare s-a născut în epoca în care statele din nord și din sud lansează mînă în mînă o nouă ofensivă rasistă, legi împotriva căsătoriei dintre negri și albi, limitează angajarea negrilor în industrie, impune folosirea negrilor numai în anumite sectoare (servicii comunale, servitori, hamali), creează ghetto-uri și rezervații speciale pentru negri, legiferează discriminarea din transporturi și localurile de consum, lipsește de dreptul de vot milioane de negri. În ciuda reacțiunii dezlănțuite, a crimelor și a linșajului public, mișcarea de eliberare a negrilor se întărește astăzi pe baza unei platforme largi. Ea este sprijinită de numeroși lideri albi, umanitariști care cer abolirea legilor cu caracter rasial din S.U.A. Rasiștii cunosc și alte metode: o națiune civilizată nu poate asasina public în stradă un om din cauza culorii pielii sale. Acesta poate fi însă ucis în alt mod: prin intermediul exploatării, a șomajului, a inaniției.

Curtea Supremă a declarat în 1954 ca fiind neconstituționale orice discriminări în învățămînt. Sudul sclavagist a fost furios dar a fost imediat liniștit că această declarație nu va fi întărită de nici o lege. Azi din nou negrii sînt maltratați în stradă. Sînt aruncați jos din autobuz ca în Montgomery, sînt aruncați din facultăți acolo unde unul sau doi negri au pătruns în virtutea legilor existente în S.U.A.

Astăzi lumea privește Statele Unite cu zîmbete ironice. Sîntem noi oare lideri ai unei „lumi libere"? Sîntem noi oare campionii „democrației"? De aceea am organizat afacerea Little Rock? De aceea lipsim milioane de negri de dreptul de vot, alungăm studenții negri din universități, înăbușim în sînge libertatea cuvîntului și peste toate acestea trimitem în numele O.N.U. agenții noștri din F.B.I., și așa zise „detașamente de pacificare" în Africa...?

La sediul Sindicatului unit al turnătorilor, la Manchester (Anglia), I se înmînează primului cosmonaut, I. A. Gagarin, diploma de membru de onoare al Sindicatului și o medalie de aur bătută în cinstea zborului său istoric în Cosmos.

Meridiane

Bătălia țăranilor francezi

De o lună încoace nu trece zi fără ca agențiile de presă să nu pomenească alte și alte nume de localități din Franța, în legătură cu puternicele mișcări țărănești care au cuprins întreaga țară. Știrile din ultimele zile vorbeau despre orășelul Apt din departamentul Vaucluse — unde 2000 de țărani au organizat o mare adunare după ce în prealabil au barat toate căile de acces spre orășel, cu tractoare, căruțe, camioane și mașini agricole — despre La Gap, în departamentul Alpilor Superiori, unde au participat la o acțiune similară, 1.500 de țărani. La fel s-a întîmplat în departamentele Indre, Herault, Doubs și Var și în orașul Caen al cărui centru a fost ocupat de țărani.

Totul a început în zorii zilei de 9 iunie în orașul breton Morlaix. Pînă ce prefectul Jacques Seron să se desmeticească din somn, subprefectura era ocupată de cei 5000 de țărani veniți din împrejurimi. Ei au barat toate drumurile spre și din oraș, ținîndu-l cîteva ceasuri în mîinile lor, în semn de protest împotriva prăbușirii prețului cartofilor.

Dar nu era vorba numai de cartofi ci de întreaga politică agrară a guvernului care împinge cea mai mare parte a țărănimii, vertiginos spre ruină. Participarea Franței la „piața comună", prezentată țăranilor ca un remediu împotriva necazurilor lor multiple, s-a dovedit pînă la urmă a avea pentru ei un efect de-a dreptul dezastruos. În loc de promisele exporturi avantajoase ale produselor agricole franceze în țările membre ale „pieții comune", Franța a fost invadată de produsele agrare ale acestora, ceea ce provoacă țăranilor cele mai mari dificultăți în desfacerea propriei lor producții. Profitînd de această situație, negustorii angrosiști și alți intermediari și speculanți de produse agrare, care mijlocesc desfacerea acestora pe piața Franței, au redus prețurile de achiziție ale mărfurilor țărănești, fără să scadă însă cu nici o centimă prețurile de vînzare către consumatori.

La sfîrșitul primăverii cînd au apărut primii cartofi, țăranii din Bretania, principalii producători ai acestora, s-au pomenit cu concurența cartofilor importați de peste hotare și ca urmare, cu prăbușirea bruscă a prețurilor de achiziție. Atunci, paharul răbdării umplut pînă la margini, s-a revărsat...

Mișcarea țărănească începută la Morlaix a cuprins în cîteva zile întreaga Bretanie și s-a extins treptat peste toată țara. Dacă în dimineața lui 23 iunie 50 din cele 89 de departamente ale Franței erau cuprinse de clocotul marilor demonstrații de protest azi, numai în cîteva departamente, unde predomină marea proprietate capitalistă, nu se semnalează acțiuni țărănești. Presa burgheză din Franța, care încerca să minimalizeze la început ceea ce denumea ironic „răzmerița cartofilor" din Bretania, vorbește astăzi despre „jacquerie" — răscoală țărănească — făcîndu-se ecoul profundei îngrijorări a cercurilor conducătoare franceze, alarmate de evoluția și mai ales de amploarea, neașteptată pentru ei, a evenimentelor.

În ultimele săptămîni în cadrul luptei țăranilor din Franța au avut loc evenimente, caracterizate, pe drept cuvînt de presă, drept o cotitură în istoria mișcării țărănești franceze. E vorba de acțiuni comune ale muncitorilor cu țăranii răsculați. Prima asemenea manifestație comună s-a desfășurat în marele oraș portuar și industrial Saint Nazaire din nordul Franței, unde 10.000 de muncitori și țărani din satele vecine au organizat un miting și o puternică manifestație, care a durat zece ore și s-a sfîrșit prin defilarea pe străzile orașului, în sunetele Internaționalei. După numai o săptămînă un eveniment similar a avut loc, cu participarea a 15.000 de țărani și muncitori, la Montluçon în centrul țării. În orașul Montpellier, muncitori industriali și alți oameni ai muncii s-au alăturat manifestațiilor țăranilor formînd împreună o coloană lungă de doi kilometri.

„Asemenea manifestații ale muncitorilor și țăranilor sînt fără precedent în Franța" a exclamat plin de îngrijorare „Les Echos", organul cercurilor de afaceri, subliniind că întrezărește „o mare acțiune pe cale de dezvoltare". „Prin aceasta mișcările țărănești au căpătat un suflu nou — scria la rîndul său ziarul „Combat" — dînd naștere unei alianțe puternice".

Da, alianța de luptă a țărănimii cu clasa muncitoare se încheagă în momentul de față în toată Franța, și odată cu ea se accentuează tot mai mult caracterul politic al mișcării țărănești. Pe lîngă lozincile care rezumă revendicările economice ale țăranilor apar tot mai des inscripții ca: „Prin unitate la victorie!", „Pămîntul să fie dat celor ce-l muncesc!", „Americani cărați-vă acasă!", „Miliardele risipite în războiul din Algeria să fie folosite pentru nevoile poporului!", „Lupta a început". Iar alături de ele pot fi văzute pe zidurile caselor din sate și orașe, pe garduri și pomii de la marginea șoselelor, triunghiuri roșii avînd în mijloc o furcă — simbolul răscoalelor țărănești.

A. STANCIU

În fața primăriei din Clermont-Ferrand: delegații de țărani francezi, au înconjurat clădirea primăriei și au silit autoritățile să asculte revendicările lor.

DE PRETUTINDENI

DE CÎND a început procesul criminalului Eichmann, căpitanul Richard Haack din Hamburg, al cărui vas purta numele de „Lisa Eichmann", nu mai aceea liniște. Pentru a scăpa de manifestațiile de „simpatie" cu care era întîmpinat în porturile unde ancorează, el a schimbat numele vaporului în „Nereus".

●

ARCTICA a devenit un loc unde tinerii căsătoriți își petrec luna de miere. Cel puțin așa a procedat o pereche de tineri căsătoriți din Canada care au hotărît să-și petreacă luna de miere undeva în Labrador într-un cadru atît de nordic, exotic. Totodată, soții intenționează să efectueze observații științifice, studiind topirea ghețurilor.

●

GU-SUN-SU înseamnă „arborele bunicului și al nepotului". Este vorba de o specie de copac originară, pare-se, din R. P. Chineză, care rodește după timp în-

delungat, abia atunci cînd tînărul care l-a plantat are un nepoțel. Fructele acestui arbore sînt hrănitoare, gustoase și cu efect narcotic. Datorită acestei din urmă însușiri, medicii folosesc fructele acestui arbore în tratarea unor boli.

●

„CARTEA DV. nu merge" — i-a spus scriitorului Hold editorul său. Scriitorul englez nu s-a descurajat. A hotărît să se ocupe singur de difuzarea volumului său. A încălecat bătrînul său cal și a pornit astfel de la Yorkshire la Londra. Această „librărie ambulantă" a stîrnit interesul publicului. Nu este încă limpede ce a interesat pe cumpărători: cartea sau modul puțin obișnuit de difuzare, fapt este că scriitorul a vîndut aproximativ 3.000 de exemplare, iar editorul său i-a propus scoaterea unei ediții noi.

●

OAMENII de știință sovietici au descoperit și însemnat pe hărți aproximativ 300 de noi obiective geografice în Antarctica. În intervalul 1955—1961, în U.R.S.S. s-au publicat 18 volume de materiale referitoare la expediții, peste 500 diferite lucrări și peste 50 de hărți noi. În perioada Anului Geofizic Internațional au fost editate în U.R.S.S. trei volume de lucrări ale expediției în Antarctica și 198 lucrări științifice separate.

●

SE ȘTIE cîtă bătaie de cap dă pescarilor amatori procuratul viermilor. Un comerciant olandez întreprinzător a instalat un „automat" într-un punct preferat de pescari. Acum aprovizionarea cu viermi se face în cele mai bune condițiuni. În schimbul unei monede, aparatul furnizează un pachețel cu 33 de viermi.

●

ÎN FIECARE AN în orășelul Tourcoing din nordul Franței se desfășoară un „Festival al cocoșilor". Deținătorii cocoșilor se înșiră de-a lungul principalei străzi a orașului, avînd alături cușca cu pretendentul la titlul de laureat. Cocoșul care a cîntat de cele mai multe ori, în cele două ore cît durează concursul, este premiat. Fericitul proprietar primește și el un premiu: o porție dublă de bere.

●

ÎNTR-O BUNĂ ZI, la Hoersholm, o localitate în Danemarca, au apărut trei oameni care au anunțat că au primit dispoziția să închidă apa. S-au dus la primărie, de unde au ridicat cheile uzinei electrice. Pînă să se dumirească localnicii, au demontat instalațiile uzinei și au plecat cu instalații cu tot.

●

CIRCUL „Busch", unul dintre cele mai vechi circuri din Germania, și-a încetat existența. Din cauza situației financiare precare, toate bunurile circului au fost vîndute la licitație la Lauterbach (R. F. Germană). Au fost obținute astfel doar 12.000 mărci, în timp ce numai banii datorați artiștilor circului depășesc suma de 70.000 de mărci.

●

MULȚI nu știu că unul din cele mai importante articole de export ale Indiei îl constituie maimuțele. Anual, India vinde peste hotare aproximativ 12.000 de maimuțe.

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ВОПРОСЫ АНТРОПОЛОГИИ
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НАУЧНЫЕ СООБЩЕНИЯ, ЗАМЕТКИ, ОБЗОРЫ

УИЛЬЯМ БУРГ АРДТ ДЮБУА
(США)

ЭТАПЫ ИЗУЧЕНИЯ НЕГРОВ В США [1]

В Соединенные Штаты Америки африканских негров завозили начиная с XV столетия, и они вели там жизнь изолированной касты рабов вплоть до XIX в. Возможно, что Африка потеряла в результате торговли рабами около ста миллионов человек. Из их числа не менее 15 миллионов были высажены на американском континенте, причем они были размещены главным образом в Южной и Центральной Америке. После образования Соединенных Штатов первая перепись населения, проведенная в них в 1790 г., насчитывала три четверти миллиона жителей негритянского происхождения, а в начале девятнадцатого столетия их было уже более миллиона. Большинство этих американцев было рабами, и все они жили в кастовых условиях.

Поэтому было бы важно, если бы американские ученые в свое время поняли, что им была предоставлена необычайная возможность изучения людей разных рас на месте, а отсюда расширения основ антропологии и ускорения зарождения социологии. Этого, однако, не случилось главным образом из-за существования в Соединенных Штатах негритянского рабства, приведшего к тому, что белые американцы презирали негров и не считали их достойным объектом научного исследования. Следовательно, со времени первой высадки черных рабов в Северной Америке в 1619 г. и до начала научно-исследовательских работ в этой области в 1898 г. в Америке почти не делалось попыток организовать изучение американцев негритянского происхождения. Имелись только немногие биографические и исторические очерки [2].

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[1] Печатается в сокращенном виде. Редколлегия.

[2] Обширная литература о неграх в Соединенных Штатах и о системе рабства, конечно, существует. Данные переписей, там проводившихся, и доклады конгресса содержат большое количество сведений из книг, которые приближаются к широким социологическим обзорам, назовем труды Артура Хелпа (Arthur Help) «Испанское завоевание в Америке», Ульриха Филиппа (Ulrich Phillip) «Рабство американских негров» и П. А. Брюса (P. A. Bruce) «Экономическая история рабства в Вирджинии». Лицам, заинтересованным в полной библиографии, следует обратиться к «Библиографии по вопросу о положении негров в Африке и Америке», составленной Монрое

Научное исследование американских негров началось в 1898 г. под моим руководством в университете г. Атланты — учебном заведении для студентов-негров бывшего рабовладельческого штата Джорджия. Для этого я подготовил работу о положении негров в Филадельфии, опубликованную университетом Пенсильвании в 1899 г. Мной был составлен план района, была использована классификация в зависимости от различных условий существования и охвачена история негров в Филадельфии и в Седьмом районе города.

Я решил вести свою работу, ставшую для меня делом жизни, в одном из негритянских учебных заведений на Юге.

По опубликовании статьи я сделал заявление на ассамблее университета и выступил на 42-м заседании Академии политических и социальных наук в Филадельфии 19 ноября 1897 г. Темой моего выступления было «Изучение негритянской проблемы».

Настаивая на необходимости тщательного изучения этой проблемы, я говорил: «Американский негр заслуживает такого изучения во имя великой цели общего развития науки. У современных ученых нет другой такой же возможности наблюдать и изучать историю и развитие большой расы людей. Если они не воспользуются этой возможностью, проделают работу наспех, бессистемно, не отдадут истине должного уважения, потакая настроениям дня, то нанесут удар не только по доброму имени американского народа, но и по научной истине во всем мире; они добровольно ограничат сведения человечества о вселенной...».

Об антропологии я сказал следующее: «Несомненно существует разница между белой и черной расами. Но никто точно не знает, в чем она заключается. Однако именно здесь, в Америке, существует превосходнейшая возможность для изучения этого различия, для исследования воздействия климата и физической среды, а особенно — для определения результатов взаимного влияния этих двух рас, наиболее сильно отличающихся друг от друга. Но и эта возможность до сих пор покоится в тумане невежества».

Для Федерального бюро труда мной было выполнено несколько обследований для изучения негритянских групп, после чего я продолжал работу в университете Атланты; там в течение тринадцати лет, с 1897 по 1910 г., я пытался заложить основы систематической научной разработки проблемы американских негров.

Основным достижением в данном направлении было создание в американском учебном заведении программы по изучению негритянской проблемы, и эта программа постоянно расширялась и углублялась.

Первая конференция, обратившая особое внимание на охрану здоровья негров, была созвана в университете Атланты в 1896 г. Немедленно после этого стали подыскивать подходящего человека для преподавания истории и политических наук, а также для организации таких конференций в дальнейшем. Выбор пал на меня.

Время показало, что многие прогрессивные начинания основывались на наших исследованиях: система детских садов как для белых, так и для черных в г. Атланте; Лига негритянского предпринимательства и многие другие попытки по улучшению здоровья и борьбе с преступностью. Однако мы пришли к тому, что наше начинание все больше и больше, как я и намечал, превращалось в источник информации и базис для дальнейшего изучения, а не в орган по проведению социальных реформ.

Н. Уорком (Monroe, N. Work). См. Гуннар Мирдал (Gunnar Myrdal), Одна американская дилемма, т. II, стр. 1145—1180.

На протяжении десятилетия с 1896 по 1905 г. мне удалось закончить следующий цикл исследования:

1896 — Смертность среди негров в городах.
1897 — Социальные и материальные условия существования негров в городах.
1898 — Некоторые попытки негров, направленные на улучшение социальных условий.
1899 — Негры и бизнес.
1900 — Негры и колледжи.
1901 — Негры и общая школа.
1902 — Негры и ремесло.
1903 — Негритянская церковь.
1904 — Заметки о преступности среди негров.
1905 — Избранная библиография на тему «Американский негр».

После этого я подготовил для второго десятилетия и выполнил более широкую программу, из которой успел опубликовать следующие восемь работ:

1906 — Здоровье и внешний вид американского негра.
1907 — Экономическое сотрудничество среди американских негров.
1908 — Семья американского негра.
1909 — Попытки улучшения социального положения американских негров.
1910 — Американские негры, получившие образование в колледжах.
1911 — Общая школа и американские негры.
1912 — Американские негры и ремесло.
1914 — Нравы и обычаи американских негров.

С 1914 г. прервалась моя связь с университетом Атланты на 20 лет. Конец этой деятельности положила мировая война.

В своей работе я усиленно и упорно стремился к осуществлению цикла следующих десяти тем изучения негров США:

1. Население. Распределение и рост.
2. Биология. Здоровье и внешний облик.
3. Социальное устройство. Семья, группа и класс.
4. Культурный уровень. Нравы и обычаи.
5. Образование.
6. Религия и церковь.
7. Преступления.
8. Закон и правительство.
9. Литература и искусство.
10. Резюме и библиография.

Выполнить такой план могла бы лишь большая группа хорошо оплачиваемых специалистов при наличии методов изучения и проверке результатов. Но важнее то, что в политико-экономической стороне программы недостаточно отражалась философия Маркса и Энгельса и к тому же вводить в нее философию Ленина было преждевременно. Это должно было быть исследование экономического развития американских негров как рабов и при современном социально-экономическом их положении в США.

За тринадцать лет мы провели серию исследований. Они были ограниченными, неполными, только отчасти убедительными, но настолько выгодно отличались от всех других попыток в этой области, проводимых в стране, что привлекли к себе очень широкое внимание. Все нами опубликованное за четверть века составило своего рода энциклопедию по негритянской проблеме в Америке, распространилось

по библиотекам многих стран и использовалось учеными для изучения расовой проблемы в Америке.

Следует помнить, что в то время университет Атланты был единственным заведением в мире, в котором проводилось систематическое изучение негритянской проблемы и отражались его результаты в форме, доступной для ученых мира.

Еще в 1906 г. я обратился к комиссару труда Соединенных Штатов Нейлу (Neill) с просьбой санкционировать изучение населения Черного Пояса (Black Belt). Объектом изучения я хотел взять округ Лаундес (Lowndes) в бывшем рабовладельческом штате Алабаме (Alabama), где негры составляют подавляющее большинство населения. Предстояло проделать социальное и экономическое исследование со времени существования самых старых сохранившихся документов вплоть до настоящего времени, снабдив исследование данными официальных отчетов и точным подсчетом голосов негритянского населения. Наконец, комиссар Нейл санкционировал это предприятие. При помощи Монрое Уорка из Института Таскиги (Tuskegee), Р. Р. Райта (R. R. Wright) и десятка местных работников я обосновался в школе Кэлхоуна (Calhoun) и приступил к изучению.

Обследование сопровождалось преодолеванием всевозможных затруднений, в том числе и финансовых, преодоленных в конце концов при помощи ссуд, выданных университетом. Упомяну, что некоторых из моих работников кое-где в округе встречали ружейными выстрелами. Но работа была выполнена и отчет о ней был в результате принят правительством, которое выдало 2000 долларов. Наибольшая часть этой суммы пошла на погашение ссуды, которую мне предоставил университет, сделав возможным продолжение данного исследования. Но уже достигнутые результаты им не были опубликованы. Было решено не опубликовывать рукописи, так как в ней «затрагиваются политические вопросы». Я был удивлен и разочарован, но когда через год я снова обратился к ним и спросил, не вернут ли они мне рукопись, мне сообщили, что она уничтожена!

Конечно, с моей стороны было безумием рассчитывать на то, что в начале XX в., во время расцвета колониального империализма и подавления цветного населения, Америка будет поощрять такое научное исследование при негритянском колледже и во главе с учеными-неграми. Моя же уверенность в успехе такого мероприятия была основана на твердом убеждении, что расовые предрассудки основаны на невежестве.

Если говорить об американских научных и литературных кругах, то мы к ним не принадлежали: в ученых обществах и академических группах нас не признавали. Мы оставались лишь неграми, изучающими негров, и в конце концов какое отношение имеют негры к науке и к Америке?

Постепенно и с большим разочарованием я начал уже в 1906 г. осознавать, что мой план изучения негритянской проблемы должен прекратить свое существование, если он не получит какой-либо непредвиденной поддержки.

Ко второму десятилетию XX в. распространенная кастовая система, основанная на принадлежности к той или иной расе, цвету кожи, была открыто узаконена демократической конституцией Соединенных Штатов. Вот почему я в 1910 г. отказался от своего положения в университете Атланты и стал директором Отдела публикаций и научных исследований в только что организованной Национальной ассоциации содействия

прогрессу цветного населения, одним из участников которой я был раньше.

Один аспект негритянской проблемы в Америке нашел очень слабое отражение в моей программе: речь идет о взаимоотношении с трудящимися белыми. Негры принадлежали к трудовому народу, они были фермерами, чернорабочими, носильщиками, слугами. В главной массе они принадлежали к неимущим. Однако их не считали неотъемлемой частью американского рабочего класса, и я, изучая их тяжелое положение и их борьбу, все время рассматривал их как особую группу вместо того, чтобы причислить их к общей массе трудящихся. Это произошло не потому, что я не считал негров прежде всего трудящимися, чьи основные интересы были характерны для трудового народа. Ошибка моя заключалась в том, что я полагал, что рабочий класс был разделен на антагонистические группы.

Как-то я пригласил секретаря Федерации труда штата Джорджия выступить с речью на нашей конференции. Он согласился, но слушатели знали, что его федерация не предоставляет неграм равные права. Мы изучили положение негров на южных фабриках. Наша переписка со всеми главными профсоюзными организациями страны была почти безрезультатна: американский рабочий класс был разделен цветным барьером. Поэтому моя работа была не о положении рабочего класса, а о положении небольшой его группы, причем взаимоотношения между отдельными группами составили проблему более важную, чем между рабочими и предпринимателями.

В 1931 г. был задуман новый серьезный план по проведению исследований о положении американского негра. Президент Корпорации Карнеги в Нью-Йорке Фредерик П. Кеппел (Frederick P. Keppel) от имени правления пригласил профессора Стокгольмского университета Гуннара Мирдала (Gunnar Myrdal) возглавить «обширное изучение положения негров в Соединенных Штатах, проводимое объективно и беспристрастно в целях изучения этого социального явления».

Сама идея поставить такое исследование полностью под контроль иностранного ученого, не подверженного про- или антинегритянским предрассудкам, и снабдить его значительными денежными средствами могла привлечь поддержку американских ученых. Исследование началось в 1938 г., а в 1944 г. его результаты уже были опубликованы в двух томах. К несчастью, оно велось в период между двумя мировыми войнами и превратилось, почти неизбежно, в изучение моральных взглядов, вместо того чтобы стать научным исследованием экономических и социальных фактов. Хотя таких фактов было получено много и они были убедительны, но само название работы «Американская дилемма», указывало на недооценку подлинной науки, в особенности трудов Карла Маркса.

Все интересующиеся проблемой негров в Америке должны прочесть этот большой и впечатляющий труд, но рассматривать его как результат изучения взглядов и мнений людей, а не в качестве исследования в области антропологии или социологии. Со мной советовались в начале, середине и конце обследования. Библиографический список показывает, что результаты моей работы в университете Атланты были широко использованы. Но сотрудничество мне предложено не было.

В 1933 г. Джон Хоуп (John Hope) и я основали на Дальнем юге университет, равный или даже превосходящий любое другое подобное учреждение, которое когда-либо существовало здесь, в бывшем оплоте негритянского рабства. Так же, как и во время моей деятельности в

университете Атланты, половина моего времени была посвящена обучению аспирантов. Я разработал два или три курса, одним из которых был «Коммунизм». Мы изучали «Коммунистический манифест», и я собрал небольшую хорошую библиотеку по социализму и коммунизму, в то время, возможно, лучшую на Юге. Я не думал о пропаганде. Я никогда не был членом Коммунистической партии. Но я видел рост социализма и верил в возможность коммунизма.

В 1934 г. мы с Хоупом возродили конференции университета Атланты по изучению негритянской проблемы. Ему удалось найти для этого денежные средства. Но преждевременная смерть Джона Хоупа в 1936 г. воспрепятствовала полному осуществлению наших планов. Во-первых, обладая свободным временем, мне хотелось восполнить некоторые пробелы исторических очерков, посвященных истории негритянского народа. Во-вторых, я хотел основать при университете Атланты научный журнал, в котором освещались бы результаты исследования различных рас земного шара. Наконец, мне хотелось возобновить в этом университете изучение негритянской проблемы хотя бы в какой-либо форме.

За период с 1935 по 1951 г. я написал и опубликовал статьи: «Негр в период реконструкции Юга», «Черная раса в истории», а также автобиографический очерк моей концепции расовой проблемы в Америке. Кроме того, я очень стремился создать и «Негритянскую энциклопедию». Еще в 1909 г. я планировал «Африканскую энциклопедию», но мой переезд из Атланты в Нью-Йорк задержал осуществление этого проекта, а мировая война помешала его возобновлению. В 1934 г. мне было поручено быть главным редактором нового проекта Фонда Фелпс-Стокса по подготовке и изданию «Негритянской энциклопедии». Я отдал почти десять лет осуществлению этого плана, заручился сотрудничеством многих ученых — «черных» и «белых» — в Америке, Европе и Африке, однако найти необходимые средства мне не удалось. Возможно, было еще преждевременным рассчитывать на широкую поддержку такого честолюбивого мероприятия, возглавляемого негром и строящегося на основе достижений негритянских ученых. Тем не менее том с предварительными итогами наших усилий был опубликован в 1944 г.

Для осуществления руководства и координации этой работы наиболее подходящими казались следующие три негритянских университета: 1) Говардский, 2) университет Фиска, из негритянских учреждений Юга, обладающий лучшим отделением социальных наук; 3) университет Атланты, где впервые в Америке были сделаны попытки научного исследования негритянской проблемы.

Прежде всего было необходимо искать денежные средства для реализации плана, о котором я и рассказал президенту банков Прэри Вью (Prairi View): это мой бывший ученик, который давно уже подумывал о таком сотрудничестве. Он с энтузиазмом отнесся к предприятию. Я заручился разрешением выступить со своим предложением на ежегодной конференции президентов негритянских колледжей, обладающих земельными участками, в Чикаго в ноябре 1941 г.

Начиная с 1935 г. федеральное правительство ежегодно выделяло 18 000 000 долларов тем южным штатам, где черные и белые колледжи существовали отдельно. Негры, составлявшие здесь более одной пятой населения, получали только около 5% суммы.

Одно время негритянские колледжи настаивали на получении большей доли, но получили ответ, что научные исследования по сельскому

хозяйству или по химии ведутся в белых колледжах и что нет необходимости параллельно делать то же в негритянских колледжах. У меня родилась идея, что тщательно разработанная программа расовых исследований в негритянских колледжах может явиться поводом для требований большей доли федеральных расходов. С этой целью в октябре 1941 г. я выступил с речью перед организацией президентов негритянских колледжей, имеющих свои участки земли.

Я предложил этой организации одобрить следующий общий план:

1. Длительное и интенсивное изучение положения негров в каждом из южных штатов каждым из негритянских колледжей, обладающим своим земельным участком.

2. Подготовка к научному выполнению этой работы путем усиления раздела социальных наук в каждом учебном курсе (истории, политических наук, психологии, антропологии, социологии, экономики), а также выделения времени и средств для проведения научных исследований.

3. Составление общей программы тем и методов исследований, созыв ежегодных конференций с присутствием специалистов и представителей других колледжей. Периодические обзоры, пояснения и опубликование итогов деятельности.

Президенты негритянских земельных колледжей отнеслись одобрительно к предложению и 12 июня 1942 г. приняли общий план. Под ним подписались президенты двадцати негритянских земельных колледжей, а со временем и президенты университетов Атланты, Фиска и Говарда. О плане с одобрением отозвались представители Управления военного производства, Американский совет просвещения, Институт научных исследований в области социальных наук штата Северной Каролины, журналы «Школа и общество» и «Журнал высшего образования».

28 октября 1942 г. план был окончательно одобрен на Конференции президентов негритянских колледжей, обладающих своими участками земли.

26-я конференция университета Атланты происходила 19—20 апреля 1943 г. Она превратилась в первую конференцию негритянских земельных колледжей по координированию совместных мероприятий для проведения социальных исследований.

Наша деятельность вызвала много хвалебных отзывов со всех концов страны, и от белых, и от черных. Особенно отмечался новый вид сотрудничества между негритянскими учреждениями, а университет Атланты — как признанный руководитель и центр.

Вдруг в момент триумфа тщательно задуманного и разработанного плана разразилась катастрофа: без малейшего предупреждения меня отстранили от преподавания и от руководства отделением социологии в университете Атланты.

Это повлекло за собой резко отрицательные последствия не только для меня лично, но и для всего дела. До этого именно негр возглавлял исследования и давал пояснения к положению людей его расы в Соединенных Штатах. Начиная же с 1944 г. изучение негритянской проблемы перешло со все усиливающейся быстротой в руки белых из южных штатов. Негритянские социологи и историки продолжали вести научные исследования негров США, но у них не было координированного плана, необходимых средств и заинтересованных лиц из числа директоров учреждений. Кроме того, многие писатели-негры обнаружили, что более выгодным является писать то, что требует бизнес и

правительство, а не полную правду. Вплоть до последнего десятилетия 1949—1959 гг. в тысячах книг и докладов единодушно защищался тезис, что гражданская война не была борьбой за сохранение и распространение рабства черных рабов, а святым походом за поддержание высшей цивилизации белых людей и что сегодняшние историки современности могут не обращать внимания на факт существования американских негров и на их деятельность в 20-м веке.

Как бы там ни было, но я совершенно неожиданно в возрасте 75 лет остался без работы, имея меньше, чем пять тысяч долларов сбережений. Был не только убит при рождении великий план, но и была разрушена сама моя жизнь. Я чувствовал, что мир рушится у меня под ногами и в отчаянии повел ответную борьбу. В итоге мне выдали полностью годовое жалованье в виде компенсации за то, что я не был предупрежден о предстоящей отставке. Предложив сначала пенсию в размере 100 долларов в месяц, мне стали выдавать по окончательному решению 1800 долларов ежегодно в течение первых пяти лет и 1200 долларов в последующие годы.

Все же была сделана серьезная попытка продолжать нашу работу, руководство которой перешло в Говардский университет: ее возглавил Е. Франклин Фразиер (Franklin Frazier). В 1945 г. была проведена прекрасная конференция. Но у Фразиера не было денежных средств, и сотрудничество земельных колледжей постепенно прекратилось. Через год-два прекратил существовать весь наш план и больше никогда не был возобновлен.

Мы понесли еще одну потерю при отказе от плана изучения негров США. Была упущена беспрецедентная возможность для проведения экспериментальных исследований в области социологии, для наблюдения и классификации действий человека в масштабах, которые редко или никогда раньше не использовались. Безусловно, исследование привлекло бы приток необходимых средств и получило бы необходимое квалифицированное сотрудничество в США или в нескольких странах. На такой основе могло зародиться настоящее познание социологии негров в США. Но возможность была упущена и от этого лишь пострадало развитие социологии в Америке. И в самом деле, на сегодняшний день в Соединенных Штатах социология не получила широкого признания, почти нет ученых, которые называли бы себя социологами, и лишь немногие учебные заведения присуждают ученую степень в этой области. Когда-то я составил план первых научных исследований по социологии и предложил создать рядом с миром физических законов науку, которая изучала бы «пределы случайного в поступках людей». Тем временем ученые, изучающие действия человека, колебались и выжидали. Психология изучала нервные реакции, физика совместно с химией и при помощи математики достигла колоссальных высот, изменив наше представление о вселенной, а биология открыла новые сферы.

Однако лишь социология была обойдена в Соединенных Штатах и сведена к общественной деятельности.

По-видимому, только социалистическое государство сумеет найти средства для изучения, определения и сведения к закономерностям колоссального разнообразия человеческих мыслей и действий. Это начала делать и осуществляет марксистско-ленинская философия. Мой план мог бы двинуть вперед эту великую деятельность в Соединенных Штатах и быстрее приблизить страну к социализму, вместо того чтобы стать жертвой борьбы за жизнь, порождаемой частным капиталом.

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ДЕРМАТОГЛИФИКА НЕКОТОРЫХ СЕВЕРО-ВОСТОЧНЫХ НАРОДНОСТЕЙ СССР (МАНСИ И КОМИ)

Современные манси и коми в антропологическом отношении очень неоднородны (Гремяцкий, 1941; Чебоксаров, 1941 и 1946; Трофимова и Чебоксаров, 1941). Не касаясь вопроса об их происхождении, можно констатировать, что морфологически они представляют собой группы, смешанные из различных европеоидных и монголоидных элементов. Так, среди них широко распространены переходные между европеоидами и монголоидами формы сублапоноидного и уральского типов. Например, сублапоноидный темный брахикефальный тип с низким лицом преобладает среди зюздинских коми. Этот компонент отмечается также у других коми и в мансийских группах.

Близкий к сублапоноидному, но более высоколицый и мезокефальный уральский тип выражен у ивдельских и вагильских манси. В виде примеси он встречается и в некоторых группах коми.

Из светлых европеоидных элементов мезокефальный беломорский и более короткоголовый и низкорослый балтийский типы широко представлены у удорских коми. Более сглаженные особенности этих типов имеются и у других групп коми.

В состав ивдельских и вагильских манси вошли также темные мезокефальные и низколицые европеоидные элементы восточного средиземноморского типа. Эти элементы выражены и у некоторых коми, например у иньвенских.

Имея в виду большую антропологическую неоднородность манси и коми, интересным представляется проследить, соответствуют ли некоторые признаки дерматоглифики распределению антропологических типов.

Как известно, кожный рельеф относится к тем морфологическим признакам в строении тела человека, которые не подвергаются влиянию окружающих условий и не изменяются с возрастом. Многие черты дерматоглифики наследственны, причем они генетически не связаны с другими морфологическими признаками, например с ростом, пигмента-

GHANA EMBARKS ON GREAT INDUSTRIALISATION

STUPENDOUS, incredible and fantastic developments have taken place in Ghana since independence, particularly in the field of industries generally. The prodigious pace of this industrial revolution is seen in the fact that industrial enterprises, state-owned and private-owned, are spreading all over the country in a spectacular and phenominal manner.

by

G. K. Amegbe

Since independence Ghana has taken the way of socialism and consequently its Government, headed by the indomitable Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, has concretised its determined wish to revolutionise the society of the people from the economic angle. Indeed Ghana Government viewed it a necessity to rejuvenate the nation's economic forces as a matter of policy of postive action towards the raising of the living standard of the people.

One of the main objectives of the Government on taking over from the colonialists has been to establish various industries to produce as quickly as possible the commodities which are consumed by the people in unlimited quantities and at cheaper prices. It has also been the lively determination of the Ghana Government to produce many commodities, formerly expensive and very hard to come by, in localities and in circles where they were non-existent

GOVT'S FORESIGHT

In fact, by the ingenuity and foresight of the Government, the position can justifiably be regarded as closing the colonialist regime with the dawn of a brighter economic system; for, during the colonial administration of this country no serious thought was given to the establishment of any worthwhile industrial factories to turn out commodities to boost up the economy of this country, with the result that, detrimentally, all consumable goods were imported from foreign countries. That was precisely why the people's hard earned money drained out of the country to other countries to sustain their national and private economy.

In deciding the question of establishing large scale industries it was considered that they could only survive if they were wholely owned by the State, since it is too true that no industry could exist on a great magnitude unless it is fully or partly created and supported by the State.

The establishment of "la grande industrie" of various kinds has opened a new chapter in the economic history of Ghana. It gives encouraging assurance of the steady viability of Ghana's economy. It is also extremely heartening that for the diverse commodities turned out from the factories which have already been established and dotted at many places in the country, there are the raw materials very much in abundance.

We are heartened by the positive action taken by the Ghana Government by taking over a number of gold mines previously owned and run by private foreign companies; and also by the fact that the Government is taking supreme interest in the diamond industry.

One can hardly pass on to newly established industries without paying glowing and hearty tribute to the cocoa industry which has all through the years been the main-stay of Ghana's economy. If Ghana has survived any financial dilemma it is due to the contribution of the famous cocoa industry. Indeed, the cocoa industry has been mostly responsible for the viability of Ghana's financial position.

COCOA INDUSTRY

It is a happy augury that we have now numerous addition to the cocoa industry and the fine prospects for the industrialisation of Ghana can now be clearly and unmistakably visualised. The flower of industries in the various localities will soon begin to blossom for Ghana to realise her socialist industrialisation so that the slogan "Work and Happiness" can be concretised and perpetuated.

FACTORIES GROW HERE AND THERE

Living up to her determination to industrialise the country, therefore, it became necessary for the establishment in 1959 of the Ghana Brick and Tile Corporation along Weija Road as a first step in producing local materials for building purposes. Although this industry has been faced with great odds with regard to patronage, the operation of which had had to be suspended for some time, it is heartening to note that the Housing Corporation has assured Ghanaians that the Corporation was to employ these products in most cases in building houses. This is a very welcome piece of news.

At Tema also we have in full production paints by the Ghana Paint Corporation. This will help substantially to cut down import capacity of paints for decoration purposes.

FOOD AND FISH

The manufacture of safety matches by the Ghana Match Corporation at Kade is a great asset, as this is also reducing the importation to this country of matches made in foreign countries. From reliable sources it is known that in no distant time, none of this commodity made abroad will find its way into the Ghanaian market.

At Nsawan fruits and vegetables are being canned. The Ghana Cannery Corporation there is also producing alcoholic and soft drinks. We have also, being produced by Nzima Oil Mill Factory at Franza near Esiama, refined edible oil which has enlivened the edible oil activity in the local market. Edible oil is a very essential commodity for consumption in all parts of the world. It's production here in Ghana has a decided benefit to the people. It is an open blessing.

WOOD WORKS

There are also the Crystal Oil Mills Ltd., Accra, the Atebubu Oil Mill Factory, the Tamale Oil Mill Factory, Denu Oil Mill Factory, the Bawku Oil Mill Factory and the Assesewa Oil Mill Factory, all of which turn out edible oils of all kinds.

There is also the Paper Conversion Corporation at Takoradi which produces toilet rolls and cardboard boxes.

Another effort which has greatly arrested the importation to a large extent of commodities is the establishement of the Ghana Distilleries Corporation which produce alcoholic drinks of all kinds, from whisky, gin, brandy, vodka, aromatic schnapps down to wines. This venture, indeed, is smashing importation of all varieties of alcoholic drinks. The establishment of the factory is timely.

Then we have the Ghana Metal Industries Corporation in Accra which manufacture wire nails. It is reliably known that this commodity has already covered the whole of the Ghana market to the happy extent that no nails are any more imported into Ghana. This is a very happy intelligence.

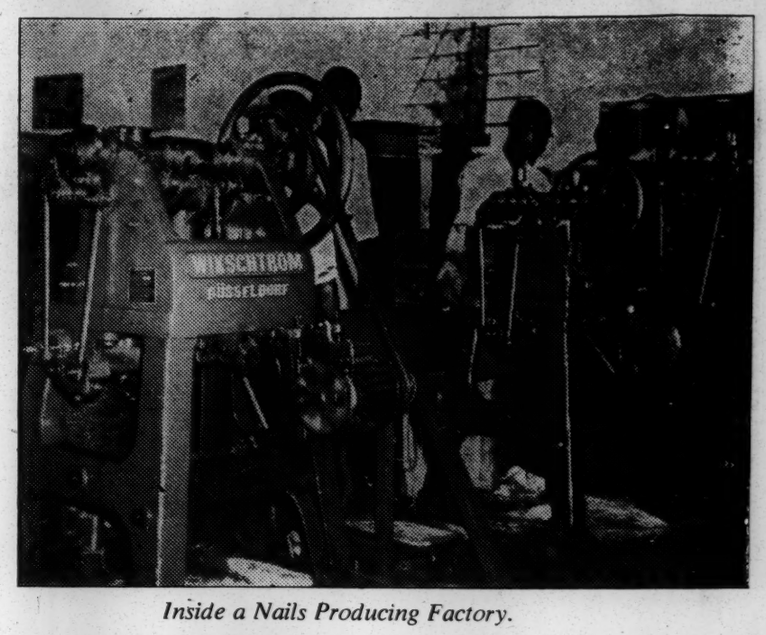
The Ghana Laundries Corporation, with its headquarters at Brewery Road, Accra, and branches at Takoradi and Kumasi is also an asset to the Ghana community.

Another interesting feature in the industrial development of Ghana is the building of surf boats, barges and fishing vessels at Sekondi. This has so revolutionised the fishing industry that more fish find their way to the Cold Stores and the markets in the towns and villages. An addition to this enterprise is the boatyards at Tema also serving the same useful purpose.

Off Brewery Road, Accra, there is a busy factory turning out furniture of all descriptions and of excellent quality which have already enhanced many state and private offices and homes. The State Furniture and Joinery Corporation has a branch on Lake Road, Kumasi, supplying the needs of the people in that Region.

The State Woodworks at the Industrial Estate, Osu, Accra. are also turning out building materials. At Kumasi Jute Bags are being manufactured in real earnest. The establisment of Fibre Bag Manufacturing Corporation is a very necessary addition to the various industrial establishments in the country, for jute bags (Cocoa Bags) have formely cost the country millions of pounds (sterling) to import.

To be continued



Inside a Nails Producing Factory.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

I'll Sell

DEAR Editor,

As a Party Secretary, I feel it is my duty to see that Party members in the towns and villages in my district and others who can read, buy copies of your newspaper, the *People's Vanguard* in order that they may understand Party principles and Government policies.

Send me a number of copies for sale, please.

Theophilus Adu,
Kuntanase-Ashanti.

It's Welcome

DEAR Editor,

This is to congratulate Osagyefo the General Secretary and the Central Committee on the launching of a new Party organ which I understand will be devoted to Party organisation and the national reconstruction.

This new paper, The *People's Vanguard* is welcome and I have no doubt that every Party member will buy a copy to read each day.

Kwame Kusi,
Achirensua/Brong-Ahafo

Read it

DEAR Editor,

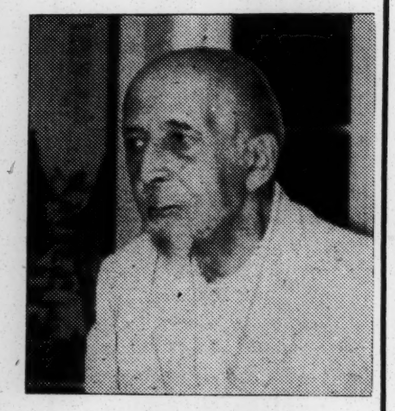
I am suggesting that all Party members should be encouraged to read the *People's Vanguard* which has just been launched by Osagyefo, the General Secretary of the Party.

In this direction, I want to add that all branches and wards throughout the country should place, direct order with the Editor, The *People's Vanguard* P. O. Box No. 821, Accra.

Joseph Arthur, Sekondi.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN

MESSAGE FROM DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS, FATHER OF PAN-AFRICANISM.



Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

IT is with joy and warm congratulation that I hail this maiden issue of the PEOPLE'S VANGUARD! ...The power of the written word is mightier than the sword. As organ of the Convention People's Party, the PEOPLE'S VANGUARD will be a decisive weapon in Ghana's struggle towards attaining for all its people, for all Africans, the true independence of Mind and Spirit embodied in the person of our great Leader, Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah.

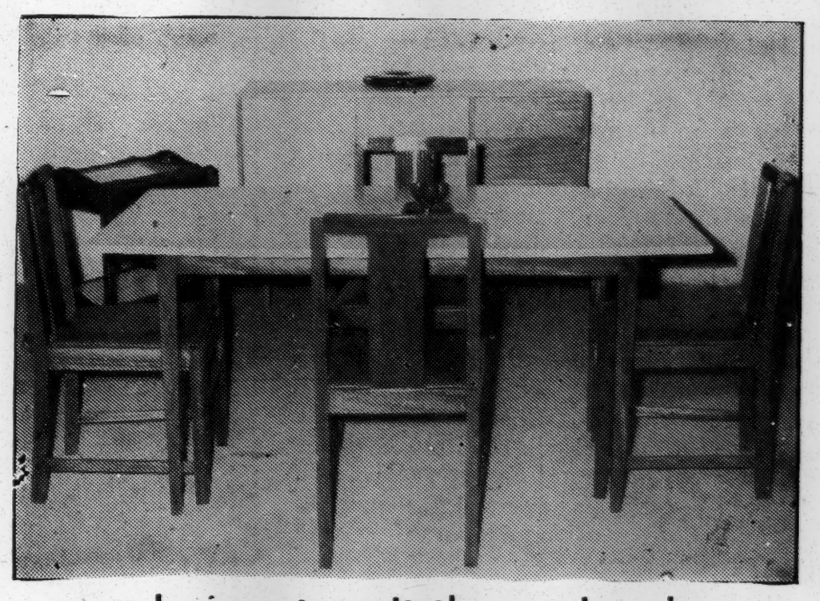
A half century ago, I came to understand that Socialism, in its highest and purest form, is the only hope for an unhappy, warring world, in which three-fourths of humanity lived in degradation and bondage that the other one-fourth might squander its time in luxury and idleness. I rejoiced in the victories of Socialism in distant lands. How happy I am now to live under the banner of Socialism as held high by the Convention People's Party.

I rejoiced that Pan-Africanism is no longer merely a cherished dream in the minds of a few visionaries. It is rapidly and surely becoming a reality. How far Africa has moved since 1921 when the Second Pan-African Congress issued its "Manifesto" to the world, demanding that the peoples of Africa have a voice in their own governments, control of their land and its natural resources! Europe and America laughed and scoffed at our words then

They are not laughing today!

Heads up! Persist! Enlighten! Victory is certain. This is the Century of Africa! And the PEOPLE'S VANGUARD may proclaim the death of Colonialism and Imperialism and the birth of Freedom and Dignity.

High Class **FURNITURE**



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CRISIS ARTICLES IN PRINTED FORM

Du Bois authorship not verified in all cases

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EASTER.

THE land lay smiling in spring splendor, heavy with verdure, gleaming with ~~glad~~ sunshine. Athwart it fell the ~~dark~~ shadow of a toiling man; he was great of limb and black, thick of countenance and hard-haired. His face was half-hopeless, half-vacant, with only a faint gleam of something dead and awakening ~~deep~~ in his deep-set eyes. His feet were chained, his neck yoked and his body scarred. They ~~that~~ had driven him and ridden, and thrust him threatening through the thick forest were now afraid of him. They feared the reproach of his dumb, low-burning eyes. They feared the half-articulate sounds from his moving lips, and saw with terror the slow, steady growth of his body, that great, black, undying body. So they took council together to kill him—lying to his ears, crucifying his soul, until he, bent and bowed and heavy with his own weakness, fell and lay his mighty length in stupor along the earth. And the earth trembled.

Sweating and deep of breath the pale-faced murderers worked and delved, digging a cavernous grave and walling it with Oppression. Then shame-faced, yet grim, they turned northward. At daybreak they stood upon the hills of God with faces white and good, crying: "Come, O brothers, Northern brothers, the Thing that hindered our love is dead, dead, long dead." The brothers of the North came trooping, oily tongued, unctious and rich. Yet they of the North and South looked not each other in the eye, but slunk along false-smiling.

One timid one said:

"O Brother South—I hear chains."

But the South answered:

"Nay, that is the chiming of Negro school bells."

Yet another, quibbling, found his mouth:

"Did the Thing—die—happy?"

The South choked and muttered:

"Happy—so happy—and praising his—Master, and his Best Friends."

"But, Brother, your hands are bloody," quavered a third.

"The blood of the offering burned at the stake for the culture and supremacy of the White Race."

Then hastily the South said in chorus as if to forestall reply:

"See where we have laid Him," and they pointed to that grave, walled with Oppression.

But suddenly the World was wings and the voice of the Angel of the Resurrection beat like a mighty wind athwart their ears, crying:

"He is not here—He is risen."

Risen above ~~half~~ his ignorance; risen to ~~more than six hundred millions~~ of property; risen to a new literature and the faint glimmering of a new Art; risen to a dawning determination to be free; risen to a newer and greater ideal of Humanity than the world has known. RISEN!

Crisis, Sept 1911
II, #5 pp. 200-209

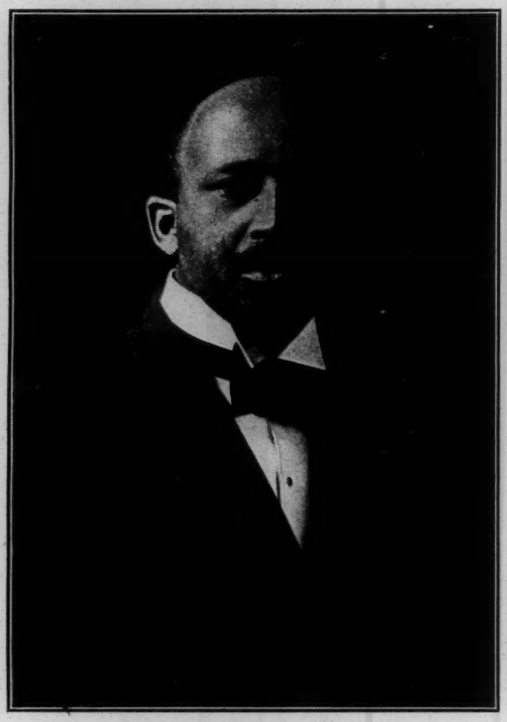
Bt 32 32-33.51

THE RACES CONGRESS

By Our Own Correspondent

I.—What Was the Races Congress?

Several years ago at Eisenach, Germany, Dr. Felix Adler suggested a congress of the races of the world. No attempt was made to follow up this idea for several years; then the Ethical Culture Society permitted one of its best organizers, Gustave Spiller, to devote



W. E. B. DU BOIS
"The American Negro"

two years to the organizing of such a congress. It was planned to hold the congress in the summer of 1911. Extraordinary difficulties faced the organizer. He had no funds; he had no special clientele to appeal to, and he was embarking upon what large numbers of practical people thought a fanciful, if not an impossible, attempt. Then, too, other people feared and opposed it for political and social reasons. Nevertheless, Mr. Spiller went to work.

Within two years he succeeded in enlisting the support of no less than fifty countries, over thirty presidents of parliaments, the majority of the members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration and of the delegates to the Second Hague Conference, twelve British governors and eight British premiers, over forty colonial bishops, some hundred and thirty professors of international law, the leading anthropologists and sociologists, the officers and the majority of the council of the Interparliamentary Union, and other distinguished personages. As writers of papers, Mr. Spiller secured representatives from over twenty civilizations, and every paper referring to a particular people was prepared by some one of high standing belonging to that people.

As president of the congress, the Right Honorable Lord Weardale, a well-known figure in the World's Peace movement, was secured. Among the vice-presidents was the Prime Minister of England, Mr. Balfour, leader of the opposition, Viscount Morley of Blackburn, the speaker of the House of Commons, the Archbishop of York, and others. The general committee included some of the greatest names of the world. On Wednesday, July 26, when Lord Weardale opened the first session of the Congress, he looked into the faces of a thousand people representing fifty different races.

II.—The Object of the Congress.

What after all was the object of assembling a congress of this character? To many people it seemed a visionary scheme; what practical outcome could there be? The Executive Committee stated the purpose of the Congress succinctly: "The object of the Congress will be to discuss, in the light of science and the modern conscience, the general relations subsisting between the peoples of the West and those of the East, between so-called white and so-called colored peoples, with a view to encouraging between them a fuller understanding, the most friendly feelings, and a heartier cooperation." Lord Weardale in his introduction to the volume of papers has enlarged upon this idea: "To those who regard the furtherance of international good will and peace as the highest of all human interests, the occasion of the First Universal Races Congress opens a vista of almost boundless promise.

"No impartial student of history can deny that in the case of nearly all re-

DR. CHARLES A. EASTMAN
"The American Indian"

PROF. EARL E. FINCH
"The Racial Effects of Miscegenation"

Bat 32.32-33.52

corded wars, whatever the ostensible reasons assigned, the underlying cause of conflict has been the existence of race antipathies—using the word race in its broad and popular acceptation—which particular circumstances, often in themselves of trivial moment, have fanned into flame.

"In the earliest times it took the form of one race attempting to subjugate and indeed enslave another; but even in modern wars, while questions of frontier, the ambitions of rulers, or the rivalries of commercial policies, may have provoked the actual crisis, it will be found, in almost every instance, that the pre-existence of social and racial enmity has in reality determined the breach which particular incidents had merely precipitated.

"As civilization progresses and the western world more fully recognizes its ethical responsibilities, it may be hoped that such influences will become an ever diminishing force; but the modern conscience has to-day, in addition, other and quite new problems to solve in face of the startling and sudden appearance of new factors in the Eastern Hemisphere.

"In less than twenty years we have witnessed the most remarkable awakening of nations long regarded as sunk in such depths of somnolence as to be only interesting to the western world because they presented a wide and prolific field for commercial rivalries, often greedy, cruel, and fraught with bloodshed in their prosecution, but which otherwise were an almost negligible quantity in international concerns.

"How great is the change in the lifetime of a single generation, when, to select two instances alone, we contemplate the most remarkable rise of the power of the Empire of Japan, the precursor, it would seem, of a similar revival of the activities and highly developed qualities of the population of the great Empire of China!

"Nearer and nearer we see approaching the day when the caste population of the East will assert their claim to meet on terms of equality the nations of the West, when the free institutions and the organized forces of the one hemisphere will have their counterbalance in the other, when their mental outlook and their social aims will be in principle identical; when, in short, the color prejudice will have vanished and the so-called white races and the so-called colored races shall no longer merely meet in the glowing periods of missionary exposition, but, in very fact, regard one another as in truth men and brothers.

"Are we ready for this change? Have we duly considered all that it signifies, and have we tutored our minds and shaped our policy with a view of successfully meeting the coming flood? It is in order to discuss this question of such supreme importance that the First Universal Races Congress is being held."

III.—The Program of the Congress.

The program, as laid down, sought first to take up fundamental considerations concerning the meaning of race. Then there followed certain general matters of racial progress like government, political conditions, language, religion and miscegenation. The third session began with the special racial problems in China, Japan, Turkey, Persia, India, Egypt, Haiti, etc. Then the matter of interracial contact was spoken of: first, the economic side, and then the bonds of science, art and technique. The fifth session turned to the question of the social conscience in relation to racial questions, and took up the problems of the Jew, and of the Negro in Africa and America,

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HON. G. K. GOKHALE
"East and West in India"

WU TING-FANG
"Conditions of Progress in China"

and also the question of indentured labor and drink. The last two sessions were given up to positive suggestions for permitting interracial friendliness.

The really astounding thing about this program was the amount of agreement and sympathy among papers from widely different sources. Seldom has there been an international congress where there was so much unity in the underlying thought and where the enthusiasm for the central idea was so manifest and so well expressed. Of course in the very multiplicity of the problems, and the large number of speakers, there were manifest disadvantages; practically all the speakers were limited to seven minutes, and yet there must have been at least 150 speakers. Then, too, the speeches were in different languages, including a good deal of broken English. The acoustics of the hall were not good and the heat was intense. Under such conditions it would have been natural to have had a large number of people in bad temper and a great many misunderstandings. This, however, was not so, and every one attending the sessions came away with a distinct feeling of uplift and hope.

IV.—The Men Who Were There.

The personnel of the Congress was marvelous. First, there was the natural difference in color, from the jet black of General Légitime, of Haiti, to the blond Germans and Norwegians. The infiltration of Negro blood was particularly noticeable; the two Egyptian Beys were evidently negroid, the Portuguese was without a doubt a mulatto, and the Persian was dark enough to have trouble in the South. Next came the difference in language: English, French, German and Italian were heard and used continually in speeches, in discussion and in conversation. I remember at one dinner party at the beautiful home of Felix Moscheles there were eight people present and they were talking four languages nearly all the time. After all this came the difference of dress and the many other subtle differences of civilizations; the turban, the fez, the ceremonies of greeting, all gave a peculiar picturesqueness to the assembly.

The personalities which made the most impression upon me were: Mr. Spiller, the creator of the Congress, the indefatigable worker, unselfish and devoted; Dr. Seal, the Indian scholar, tall and brown, with a flowing white beard, full of simple but wholesome enthusiasm; Watanabe, the Japanese parliamentarian, a sweet-tempered scholar; Rubasana, the only Negro member of the Cape Colony Parliament; Hadji Mirza Yahya, the leader of the Persian revolutionists; General Légitime, of Haiti, and his interesting daughter; the Secretary of State of Liberia. Among the most forceful speakers were the Englishmen Robertson and Hobson, and Mrs. Annie Besant. In the audience at various times were many distinguished persons: Prince Kropotkin, of Russia; Schreiner, of South Africa; Finot, of France; the Prince di Cassano; Israel Zangwill, who was listened to with great attention. Wilberforce University sent four popular persons—President Scarborough, Mr. Finch and Chaplain and Mrs. Steward. To all these one must add a large part of learned and philanthropic London, as, for instance, the Ranee of Sarawak, who is the daughter-in-law of Rajah Brooke; Frederic Harrison, Sir Percy Bunting, since deceased; Travers Buxton, and others.

V.—Some of the Papers.

A résumé of several of the more important papers follows:

Dr. Felix von Luschan, Germany.—By what criterion can we distinguish between "savage races" and "civilized races?" Color? Beauty? Cleanliness? Decency? Ability to write? Power of abstract reflection? Science is abandoning these points of view and recognizes the monogenetic origin of humanity. White races and black races, dolichocephalic and brachycephalic—all of them come from the same stock. Circumstances, the environment, have caused some to advance more rapidly than others. When this is recognized we may distinguish three principal varieties: The ancient Indo-European race, the African race and the Asiatic race of the East, diverging from each other in the course of thousands of years, but all of the same stock, and intermarrying in all directions. There has always, and everywhere, been a constant mingling in consequence of invasions, conquest, commercial relations, etc. That is often a condition of progress; England, France and Germany are remarkable for the variety of their racial elements. Nevertheless, the barriers between races tend to persist, although there is an increasing mutual sympathy as the various races come to know each other.

G. Spiller, England.—Many races are, at the present time, treated, or rather maltreated, as inferior races. Are there any sound arguments in favor of this supposed inferiority? The common standard provided by university diplomas shows almost all races, even the majority of those which are regarded as inferior, represented successfully in the universities of Europe and America. Equal in intellectual capacity, these races have proved by their intrepidity, activity and ingeniousness in war, hunting, cultivation of the soil and commerce that they are not inferior to the others in the spirit of initiative. In regard to morality the sacred books of the East and other documents are penetrated by the most profound ethical sentiment; on the practical side, the so-called savages often display more real humanity than civilized people; and as to beauty, it is a question of conventional standards: a well-developed Japanese or Haitian is as handsome as a European. The differences between races are, therefore, mere differences of physical characteristics. It is only the social and historical element that transforms man into a civilized being.

John M. Robertson, England.—All conquering races are agreed, as a rule, in refusing autonomy to the conquered races. This autonomy, however, is the initial condition of an advanced social organism and of intellectual and moral progress. It is only after a long and painful apprenticeship that European nations have attained autonomy. Why not admit that it may be the same with the so-called backward peoples?

Professor Charles S. Myers, England.—The author submits the following propositions: (1) That the mental characters of the majority of the peasant class throughout Europe are essentially the same as those of primitive communities. (2) That such differences between them as exist are the result of differences in environment and in individual variability. (3) That the relation between the organism and its environment (considered in its broadest sense) is the ultimate cause of variation, bodily and mental. (4) That, this being admitted, the possibility of the progressive development of all primitive peoples must be conceded, if only the environment can be appropriately changed.

Professor Lionel W. Lyde, England.—We are in a position to say that primitive man was dark skinned, and that he, as he began to make his way northward, began to bleach, thus creating a semi-primitive yellow type. This yellow man, exposed to conditions of cold and moisture, might become entirely white. The human skin develops pigment to protect itself against a strong sun; and the quantity of pigment in the skin varies with the intensity of the sun. It is therefore the men who live in the hottest and least-shaded parts of the world—that is to say, in the African savana—that we find the blackest skin. The white peoples, on the contrary, are confined to a region where the humidity of the atmosphere forms a screen against the rays of the sun. Finally, between the Negro and the white is the yellow man, who is a product of desiccating grasslands with seasonal extremes of temperature.

Professor Earl Finch, United States.—Race crossing has furnished so high a percentage of the population of the world that the character of the product is of the greatest social importance. Some sociologists hold that the mixture of races has always had, and must have, disastrous consequences; others have a diametrically opposite opinion. The facts support the first of these opinions. The crossing of an indigenous stock with a civilized race often gives rise to a progeny superior in fertility and vitality to the indigenous race itself. When the latter is left to itself it often declines and disappears. The Maoris, Polynesians and Indo-Americans are convincing examples of this. But if the race mixes with Europeans it displays an increased fertility, as has been shown by many experiences, especially in the case of the Pitcairn Islands. If the crossing of races generally produces an inferior population from the moral point of view, it is because prejudice and the withholding of legal and social sanction restricts these

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unions, formed under unfavorable conditions, to the inferior classes. In the rare cases in which regular unions have been contracted between whites and natives the results have been excellent.

MOHAMMED SOUROUR BEY, Egypt.—An essentially agricultural country on account of its fertility, Egypt has only two industries—the cultivation of rice and of sugar. But its real wealth consists in its cultivation of cotton. The nation has no part either in the making or the execution of laws. The reforms that it claims are: A real share in the government, a reorganization of justice, gratuitous and obligatory education, the creation of agricultural and industrial unions to improve the condition of the fellah, the founding of institutions of public assistance and the putting into force of sanitary measures.

MOHAMMED SOUROUR BEY
"Egypt"

GENERAL LEGITIME
"Haiti"

GENERAL LEGITIME, Haiti.—In possession of a fertile soil and an ideal climate, the Haitians have, nevertheless, a very imperfect social organization. Although schools have been multiplied in Haiti, and many Haitians have completed their studies with success in Europe, and although some efforts have been made to improve the routes of communication and the productiveness of the country had been greatly increased, its economic activity is so imperfectly organized that the population, devoid of method, direction or capital, is discouraged and emigrates. Enduring, active, plastic, having immense natural wealth in his country, the Haitian is, if his government gives him the opportunity, as capable as any other man of attaining a high degree of prosperity and civilization.

JOHN A. HOBSON, England.—The character of commerce has changed in our time. Industry having increased its production as a result of the invention of machinery, it becomes necessary to get rid of the surplus of manufactured products, and there is a struggle between the various nations to gain possession of the markets. Further, the importance of commercial relations with primitive peoples has passed from importation to exportation. And as persuasion was necessary to induce these peoples to take our products, and as, in order to have new needs, they had to be "civilized," commerce sought to exercise a pacific and civilizing influence. Nevertheless, the wish to secure or reserve to themselves new markets has dragged modern States into a policy of conquest and colonization in an aggressive form. That seems to be a mistake. To establish profitable commercial relations with a people it is useless to take possession of it. Besides the expense of conquest and military occupation, the unfriendliness of the conquered people will give a very poor guarantee of the development of commerce. The most profitable commerce for Europeans is that with countries into which the commodities and arts of Europe have been introduced under conditions of peace and mutual sympathy.

PROFESSOR FELIX ADLER, United States.—It is urgently necessary for us to have a clearer conception of the ideal to be realized in international relations; for if we make incessant and ruinous preparations for a possible war, and find ourselves in a blind alley from which there is no escape, we owe it to a false military ideal—a false ideal of national prestige, material growth, etc. What principle shall we put in its place? The appeal to sentiment and the progress of democracy are not in themselves a safeguard against war. It is not peace itself that we must keep in view, but the object to be secured by peace. The ideal prin-

But 32.32-33.55

ciple of international relations consists in the progressive organization of these relations between peoples and races. This organization involves two postulates: (1) To attain the most extreme

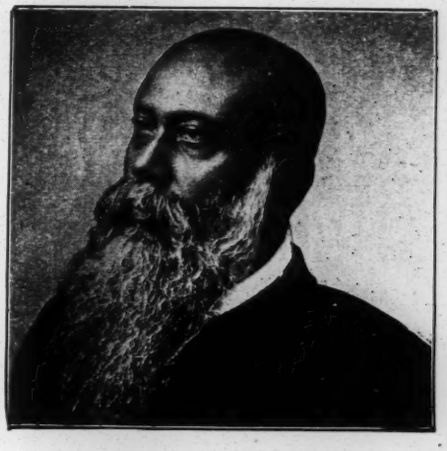
J. TENGO JABAVU
"Native Races of South Africa"

differentiation of types of culture, the maximum of variety and richness in the expression of human faculties. The peace and progress of the world will depend on the formation of a cultivated class of all civilized peoples. (2) This exchange between different types of culture will serve to bring to light the weak points in each, and may lead to their improvement and healing. In accordance with this principle two practical results seem desirable: The first is that civilized nations should treat backward races with more humanity and intelligence, for the benefit of those races, and, in the long run, for the sake of the whole of mankind. The second is that colonial administrators should make a sympathetic study of the customs, manners, law and religion of the peoples to whom they are supposed to bring civilization.

SIR CHARLES BRUCE, England.—The history of civilization passes through three great successive phases: Extermination, servitude and amalgamation. Thus, in the West, the conquering and dominating conception of Athens and of Rome was ruined by the revolt of the northern barbarians; the amalgamation took place under the guidance of Christianity. In the same way the Jews, after the periods of conquest and subjection, tend everywhere to be assimilated to the different peoples. Now, this idea which increasingly controls the relations of the western races to each other, should also control their relations with the peoples of the East. In this, however, the West has a new prejudice—that of color—to overcome. England was one of the first to apply this policy of amalgamation, in India. In regard to the yellow peoples Europe is, after a period of brutality, attaining to a conception of the same kind; the progress of Japan has had a good deal to do with this transformation. As to the blacks, they have long been the instruments of the cupidity, cruelty and luxury of the white; but their intelligence, deliberately neglected for ages, needs only to be awakened.

THE LATE RIGHT HON. SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, Bart., England.—Slavery, which has been officially abolished, tends to revive in disguised forms: "Forced labor" (unpaid, or paid, at less than the normal rate) for public works; porterage in Africa; forced labor in the form of a rubber tax in the Congo basin. We find the same systems in other parts of the world for the purpose of increasing the production of minerals, cocoa and cotton; by imposing labor either on the natives, or on prisoners, or on Chinese or Hindoo immigrants. Public opinion in many countries is protesting against these practices, which seem to be bound up with the system of large concessions. England and France have made praiseworthy efforts to suppress them.

SIR HARRY JOHNSTON, England.—The Negro type is that which is most markedly set off from the white or Caucasian subspecies. Hence, no doubt, a certain repugnance felt in regard to races that are impregnated with Negro blood, such as the Hindoos, Moors and even the Jews. The negroid element is, nevertheless, very widespread; it is found, more or less ancient and more or less attenuated, in southern Italy, southern France, Spain and even Great Britain. The physical difference from the white is merely a question of taste. On the other hand, the Negro has a very lively feeling for music and the plastic arts, a great power of resisting disease, a high fertility and considerable talent. The Negro race has produced men of great ability in all departments.



BRAJENDRANATH SEAL
"Meaning of Race, Tribe and Nation"

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J. TENGO JABAVU, South Africa.—The Bantu, a race living in the extreme south of Africa, number about six million souls. They were a robust, healthy, virile people, with advanced institutions; they had a high moral level; they were temperate and religious. But they lived a nomadic life and had no written language. What have the whites done for them? Very little. The mining system leaves much to be desired. They have few or no political rights and no organized education. The Christian missions themselves have, in spite of their good intentions, aimed chiefly at attacking and destroying, instead of improving, the organization of these reputed barbarians. The solution would be to instruct these races in their maternal tongue, concentrating at first on a small number who will afterward devote themselves to teaching and guiding the others. There has been some effort made to found a college, but ten thousand pounds are still needed.

DR. MOJOLA AGBEBI, West Africa.—The problem is twofold. The task of Europe is to establish its political dominion and an industrial and commercial development. For the African the problem is to see what effect the contact with the whites will have on his life, modified and attached in its essential features by this contact. European colonization would only gain by a more intimate and sympathetic penetration of these races whose civilization is so different. They venerate ancestors and heroes, cultivate secret societies, practice polygamy (without grossness), as is common in Islam, and show certain superior characteristics even in their witchcraft, human sacrifices and cannibalism.

DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS, United States.—The Negroes number about ten millions in the United States. Most of them descend from former slaves. They live at the present time under a system of theoretical liberty, but it is restricted in practice by certain legal dispositions and by custom. They are well disposed toward family life, in so far as they are enabled to enjoy it, and to education. They have churches of their own. About two hundred thousand of them are farmers, and fifty thousand are engaged in commerce and the liberal professions. Their situation is most distressing in the South, where they suffer civic incapacity, injustice in the courts of law, economic restrictions, discourtesy in public, etc. And 75 per cent. of the Negroes live in the South. One theory proposes that they should emancipate themselves by acquiring wealth, but it would seem that intellectual emancipation should proceed hand in hand with economic independence.

DR. JEAN BAPTISTE DE LACERDA, Brazil.—During the first half of the last century, Negroes, bought in Africa by Portuguese traders, were imported into Brazil to the number of nearly two millions. Their masters, who treated them as cattle, made concubines of the female slaves, and the country was soon full of metis (half-breeds). These were treated with a certain liberality by the Portuguese, received some education, were often emancipated and had a happier time than their black ancestors. From the intellectual point of view they are often superior to their white father and black mother; in regard to physique, they are graceful and vivacious; but they have not a great power of resisting disease, and it is not always possible to put implicit faith in their loyalty and probity. They have, nevertheless, rendered notorious service to Brazil and have produced a large number of capable men. Since the proclamation of the Republic they have taken an important part in the direction of the affairs of State.

PROFESSOR J. S. MACKENZIE, England.—The fundamental importance of moral education in schools is now pretty generally recognized: (1) By the judicious study of international history and literature we may foster sentiments of honesty, justice, humanity and respect for one's self and others. (2) Moral education should lead to an appreciation of the essential likeness of the various races and classes, in spite of their superficial differences. (3) It is qualities of character that form the real basis of superiority in men of nations. (4) Different peoples, different classes, different sexes, and so on, have each a distinctive type of personality, with a distinctive value of its own. (5) The identity and the comprehensive character of the human ideal are evolved in different and many forms.

EDWIN D. MEAD, United States.—The First Universal Races Congress might form the nucleus of a vast international federation. All the members of the Congress ought to form the following resolutions: "Each nation here represented shall organize a national society this year and hold a national congress next year; a second international congress shall be held three years from now." It is desirable that this Congress should be held in the United States in 1914, as it is the date when we shall celebrate the centennial of peace between the United States and Great Britain.

PROFESSOR N. R. D'ALFONSO, Italy.—Speculative psychology teaches that the man, to whatever race he may belong, has always the same psychological possibilities. Subject from childhood to certain conditions of climate, environment and education, he can reach the highest and most complex grades of civilization. It is the action and reaction of the external world on the internal world of the mind that issues in the creation of man. Hence, if there are psychological dif-

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HADJI MIRZA YAHYA
"Persia"

TONGO TAKEBE
"Japan"

ferences between races they are the outcome of the particular history of various peoples—a history that has entailed a different education. The psychological basis being the same in all men, all, from whatever part of the globe they may come, may evolve in the same way and attain the same psychic results. In the same way racial hostilities and prejudices are not due so much to organic heredity as to tradition and education. It is the place of the Universal Races Congress to recognize and spread this theory and its consequences.

VI.—The Race Problems.

When fifty races look each other in the eye, face to face, there rises a new conception of humanity and its problems. For four days these representatives of the world walked and sat and ate side by side and heard speech after speech. There were few set expository talks. Men did not explain their problems as to some third person—rather they expressed their own inner feeling at this contact of soul. Some objected to this. They said: "There are fine phrases after phrases and endless allusions to human brotherhood, but after all there is little scientific ordered explanation. We find our thoughts and sympathies aroused but unsatisfied."

This was inevitable. To explain means double knowledge: knowledge of the problem, knowledge of the world to whom the problem is being explained. Strangers, therefore, cannot easily reveal themselves to each other and the delegates to the Races Congress were largely strangers.

Yet in the continual meeting of strangers comes gradual illumination and what the formal speeches failed to do, informal intercourse accomplished to a wonderful degree. First, perhaps, the problem of racial and national integrity stepped to the fore: "We built a great wall once," said the keen Chinese representative, "to keep out the world; a wall so vast that it has been said to be the only work of man capable of being seen from the moon; now you are building a wall against us"—but in either case the clear implication was, China stands and must stand as an independent nation. So with the Turks and the Persians there was a certain frank appeal to the fair judgment of men. We are a congeries of races, said the Turks repeatedly, united in political bonds, and thus we typify the future of the world; and the Persians appealed to a great past as earnest for a greater future. Yet it was significant that while they were speaking Austria was moving all her influence to force European interference in Albania, the ex-Shah landed in Persia and the Times was publishing articles to show England's neglected interests in the Persian gulf.

Next to questions of integrity came problems of autonomy among the great subject nations of India and Egypt. How long are these to be held in leading strings? How far can people not "European" govern themselves? How dangerous has been the rise of Japan? The clear unanswerable argument of John Robertson, M.P., was but reason above foaming waters, and one felt the repression of those who talked on these subjects.

The next great question discussed, not so much directly as by implication, was that of religion. What right has one religion to discredit another and force itself on men, especially when it does not pretend to practice what it preaches? This was the repeated implication in con-

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PASTOR MOJOLA AGBEBI
"The West African Problem"

versation and speech. It was a hard thing to answer in face of the tolerance of the Mohammedan and the Buddhist. Perhaps its best answer was the Races Congress itself.

After this the questions came nearer home and the color line appeared. Who and what are these black and brown men? Are they really men? And, in the same breath, is their ability due to white blood or is white blood fatal to them? One could, after all, think one's way through the political integrity of the East and the gradual freedom of India and Egypt, but could black men be free—were they worth freedom? The answer from the United States was sharp and strong and perhaps the most arresting thing in the whole Congress. If America is trying to treat civilized men as uncivilized simply on account of color what effect will this have on the world and on Africa?

Africa was to the Congress as to the world, the land of the Sphinx. It said little that was articulate, but all knew that it was the land of that new forced and exploited labor on which London and the world waxes luxurious, and that this exploitation is spread over Mexico and South America; is it not one with the economic exploitation of women and children and the mass of laborers generally?

The question of the status of women leaped continually to the front. If we speak of China, what of Chinese women? It was the women of India and child marriage that created the keenest interest, and no paper was more eagerly listened to than that which told of the up struggling of the Negro women of the United States.

On the other hand, the labor question was hardly touched in its main modern phases, although a strong, masterly argument was made to show that the economic foundations of imperialism were as weak as those of the slave barons of the South and as wicked.

On the whole the view of the race problems of the world as revealed in the Congress was strongly reassuring; but the reason of this was clear. It was because the men themselves were there. In their absence a terrible indictment against "lazy" Negroes, "dishonest" Chinese and "incompetent" Asiatics could have been framed; but in the face of gentlemen from various human races of all shades and cultures, the fatal exceptions to sweeping rules of fitness continually occurred. The Southerner from the United States was forced to explain that all Negroes were not like this one; the Englishman was forced to show that Indians, fine as they might be personally, had fearful caste hatreds. The wretchedness of the fellaheen had to be balanced against the culture of the Egyptian delegates, and everywhere men found themselves facing old and familiar human problems which but helped to make the essential world humanity plausible.

It seems no exaggeration to say that a few world congresses like this would do more for the unity of mankind and reasonable sympathy between races, would do more for the stopping of war, slavery and oppression than any other single movement.

VII.—The Social Side.

The social side of a congress is usually the most interesting and this was true of the Races Congress. The opening reception was given July 25 at Fishmonger's Hall. There were fully a thousand guests and it was a gorgeous sight. On the day before Mr. and Mrs. Milholland gave an interesting reception. Lord Weardale entertained the writers of papers the following night, and on Thursday there were two receptions; one

TERUAKI KOBAYASHI
"Japan"

at the Lyceum Club and one at Claridge's Hotel. On Friday there was an official dinner, and on Monday the Countess of Warwick entertained the Congress at Warwick castle. Beside these official occasions there was an endless succession of luncheons, teas and dinners, all given quite regardless of the color line or racial lines, and in all cases the genuine courtesy of the English hosts was noticeable.

VIII.—Results of the Congress.

The tangible result of the Congress was the forming of an international committee. This international committee has the following nine objects:

(1) To urge the establishing of harmonious relations between the various divisions of mankind is an essential condition precedent to any serious attempt to diminish warfare and extend the practice of arbitration.

(2) To commend to individuals of different races coming into passing or permanent contact with one another conduct which shall be courteous and respectful.

(3) To induce each people to study sympathetically the customs and civilizations of other peoples, since even the lowliest civilizations have much to teach, and since every civilization should be reverenced as having deep historic roots.

(4) To emphasize that difference in civilization does not, as is often supposed, necessarily connote either inferiority or superiority.

(5) To study impartially and on a broad basis the physical and social effects of race blending and the cases which promote or hinder it, to request governments to compile statistics on the subject and to discourage hasty and crude generalizations on the subject.

(6) To point out the irreconcilability of the contention prevalent among the various peoples of the world that their customs, their civilizations and their physiques are superior to those of other peoples, and also to deprecate the loose manner in which the term "race" is popularly employed.

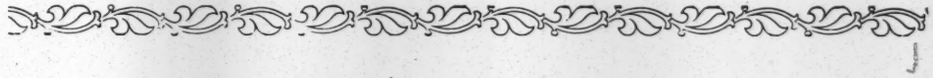
(7) To urge the paramount importance of providing in all lands a universal and efficient system of education—physical, intellectual and moral—as one of the principal means of promoting cordial relations within, and among, all divisions of mankind.

(8) To respect, or to endeavor to assimilate or change, the economic, hygienic, educational and moral standards of immigrants, rather than to regard them as indefensible or fixed.

(9) To collect records of experiments showing the successful uplifting of relatively backward peoples by the application of humane methods, and to urge the application of such methods universally.

It is also charged with the duty of holding future Races Congresses at least once in four years with the following leading object: "To promote cordial relations among all divisions of mankind, without regard to race, color or creed, and, in particular, to encourage a good understanding between East and West."

It is finally asked to establish an international institution whose object shall be to investigate and publish as well as form local organizations throughout the world.



From "A HYMN TO THE PEOPLES" read before the Races Congress

Save us, World Spirit, from our lesser selves!
Grant us that war and hatred cease,
Reveal our souls in every race and hue!
Help us, O Human God, in this Thy Truce
To make Humanity divine!

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois.

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THE THIRD BATTLE OF BULL RUN.

IT is just south of Manassas where Beauregard had his supplies, and east of the first two battlefields, with their ghastly relics and calm and guardian mountains.

This third battlefield is dotted with buildings green and red. A little flying engine pants continuously with its water burden, and to and fro pass dark graceful girls and sturdy brown-faced boys. There are green lawns and little trees, and westward in a hidden grotto, a grove green golden, echoing with the voices of new graduates long gone. The dull crimson building in the midst—Howland Hall—stands sturdily with a certain quietude, flinging a long, low wing modestly behind it, where sprites and gnomes and fairies dart in and out and to and fro in busy work.

Southward the girls are clustered, northward the boys, and round about are teachers' families often new founded with new and cunning babies, albeit one and the prettiest had fled, suddenly, and left a sorrow underneath the trees. Teachers there are, varicolored, sunny and sad, but quiet all, busy and happy, eager and glad. With them and not above them is the principal with his boy face and his wife who has wings—wings finely frayed with beating at the bars of life—but wings withal, and in her eyes dreams.

But the battle? Ah, yes, the battle, the third and blood-bought battle of this winding brook that whimpers 'twixt the mountains and the sea; the blood of wounded souls lies along the gold green of that campus—the hail of the iron that enters thuds through the thick dark skins. Now and then the bitter stifled wail of the dying breaks the sudden stillness, then the ranks close and the school moves on.

It's costly, this fighting. Costly in blood and men, costly in money, costliest in worry and apprehension. Each year, each month, the Forager goes North:

"A man to see you, sir."

"Who?" snorts Wall Street, wheeling in his chair.

"Colored man—begging, I think, sir."

"Another Nigger school! Give him $5 and send him on."

And the Forager pockets his shame and moves wearily to the West.

"Yes? Well, I'm giving so much to colored people already—what is this school?"

"Manassas Industrial School? Yes. And for colored youth? Yes? I never heard of it. I give to things I hear of—Battle? I thought the war was over; it isn't. How sad. Good-day."

Thus in drippings of the rich and pennies of the poor each year $18,000 is raised to dig the trench and fire the fuse and strengthen the soul in this third struggle at Manassas.

Who is fighting? North and South, black and white, rich and poor? Oh, no—more primal, more stupendous is this struggle of worlds; light and leading and industry against darkness and hate and the Devil-of-things-that-be. And who wins? God wins—or is ever about to win, if only the Forager staggers home with the food to feed the weary watchers in the trenches, the black-sweated fighters in the fields. Pity the Forager, my brothers, and hold up his hands!

Sunset on the battlefield, and the hard breathing of them that rest from their labors; to the West, glory; to the East, the moon; between, shadows of things that were and are to be; around, a rose-grown porch, the patter of little feet, Woman - with - wings, Man - who - is - ever-young, and laughter.

Up from the earth come voices, heavy with sorrow:

"O brother you must bow so low,
"O brother you must bow so low,
"For long is the way to the ever bright world,
"Let the Heaven light shine on me!"

And so on till we sleep; in our ears the soft low panting of the engine catching its breath; in our eyes the everlasting stars.

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EASTER.

LIFT up your heads, O ye gates and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in.

Who is the King of glory? The Friend strong and faithful; the Friend faithful in little.

The Friend that seeks neither place nor pay; the Friend that does not boast nor blame, but sits beside us patiently; the Friend who in our weakness knows, and in our travail understands; the Friend to whom we need not say our suffering, for he has suffered even as we and with his stripes we are healed.

The Friend who looks into our tired eyes and laughs cheeringly, who grasps our hand warmly and is silent; who says: "Well done, old man," and "Good work, little sister!"

The Friend who is no impossible god or simpering angel, but human like us, hungry as we are and disappointed; who smokes and drinks with us and walks beneath the stars.

The Friend that hath clean hands and a pure heart; who hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity nor sworn deceitfully.

Yes, and the Friend who, looking back through jeweled tears, has gone down the Way of Shadows to the place that is silent and dark.

Lift up your heads, O ye gates; even lift them up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in.

Who is this King of glory? The Faithful Friend—he is the King of glory. Selah!

The Talks.

Through such a gateway I came out to the cities of men and in these I made twenty-eight talks to audiences aggregating 18,000 human souls.

What wonderful and varied audiences they were: there was the vast theatre in Los Angeles where I strained to reach the last dim gallery rows; there was the little group of a hundred or so in Stockton, and the thoughtful half thousand down in San Diego and over in Indianapolis. Most of all, perhaps, I felt the throb of personal appreciation and understanding in St. Louis and Oakland, while the stillness of a deep earnestness, almost tragedy, lay on the audiences in Fort Worth and Atlanta.

At Los Angeles I spoke again and again to audiences that did not seem to tire, while in the wonderful Northwest I met the little group at Portland, the people of Tacoma—so tireless in their thoughtful care—and crowned it all at Seattle, the wonder city that sits gleaming amid its waters with its face to the great North.

In the eighteen cities where I spoke live 500,000 Americans of Negro descent, and I cannot cease marveling at their grit and energy and alertness. They complain at themselves and criticise, but they are pulsing and alive with a new ambition and determinedness which were to me astounding.

The Mid West.

In Indianapolis, St. Louis and Kansas City strong groups of Negroes are uniting to fight segregation, to improve and defend the schools and to open the gate of opportunity for their children. They are not yet united or agreed, but their steps toward union and agreement in the last ten years have been most encouraging. They welcomed a gospel of fight and self-assertion.

Southern California.

Los Angeles was wonderful. The air was scented with orange blossoms and the beautiful homes lay low crouching on the earth as though they loved its scents and flowers. Nowhere in the United States is the Negro so well and beautifully housed, nor the average of efficiency and intelligence in the colored population so high. Here is an aggressive, hopeful group—with some wealth, large industrial opportunity and a buoyant spirit.

Down at San Diego, with its bold and beautiful coast on the great Pacific, is a smaller group, but kindly and thrifty, with pushing leaders.

The Golden Gate.

The shadow of a great fear broods over San Francisco. They have not forgotten the earthquake, and the stranger realizes what it was by the awe in their tones. One misses here the buoyancy and aggressiveness of Southern California and yet the fifty-eight leaders who met me at dinner were a fine group of men, and they expect the colored world to greet them in 1915 at the exposition.

This group stands closer to the progressive whites than many others and has a chance to share in the great movements of uplift.

At Sacramento I did not speak, but a little group made my hours of waiting pleasant—an unassuming group with pleasant manners and warm hearts. I shall not forget them.

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The Northwest.

Up then I rushed through a rich, green valley and then through high, full-bosomed hills—through that contrast and astonishment which is California.

Portland is the older Northwest—staid and quiet, with a certain strength and bigness. The audience was small and the people were not sure of my message and purpose; but they themselves were awakening and they showed new homes and enterprises with pardonable pride.

Tacoma will always seem to me like a place of home coming. I have seldom come to a strange city with so intimate an understanding and sense of fellowship. The audience was white and black and sympathetically blended. The mayor came and spoke and ate and an old Harvard schoolmate introduced me. They gave me a loving cup and it did not seem inappropriate, so that I went away thinking not so much of a separate striving group as of a body of good friends with scant color line.

Then, as I have said, the wonderful Western pilgrimage was crowned at Seattle. The magic city of 300,000 lies on its hills above silvery waters, dream-beautiful and all but uncanny in its unexpectedness. The group of men who welcomed me were unusual in vigor and individuality. There was the lawyer who thoughtfully engineered it all; the young doctor with his cheery face; the droll politician with his reminiscences and strong opinions; the merchant from up country and his little daughter whose beautiful face of the long years ago I remembered suddenly amid the cheer of her perfect little home. There was the caterer, and the minister—it was a fine group. I have seldom seen its equal.

For one day I turned my back on the perfect memory of this golden journey and sailed out across the seas and thanked God for this the kindliest race on His green earth, for whom I had the privilege of working and to whom I had the pride of belonging.

Texas.

Then I plunged into Texas. One day the white, drifted snows of Montana and then, in less than a week, the sound of the reaper in the golden grain of the Red River valley!

One shivers at the "Jim Crow" cars of Texas. After the luxury of the West and the public courtesy and hospitality, the dirt and impudence of a land where to travel at all meant twelve to twenty-four hours in the most primitive accommodations, was an awful change. For twenty-four hours on one journey I was able to purchase only two musty ham sandwiches to eat, and I sat up three nights in succession to keep engagements.

But what was lacking in public and white courtesy was more than compensated in private and Negro hospitality and appreciation.

At Dallas was one of the strongest, truest religious leaders I have met. At Austin were growing colleges and an audience gathered from thirty miles around. At Marshall was a group of fine men and women, and it all came to climax at Fort Worth.

"Are you going to Fort Worth?" everybody asked, knowing of the recent riot. I went. I spoke to 400 Negroes and a handful of leading whites, and I spoke the clear, plain truth as I conceive it. It was received without dissent or protest and its reception gave me deepest hope and satisfaction.

Atlanta is another story; so here let me end and, in ending, let me thank those who welcomed me, who paid my fees willingly and promptly, who were eager to listen to the message which I brought, not because it was wholly to their liking, but because it was sincere.

All this by way of preface. In later numbers of The Crisis I shall take up these groups and cities in greater detail and tell of their meaning and promise.

(3)

The Horizon

THE WAR.

COMPANY L of the 6th Massachusetts Infantry, a colored company, has been assigned to guard duty at Portsmouth, N. H.

¶ Bishop John Hurst of the A. M. E. Church has already raised $300 for colored French orphans in accordance with the plans of The Colored American Society for the Relief of French War Orphans.

¶ The second construction battalion consisting of Canadian colored men together with a good many American Negroes has arrived in England.

¶ Nine colored men were among the crew of the Portuguese merchant ship, *Argo*, which was torpedoed and sunk while enroute from New Orleans, La., to London, England. Eight colored people were victims on the *City of Memphis*, an American ship sunk by submarines. Two Negroes were lost in the sinking of the British ship, *Crispin*.

¶ Matthew Williams, a colored man, has offered himself and 960 Negroes of Mobile, Ala., to the United States for infantry service; 590 volunteers for an officers reserve training camp have been secured:

Howard University	186
Hampton Institute	150
Virginia Union University	112
Lincoln University	60
Virginia N. & I. Institute	44
Morgan College, Baltimore	38

It is expected that reports from colleges and universities farther South will bring the number up to 1,000; three companies of colored volunteers have been organized in Birmingham, Ala., and a movement is on foot to form a colored regiment; Thomas E. Miller, former president of the State Negro College, has offered to organize 30,000 South Carolina Negroes for active service in the army and navy.

¶ A patriotic parade of some 3,000 colored citizens was held in Columbus, Ohio. Similar parades and patriotic meetings have been held all over the country.

¶ More than 600 Negroes of Chattanooga, Tenn., met and pledged their services to the government; in Augusta, Ga., 800 Negroes held a patriotic mass meeting; 3,000 colored citizens of Houston, Tex., met in the city auditorium as a patriotic demonstration and 12,000 marched in Austin.

¶ Two Red Cross Divisions have been formed in Washington, D. C., among colored women. One is known as the Harriet Tubman Branch, with Dr. Marie Lucas as president, and the other has been formed at Howard University through the efforts of Miss Hallie Queen.

¶ The Governor of South Carolina has appointed a colored commission to have charge of a "more food" campaign.

¶ The four colored regiments in the U. S Army have been recruited to full war strength and no more enlistments are being received.

¶ La Frantz Jones of the colored Howard High School, Wilmington, Del., has been assigned to League Island as assistant wireless operator.

¶ The Maryland League for National Defense offered in March thirteen prizes for the best essays on Universal, Obligatory Military Service. The contest was national, and Mrs. Laura F. Wheatley, a colored student of Morgan College, Baltimore, won the third prize. The judges were the editors of the Baltimore daily papers.

¶ Dr. Ernest Lyon, ex-U. S. Minister to Liberia, addressed a meeting of colored women in the home of Mrs. George E. Frey, in Baltimore, Md., which resulted in the organization of The Women's Patriotic League of Maryland. Mrs. Frey was made president, Mrs. Mason A. Hawkins, vice-president, Mrs. Howard Payne, secretary, and Mrs. Howard Young, treasurer.

INDUSTRY.

THE migration of Negroes from the South to the North, East, and West continues. A careful compilation of records of railway agencies shows that the total movement of colored citizens from Albany, Ga., to northern and western states from June 1, 1916, to March 1, 1917, was approximately 4,500; figures compiled by T. Arnold Hill, of the Chicago Branch of the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, from data of the railroads,

show that the Illinois Central transports an average of between sixty-five and seventy a day, and the Chicago & Eastern Illinois between thirty and thirty-five daily; city and state officials say that more than 20,000 have come to Philadelphia, Pa., in the last six months; over 1,000 arrived in Cincinnati, Ohio, April 15, within twenty-four hours; the Colorado and Southern Railroad brought 200 from Texas during the last two weeks; the Erie Railroad imported from Jacksonville, Fla., during the last week in March over 150; 300 left New Orleans, La., March 20, on the Southern Pacific steamer for New York, and 500 more left March 24; over 1,200 have recently migrated from New Orleans to the North, West and East.

Estimates as to the number of Negroes who have migrated from the South to the North, East and West vary. A statement from the railway companies received by the Lexington Conference of the Methodist Church, recently in session in Cincinnati, Ohio, puts the number at 1,000,000 during the past year; William J. Doherty, Deputy Commissioner of Charities, New York, estimates 150,000 since war-time prosperity; J. H. Duckrey of the Pennsylvania Railroad reports over 2,000,000 since January 1 of this year. Joseph E. Mannings, of Birmingham, Ala., estimates 500,000 since December 28, 1916; 150,000 coming to New York alone, about 100,000 to Philadelphia, Pa., and the rest to various communities in the East and North.

¶ Mayor Raymond of Newark, N. J., says that the Negroes have been a most "orderly, fine part of the city of Newark." Ex-Governor Stokes declares that Negroes are "welcome in New Jersey."

¶ James Judson, the colored "Potato King" of Kansas, and James Slocum of Tulsa, Okla., are said to have invested heavily in Chicago real estate for the purpose of furnishing houses for colored immigrants.

¶ As a result of efforts by Dr. George W. Bowles, a colored man who acts as examiner for employers at York, Pa., the factories of that city are now employing many colored girls.

¶ The Remington Arms Company has secured and is seeking more colored labor for its plant at Eddystone, Pa.

¶ The Utah Construction Company, Cheyenne, Wyoming, is calling for 3,000 colored laborers.

¶ The *Monitor* announces openings for 5,000 colored laborers in and around Omaha, Neb. The wages range from twenty to sixty cents per hour. There is work for farm hands, freight handlers, smelter and packing house laborers.

¶ Colored women are being employed as car washers in the Big Four Railway yards in Cleveland, Ohio.

¶ A number of Negro farmers in the Federal Farm Loan District, composed of Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi, have applied for membership. One organization has refused them and another has delayed action.

¶ Herman Peebles of Raleigh, N. C., won the first prize, a fifty dollar scholarship in the A. & T. College at Greensboro, in the Negro Boys' Farm Clubs Contest for 1916. He produced 104 bushels of corn at a cost of twenty-two cents per bushel. The second prize, a forty dollar scholarship at the same institution, was won by Braxton Brewing who produced 120 bushels of corn at a cost of thirty-eight cents per bushel. The prizes were offered by the A. & T. Alumni Association.

MEETINGS.

OVER 1,000 colored school teachers are expected to attend the convention of the Muskogee County Normal Institute to be held in Muskogee, Okla., at Manual Training School, June 4 to 29. J. T. Smith has been appointed conductor.

¶ A North Carolina Negro Tailors' Convention will be held in Greensboro July 4-6. M. K. Tyson is secretary.

¶ The Mississippi Centennial Exposition which was to have opened next December will be postponed fifteen months on account of the war.

¶ The thirty-sixth annual session of the Louisiana Grand Lodge of the colored Knights of Pythias took place in New Orleans. There was a large attendance.

¶ The annual health conference was held at Baltimore under a committee headed by Mason A. Hawkins, Principal of the Colored High School. Judge R. H. Terrell was the chief speaker.

¶ Five hundred representative Negroes attended a convention at Wewoka, Okla., and a protective league was formed.

THE WELFARE OF NEGRO TROOPS

THE *Christian Advocate* prints the following significant article:

If America is to have an army of 12,000,000 men, at least 1,000,000 will be Negroes. Already the number of colored soldiers exceeds 100,000, many of whom have rendered such notable service as to receive mention in the official reports not only of American commanders, but of the Germans as well. The racial discriminations which so largely prevail in civil life have reappeared in the camps, resulting in criticism and irritation on the part of the "race-conscious" Negroes who feel that the army should at least live up to the principles of human equality which are inscribed on its banners.

Bishop W. P. Thirkield, of New Orleans, has prepared a report on the Welfare of Negro Troops, which seeks to discover the grounds of irritation, and to suggest remedies for evils whose very existence is a reproach to the United States, and whose continuance menaces the strength of the nation's effort to deliver its united power against the German. The report represents the work of a committee of the General War Time Commission of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ. It presents four subjects to the attention of the War Department.

1. In the combatant regiments of Negroes the morale is high, the relation between white officers and colored men is good, and the effect of military training upon the men is conducive to wholesome results in civil life after the war. In non-combatant units, however, the situation appears to be far from satisfactory. The failure to give military training to service battalions and stevedore regiments has stood in the way of their attaining to the feeling both of self-respect and full loyalty that characterize the combatant units. Further, many of the white officers in the non-combatant units have carried over into the army old traditions and prejudices acquired in connection with managing gangs of Negroes on plantations, turpentine farms or construction of public works, and have not had, therefore, toward the men under them the attitude of sympathetic interest that officers take toward fighting men. The fact that in the majority of cases the non-commissioned officers in the service battalions and stevedore regiments have also been whites, who have taken a condescending attitude toward the Negroes, has intensified a feeling of discontent. The inevitable result has been to make it more difficult to sustain among the colored people as a whole an adequate recognition of our democratic ideals in the war and the largest devotion to our cause.

2. Information has come that in certain draft boards an unfair and discriminating attitude has been taken toward Negroes, resulting in inducting into the army large numbers, who, if white, would have been exempted in accordance with the provisions of the draft law. To what extent such irregularities prevail it is impossible to say without further investigation, but certain it is that thoughtful Negroes are convinced that this is very frequently the case.

3. Although the number of illiterates among the Negro troops is exceedingly large, little provision is made for instruction. A military order requires all non-English speaking people in our army to be taught, but because even the most illiterate Negroes can understand orders of command it has not been deemed necessary to provide for their instruction. Such instruction would, however, be of great value not only in increasing the usefulness of the Negro in civilian life afterward but also in securing a finer morale during the war through his enhanced recognition of our concern for his welfare and his appreciation of our national ideals.

4. In the case of Negro regiments, particularly non-combatant units, little or no systematic provision has been made for organized athletics, and consequently the colored soldiers have been deprived of the valuable training that comes therefrom, and which is generally more needed by colored soldiers than by white.

* * *

The committee offers sympathetic and feasible suggestions:

(1) That a small commission of prominent Negroes proceed overseas to examine and report conditions to the government; (2) that alleged draft board discriminations be investigated and eliminated; (3) that all colored battalions have military training; (4) that white officers for colored units be selected with a view to their sympathetic interest in their men; (5) that new service units have Negro non-commissioned officers; (6) that qualified Negroes be trained for officers in larger numbers; and (7) that directors of athletics be provided for all camps of colored troops.

The War Department has many vast undertakings under its direction, and its brilliant work along many lines is heartily appreciated. It has had few tasks beset with more perplexities than those which relate to the military employment of Negro citizens. These findings of Bishop Thirkield's committee deserve Secretary Baker's most serious consideration. They are not the captious criticisms of political opponents, or the expression of racial self-assertiveness. They are based upon the principles of human equality which lie at the basis of America's participation in the War for Freedom.

RACE SUPERIORITY

THE old question as to which race is superior has been done away with by the present conflict. In its place has crept a new doubt as to the superiority of any race. The *Independent* says:

One of the issues of the war is race prejudice. The Germans have this trait in so marked a degree that it ought to share the growing unpopularity which now accumulates around things distinctively German, whether good, bad or indifferent. Ever since the Germans took from Frenchmen like Gobineau, Englishmen like Houston Chamberlain, and Slavs like Treitschke, the legend that the world's civilization was the creation of a single race—the Teutonic—they have been unendurable. The bulk of German books on history, politics and sociology for the last few decades have been devoted to the elaboration of this great Teutonic myth. Slavs were barbarians, Latin nations were decadent, Celts were futile, the yellow races were "monkeys," black men were not human, Jews were enemies of the state; only the Teuton was tall, blond, handsome, virile, virtuous, reverent, honorable, practical, idealistic, scientific, thrifty, continent, just, brave, self-respecting, and capable of self-government. The fact that many Frenchmen, Russians and Irishmen had all these qualities and that some Germans had none of them (not even the blondness) did not prevent the Pan-Germans from identifying the imaginary "Teuton" with the German nation.

The moral of this pitiful collapse of German humor and common sense before the mirage of Teutonism should keep us from similar follies. Let our enemies have a monopoly of racial egotism.

* * *

But the war raises the question of race prejudice also in a broader form; not merely the claims of the Teutonic super-race but the claims of the "white race" itself to eternal and inevitable superiority. Germany has no doubt on the matter. Inferior as are the non-Teutonic peoples of Europe in German eyes, they take rank above the "native" races of Asia and Africa to such a degree that slavery or the sword is the just wage of the latter. Note the German fury at the Allies for seeking the aid of Japan and for employing African troops on European battlefields. Remember the day when the Kaiser preached against the "yellow peril" in the spirit of yellow journalism. Read any good book or article on Germany's system of rule in her overseas colonies. It is true that private plantation owners in Belgian and Portuguese Africa, and even in a few parts of French Africa, have been excessively cruel to the native laborers in their employ. But nowhere have the officials of a government been so systematically oppressive as in German Africa. The atrocities in the Belgian Congo were the work of a soulless capitalism. The atrocities in German Southwest Africa were the work of bureaucrats inspired by racial arrogance and measureless contempt of those whom they ruled. If the preacher of race hate from the Mississippi valley or the Pacific Coast were to migrate to the banks of the Elbe, he would not only relieve us of his presence, but would find an appreciative audience and a true "spiritual home." Race prejudice is pro-Germanism.

If the hideous example of racial arrogance afforded by Germany does not suffice to cure us of our prejudices, there is another fact which should make us reflect. Who are the Allies? At least five nations among them—China, Japan, Siam, Liberia and Haiti—have no white population worth mentioning. An absolute majority of the people of the British Empire live in India; "white" men certainly, but also "natives" and non-Europeans. France and its colonies, if taken as a whole, contain nearly as much black as white, and French Indo-China contributes numerous yellow men to swell the total. Italy, Belgium, Portugal, Brazil, Cuba and others of the Allies have many non-white subjects and citizens. The United States, with its ten million Negroes and mixed-bloods, its Indian tribes, its Pacific colonies, cannot claim to be a racial unity. If we sum together all the people who are fighting against Germany, it seems probable that at least three out of four of them are "natives"; that is, people not descended from the races of Europe. Of course, the white race is the most largely represented on the actual battle line, but, since an army is only the delegate of a people, we should learn to think of the war as a league of all the races of mankind against the common foe of all humanity.

THE ANTHONY SUFFRAGE BILL

THE Pittsburgh, Pa., *Leader* says:

If the country were informed in a joint pledge from every Southern State, county and town that the people down there had forever foresworn against their favorite outdoor pastime of lynching Negroes, the surprise could not be keener than in the vote submitting the question of woman suffrage to the voters of Louisiana by the lower house of the legislature. The astonishment is not diminished by the supplementary assurance that the senate will pass the resolution for referendum by a vote even more decisive than that given in the house.

Of course, this is only the skirmish—the real battle is to be fought at the polls, but the change in view is so radical that once its importance is grasped the mind is prepared for anything. The South, and the extreme South in particular, has been the

THE CRISIS

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Editorial

VIVE LA FRANCE!

"MINE eyes have seen" and they were filled with tears. The mighty audience filled the Trocadéro, and in the center of the stage stood a black man, lithe, tall and straight; on his breast were orders and he wore the uniform of an officer of the French army. A general of France stepped toward him, touched him on either shoulder with his naked sword and kissed him on both cheeks and said: "In the name of the President of the Republic, I nominate you, Bakhane Diop, chevalier of the Legion of Honor." The great audience arose, roared and cried again when the crimson badge of the Legion was pinned on the Arab who stood to the Negro's left and the Annamite who stood on his right, while round about were black French officers and rank on rank of decorated troops.

It was France—almighty and never-dying France leading the world again. The day was given to honor the black men and yellow men who gave their lives for a country they are proud to call theirs and which is equally proud to claim them. Seven black deputies represent black Frenchmen in the French Parliament. Deputy Diagne, of Senegal, was the first man introduced today by the Minister of Colonies and he sat in the place of honor in the President's box.

The exploits of the black and yellow troops were acclaimed by actors from the Théâtre Française, singers from the opera and orators from the government with play and music, cheers and the great strains of the Marseillaise. France, "le jour de gloire est arrivé," and the honor is yours, Men of Africa! How fine a thing to be a black Frenchman in 1919—imagine such a celebration in America!

IN FRANCE, 1918

TOUL, dim through the deepening dark of early afternoon, I saw its towers gloom dusky towards the murk of heaven. We wound in misty roads and dropped upon the city through the great throats of its walled bastions. There lay France—a strange, unknown, unfamiliar France. The city was dispossessed. Through its streets—its narrow, winding streets, old and low and dark, carven and quaint, — poured thousands upon thousands of strange feet of khaki-clad foreigners, and the echoes threw back awkward syllables that were never French. Here was France beaten to her knees yet fighting as never nation fought before, calling in her death agony across the seas till her help came and with all their strut and careless braggadocio saved the worthiest nation of the world from the wickedest fate ever plotted by Fools.

Tim Brimm was playing by the town-pump. Tim Brimm and the bugles of Harlem blared in the little streets of Maron in far Lorraine. The tiny streets were seas of mud. Dank mist and rain sifted through the cold air above the blue Moselle.

Soldiers—soldiers everywhere—black soldiers, boys of Washington, Alabama, Philadelphia, Mississippi. Wild and sweet and wooing leapt the strains upon the air. French children gazed in wonder—women left their washing. Up in the window stood a black Major, a Captain, a Teacher and I—with tears behind our smiling eyes. Tim Brimm was playing by the town-pump.

The audience was framed in smoke. It rose ghost-like out of memories—bitter memories of the officers near dead of pneumonia whose pain was lighted up by the nurses wanting to know whether they must be "Jim-Crowed" with privates or not. Memories of that great last morning when the thunders of hell called the Ninety-second to its last great drive. Memories of bitter humiliations, determined triumphs, great victories and bugle-calls that sounded from earth to heaven. Like memories framed in the breath of God, my audience peered in upon me—good, brown faces with great, kind, beautiful eyes—black soldiers of America rescuing beloved France—and the words came in praise and benediction there in the "Y," with its little stock of cigarettes and candies and its rusty wood stove.

"Alors," said Madame, "quatres sont morts"—four dead—four tall, strong sons dead for France—sons like the sweet and blue-eyed daughter who was hiding her brave smile in the dusk. It was a tiny stone house whose front window lipped the passing side walk where ever tramped the feet of black soldiers marching home. There was a cavernous wardrobe, a great fireplace invaded by a new and jaunty iron stove. Vast, thick piles of bed rose in yonder corner. Without was the crowded kitchen and up a half-stair was our bedroom that gave upon a tiny court with arched stone staircase and green tree. We were a touching family party held together by a great sorrow and a great joy. How we laughed over the salad that got brandy instead of vinegar—how we ate the great golden pile of fried potatoes and how we poured over the post-card from the Lieutenant of the Senegalese—dear little vale of crushed and risen France, in the day when Negroes went "over the top" at Pont-à-Mousson.

Paris, Paris by purple façade of the opera, the crowd on the Boulevard des Italiens and the great swing of the Champs Elysées. But not the Paris the world knows. Paris with its soul cut to the core—feverish, crowded, nervous, hurried; full of uniforms and mourning bands, with cafés closed at 9:30—no sugar, scarce bread, and tears so interwined with joy that there is scant difference. Paris has been dreaming a nightmare and though she awakes, the grim terror is upon her—it lies on the sandbags covering monuments, on the closed art treasures of the Louvre. Only the flowers are there, always the flowers, the Roses of England and the Lilies of France.

WHEN PRIDE BECOMES A VIRTUE

A WRITER in the Philadelphia, Pa., *Bulletin* speaks about the German invention and promulgation of the "lie-well-stuck-to." From the time of the Franco-Prussian War up to 1914, Germany had never ceased to belittle France and to glorify herself. So subtle, so pervading, so persistent had been this propaganda that Germany not only succeeded in convincing the outside world, but induced the French insensibly to accept the rôle thus thrust upon them. No one doubts French worth and valor now. The Battle of the Marne, the watchword "They shall not pass" at Verdun has routed every suspicion and misgiving. Even Germany must acknowledge the

NEWSPAPER COLUMNS

Jan 3

THE WINDS OF TIME

by W.E.B.Du BOIS

It was Walt Whitman, singing in the wilderness, a century ago, who said of Europe:

"Pass'd! Pass'd! for us forever pass'd, that once so mighty world,
now void, inanimate, phantom world,
Embroider'd, dazzling foreign world, with all its gorgeous legends,
myths,
Its kings and castles proud, its priests and warlike lords and courtly
dames,
Pass'd to its charnel vault, coffined with crown and armor on."

¶ The passing of the legend of Europe was slow indeed, but sure. Surely today the blindest must see it.

¶ Last week I spoke of the legend of Peace. Because in the last quarter of of the 19th Century and the first decade of the 20th, there was peace in Europe, those who worshiped her argued there must be peace in the world. And we whose education was European, echoed that this was the great era of peace. Yet before our blinded eyes, war was continuous and all but universal from 1871 to 1914.

¶ There was similar mental muddle concerning Wealth. My early teaching concerning wealth was clear and logical. One worked for money. One spent sparingly and saved the balance. This property saved and invested in land and home; or laid away in the bank, was to be one's support in sickness, age and misfortune. The poor were the thoughtless, the careless.

Was this picture true? To my boyhood it seemed true. Of course I could not see the whole picture. I saw parts and they seemed signifigant, typical. My grandfather and his two brothers owned little farms on Egremont plain. There they lived as I dimly remember as a small child, in a certain independence and comfort; there was food in plenty if not in great variety: they raised it. Clothes lasted a long time; a new dress or suit, or shoes were events calling for wonderment, almost celebration. No Burghardt accepted charity, at least publicly.

But the children did not stay on the land. Why? Shiftlessness, some said; others said they could not afford to. Afford? Singular! Not "afford " to live? I

do not know, for my parents' generation were among them that fled from country to town. There in a town of 5000 people, I grew up and had my view of life and the explanation of that life which was school. My people -- parents, uncles, aunts, cousins, became public and private servants: barbers, ~~witters~~ waiters, laborers, maids; a few with a bit of capital ran drays, became dressmakers or stewards. It was not so clear in such cases to see just what determined income and hours of work. The housing of the clan was poor: not in most cases uncomfortable according to the standards of the town, but contrasting with other homes in two directions. T here were numbers of wretched huts inhabited by the Irish and German factory workers. I did not know why they preferred such homes, but I assumed more or less clearly, that unless they did so choose, they need not live there.

36-6-60

¶ There were a few mansions: large pretentious houses, with wide grounds and lawns and flowers. I remember particularly the estate of John Cone, which we boys passed on the way to the swimming hole. In town I often saw John Cone riding high on his barouche, with horses and shining harnes. My first disillusion in economics was when I was told that he was not John Cone; he was the coachman; John Cone was the funny little fat man crouching in the back. I much preferred the job of the coachman.

¶ Most of the homes of the towns lay cosily between these extremes: small white houses of four to six rooms, with modest front yards and working backyards, full of wood, sheds, sleds and plunder; delectable places to play and useful for household chores. My own homes--for there were three or more in ten years, fell in the lower half of these homes, although the last one of four tiny rooms, was a shade poorer.

¶ Why? What determined the range of these homes and the income of their indwellers? What was wealth, who made it and who shared it? Above all, who determined what, who should have? Singularly enough, as I now see it , very little was said on that subject, in or out of school. Yet we were a free-thinking, free-speaking folk. We talked of time and eternity; we talked of sickness and death; we talked of war and peace. We did not talk of wealth. And so far as I could gather, the reason was that we knew all about it and that therefor there was no need to talk. That was not quite true. I remember hearing my fiery grandmother upbraiding our well-to-do, but stingy neighbor over some transaction, which she alleged was unfair. "I worked for your father, Mr. Culver," "Well, he paid you, didn't he?" Here came the problem of fair wage, for the first."

Jan 10

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

"I have seen the walls of Balclutha
"And they were desolate.
"The fox looked out of the window
"And the wild grass waved about his head.

I remember when a student at Fisk running across this quotation from an almost forgotten poet. I was attracted by it then because of its beauty of expression. I do not remember that I gave much thought to the poverty and desolation, the pain and human suffering that this picture represented and that was common then among mankind and now belts the earth. Faced continually with the problem of poverty we are so used to it, we do not notice it. We take slums for granted. We can hardly conceive of the poverty in Ireland in the middle of the nineteenth century or of India in the middle of the twentieth. Why is this?

My people in the homes I lived in from birth until at seventeen, I left for college, were poor people. I do not think that the income of my immediate family ever exceeded a thousand a year and probably most of the time it was nearer five hundred dollars. Of course in a little town like that living was cheap: rents were low and sometimes the family owned its home; food did not cost much; milk was given away or sold at five cents a quart; vegetables were cheap or gifts; one could always gather greens in the fields in the spring. So that while we were poor we did not suffer from poverty. We were not hungry. We were not well-clothed but on the other hand never ragged. I did not go barefooted even in summer. Moreover, I saw about me a poverty infinitely worse than mine. The potato famine drove peasants out of Ireland beginning in 1848. They must have come to my town early because when I was in school in the seventies there were many hundreds of Irish in town. They were laborers, servants and mill hands. For the most part they were ugly, dirty and ill-kempt. They lived in hovels with their pigs. They seemed to me always brutish, bad tempered and drunk. There were some exceptions of course and in after years the rise of the Irish in that

village from poverty to wealth, education and power was a striking thing. But their condition during my boyhood was piteable. This did not arouse in me any particular compassion or surprise. I grew up to believe that poverty among the Irish was a normal thing and I think I assumed on the whole that it was their fault. Why didn't they work harder, spend less on liquor, save money, wash themselves and their surroundings?

The reason that I came to these conclusions arose mainly, I think, because at an early age I became accustomed to earn and save money, curiously small amounts but tremendously important in my philosophy and plans. The chief milliner in the town had her little shop on Main Street heated by one of those splendid new "base burners" as they were called. One poured hard coal into the top of an iron cylinder and it burned as it drifted down; so that once arranged in the morning it lasted throughout the day. My first job was to fill two of these stoves of a morning on my way to high school. My compensation was twenty-five cents a week.

I remember saving most of this until I could have the infinite pleasure of opening my pocketbook and carelessly displaying a dollar bill. After that I earned more by errands, by mowing lawns on contract, by doing chores of various sorts. I must have earned something like a dollar a week during my last years in high school. Out of this economic background arose my philosophy of income and wealth: People were poor who did not work, perhaps of course they could not but most of the time they could but would not. I did not attempt to analyze the reason and basis for the wages which they received - that I rather assumed was automatic and fixed in the order of things.

At seventeen I was given a job to last for a year and prepare me for going away to college. I was offered one dollar a day, six dollars a week. The amount seemed to me almost fabulous. It was wealth toward which I had never before aspired. It confirmed my econmic philosophy: the Russells, owners of the woolen mills were rich because they work and save; the Irish who worked in those mills were poor because they did not work regularly and they never saved. This was my philosophy. It took me nearly fifty years to examine it, correct it and turn upon it the light of experience, reading and reason.

17 January 1945

WINDS OF TIMES
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

This matter of earning quite satisfied for the time my economic thought. I looked around my little town with its dark river and guardian hills. I saw many sorts of human beings and they differed in many way but chiefly, as I now see it, in income. Of course the difference was not nearly as great as exists in New York and Chicago. I doubt if anyone in that town late in the nineteenth century had an income of more than ten thousand dollars with one exception which I shall mention later. The Paxton Brothers, this is not the real name, were mill owners and probably the richest men in town. One was fat, one rather lean. With the son of the lean one I was a close pal. We visited and played together. I did not consider that the Paxton's income had any relation whatsoever to the wages of his mill hands. These wages were low, not more than one or two dollars a day and the result was poverty and disease. The Paxtons lived in large and comfortable mansions with grounds. They had carriages and horses but there was no sign of extravagance or senseless luxury.

One the other hand, there was Mr. Black, the druggist. He was the same type as the grocer, the clothier, the meat market man. There income was probably two or three thousand dollars a year. They walked to work, dressed without ostentation and so far as I could see had little recreation. You could find Mr. Black in his store from eight o'clock in the morning until late at night with intervals for lunch and dinner.

As now I rationalize this situation and contrast it with the mill hands, the laborers and the servants, I must have regarded its reason as based on two things: work and inheritance. The merchants and mill owners did a higher type of work and were more efficient at it. The mill hands were stupid, many of them could not read and write. This ought, of course to make a difference in their income.

On the other hand, there was that matter of inheritance. I do not think that I considered it very carefully: how far was a man entitled to be given by his parents wealth which he had no share in earning.? Inheritance is a queer thing.

Pauline Havard sings "What does Man inherit?
The bitter wine of tears?
Pain that flogs the spirit?
Sorrow's poisoned spears?
And yet, we too, are sharers
In the rich bread of dreams;
For dusty, spent wayfarers,
The silver threads of streams;
For a new young moon to glitter -
A fingernail of light!
Though wine of grief is bitter,
We mortals still have Night."

36-6-64

The inheritance of the world's beauty and pain is in a sense inevitable; but how about the inheritance of money and property and above all the inheritance of legal rights to income? That is assuredly another problem and that I did not consider.

The schools of Great Barrington taught a little but not much of economics. Their teaching of physiology, chemistry and physics was pretty good. It laid in my mind a very fair foundation. History and English, ancient languages and mathematics were also well taught, although the history was conventional rather than critical. But when it came to the basic question: what is wealth? How do men secure it? What is income? What determines its size? What is poverty and why? Such fundamental inquiries as this we did not touch. They were things that we took for granted and therein lay a great danger. What was omitted in economic teaching in Massachusetts in the seventies was probably lacking all over the United States if not over most of the habitable globe and it explains much muddled thinking today.

23 January 1945

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

My first view of modern economic organization came through the entrance of a millionaire into Great Barrington. We had seen rich people before but they were only reputedly rich and came up from New York to spend the summer. They were strangers extraordinarily well-dressed but the town r ther elaborately ignored them using them only for money-making purposes.

But now came a different case: one of the Kellogg girls had married Mark Hopkins of the Pacific Railway. The Kelloggs were ordinary stoggy farmers who had a big meadow right in the midst of the town through which the Housatanic ran. It was one of my favorite playgrounds as a boy. A great uncle of mine had worked for the Kelloggs, a sort of laborer, servant and man of all work. He was a crochety old bachelor. The family averred that he was almost never paid and did not ask for his pay; that the Kelloggs buried him respectably and set up a tombstone in the Mahaiwe Cemetery where his body lies today beside that of my son. Now the town theory, or at any rate the theory of my family, was that out of the withheld wages filched from our labor, Mark Hopkins became rich. This was of course arrogant nonsense; it was a rationalization of the earning and saving complex which we in our simplicity thought was the basis of wealth. But the basis of wealth had changed enormously. Mark Hopkins made his money by government gift, mortgages and plain stealing. The government gave the Pacific Railway, of which he was one of the builders, millions of acres of the richest land in the world for nothing. He and his confreres sold this to farmers at good prices and clapped mortgages on it. The prices paid, the interest on mortgages, the railway charges and other incidentals made a half dozen millionaires. Mark Hopkins was one.

He married Miss Kellogg and considerately died. Miss Kellogg, an elderly, lonesome widow, wandered back to Great Barrington and for one thing

started to build a palace. She determined to build it out of our blue-grey granite which formed the mountains which I loved and the caves in which I played Indian, and the peaks which I climbed.

By intricate negotiation, the details of which I never knew, I became at he age of sixteen, the timekeeper of the organization which was to build this house. Here I saw technical industry of modern days, in action for the first time. It was marvelous. I saw stone cutters measuring pieces of rough granite and hammering it into building stones and carven frescoes and lovely pillasters. They shaped doorways, windows, friezes and porticoes. I watched them work. My sympathy was entirely with Norcross Brothers of Worchester who were the contractors hiring our labor. Every Saturday I carried the workers their pay envelopes and here and there an envelope contained summary dismissal of the worker without notice or excuse. Usually I was quite in sympathy with the process - the workers loafed. I remember one Irishman who used to stand with an absorbed intellectual expression looking off into space. I knew he was elaborately loafing but I did not know or think about just what it meant for ten hours a day to pound a piece of steel into a granite rock. He so arranged it that he didn't work ten hours a day. He put in six or seven hours of effective work and did a beautiful job. He wasn't dismissed and now I know why. But then I regarded him as a loafer.

Turning aside from the lovely building and the extraordinary technique that was transforming a mountain tino a palace, let us revert to the question of the Hopkins fortune. It arose of free gift, monopoly and cheating. It was transferred to a woman who had contributed very little to its making and didn't know what to do with it when she got it. The very elegant well-bred and be-spatted English architect who told her what kind of house to build, eventually married her, and when she died he took

the fortune in return for a little casual lovemaking. Later having no children himself he adopted a waif and eventually died leaving the fortune to a boy who had had absolutely nothing to do with the making of it. And the fortune consisted not of gold, silver and diamonds, houses and land but of pieces of paper which gave this boy the legal right to demand for his own unlimited use a considerable part of the income which labor in the United States was creating.

Of this whole process we were taught absolutely nothing in the schools. We had no conception of how fortunes were being made, how they were being transferred and how they were being spent, having right before our eyes an example of the misuse of monopoly capital we did not know nearly as much about it as we did of Homer's Iliad and the destruction of Pompei. And what was true in our case, was true over the United States and over the civilized world, and is almost as true today as it was then.

30 January 1945

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

Private Hans Juergensen sings:

My brothers beg for bread.
To give them bread I fight.
Darkness still runs ahead -
Therefore I race for light.

¶ This matter of ignorance of economics; of the meaning of work and wage and the laws and feelings that determine them is so insistent that it is not a matter merely of past recollection but even more so of present importance. Let me skip six decades from the days of my economic training to the present day and take up this ~~matter~~ case of Henry Wallace and Jesse Jones.

Jesse Jones who is one of the kings of American industry with far more power in his hands than the King of England and in some respects more than the President of the United States. Mr. Jones recently with pontifical calm delivered himself of an aphorism which most Americans would pronounce gospel truth. "You can't lose if you buy something for $1 and sell it for $1.25." What I want to impress upon every reader is that you can lose even if you buy something for one cent and sell it for a million; and that the reader who thinks differently is one of those economic illiterates whom I have been scolding.

¶ What does it mean to buy for a price and sell for a profit. We have the feeling that the price of articles is fixed by unchangeable law which closely resembles the law of gravitation; that to this price must be added a profit for the seller or otherwise all industry will collapse, laborers will be unemployed and depression will overwhelm the world. This is flat nonsense.

¶ There are, of course, physical laws which must be followed in the pricing of goods and of services. There must of course be incentive for people to save from their income and render the public some service in the processing, transportation and exhibition of things which they have for sale. But in the space between these

two things; that is, the lowest cost for which goods can be made and sold which is really the cost of keeping human beings alive; and the prices which men may, if they can, insist upon as a return for their work; between these two points there is wide and increasing space where human will and desire can determine where the price may settle.

¶ In other words, if the government of the United States gave some capitalist whom Mr. Jones favors $100,000,000 to build an artificial rubber plant, the lowest price for which that rubber can be sold is the cost of the material for building, machinery and rubber making and the cost of the labor. The cost of the labor can be beaten down unless the laborers are unionized and have a vote or somewhere else to work if they lose jobs in the plant. The price of the materials used is limited in the same way. It comes back, therefore, to what laborers will work for or must work for and that God knows can be pretty little.

¶ On the other hand, the price for which this rubber maker can sell his product is, unless the government intervenes, whatever the men who want tires are willing to pay and that just now may be a lot of money.

¶ The question is, therefore, who is going to determine how much leeway, how much profit there is going to be allowed by the low paid labor and high demand for scarce ~~profits~~ goods, especially when the government, meaning the people of the United States, has furnished the bulk of the invested capital? If here is not a place for government intervention, for government planning and control, how in the name of high heaven are we going to have prosperity in this or any other land?

¶ Henry Wallace is the man who promises that in the disposal of the plants, property and other capital which the United States has furnished industry during this war crisis, he is going so far as he can to fix prices for the good of the people of the United States, and not for the profit of Jesse Jones and the millionaires whom

he has coddled. Jesse Jones, on the other hand, is determined to run these plants at the expense of the government and for the profit of the men who by grace of Jesse Jones now control them. If this path is followed it will and must lead to disaster.

¶ This is exactly the thing which happened in 1929. In 1929, this country set itself to cash in on the pain, disaster and loss of the first World War. It determined to make the peoples of the world pay for American goods the highest price which America set upon them. They were going to do this regardless of what these goods cost in wages and invested wealth and the whole thing smashed into almost incredible disaster because the world could not pay the prices which America asked and America could not maintain the price level which inflated greed had put upon her invested wealth. The world tumbled and the capitalist fell.

36-6-68

¶ If this had been the first time that this thing had happened, we could call it a mistake but this kind of financial crisis has happened periodically at intervals of twenty years or so during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the thoughtful people of the world are getting tired of this nonsense and they see Henry Wallace as a leader who may guide them out of this wilderness.

6 February 1948

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

The Gospel according to Arna Bontemps says:

"I have sown beside all waters in my day.
I planted deep, within my heart the fear
That wind or fowl would take the grain away.
I planted safe against this stark, lean year."

Consequently I have paid the mortgage on my house. This is in a sense epoch-making in my line of economic thought and I believe it may be just as important in the thoughts of other folk.

Mortgage means the death grip which the lender has on the borrower. In Roman times it was so-called because if a person borrowed money on property the lender took the property, kept it and used it until the loan was paid. If the loan was defaulted it became the lender's property for ever. Then came the live grip, a modification in favor of the borrower: he received the loan but kept and used the property until such time as he could repay the loan with similar penalities if he could not.

This form of borrowing against real property has come down to us and is today spreading. It is used not simply for houses and lands but tools, clothes and even food. It is a kind of borrowing that in many cases borders on gambling and has to be watched by careful persons.

Why should a person borrow money on the house which he has bought? Of course because he has not cash enough to pay the full price. He borrows until he can earn the deficit. But curiously there has come a theory widespread among careless thinkers that a mortgage, especially on houses and lands, is natural and necessary; that it is actually better to carry a mortgage on your house. In truth there is only one case where this is a fact: if you buy a house for $5,000 and put $2,500 down, it may be that you can use the other $2,500 in your little grocery business and earn

ten per cent on it while you have to pay only five per cent on the mortgage. This is an excuse for a mortgage on the house, but in most cases you cannot earn on the money which you do not pay, anything at all because you do not have it. In that case it is worse than nonsense to carry a mortgage any longer than is absolutely necessary to earn the money to pay it.

Four times I have bought or tried to buy homes: once I bought a cheap and commodious home which had a mortgage on it. By hard exertion I might have paid that mortgage but both the bank who owned it and the real estate agent who engineered the deal advised against it and I was silly enough to follow their advice. I sold that house, mortgage and all, and tried to buy an apartment house. I planned to occupy an apartment there so that I could see that my tenants were comfortable and got their money's worth. It was another fool's dream. The apartment house was priced far above what it was worth; it needed continual repair and tenants were poor and uncertain. The depression of 1929 caught me flat and I lost $10,000 which was practically all my savings. Then I tried to buy a place in a cooperative apartment and a third time was caught by too high capitalization, poor management and exorbitant interest and rent. I gave up a third time. The fourth time the President of the United States came to my rescue. He established the Federal Housing Authority. He made it possible for me to borrow money at 4½ per cent instead of 6 per cent; to pay off the mortgage gradually instead of in a lump sum; to avoid the payment of bonuses which increase the interest charge. I bought land, built a simple but lovely home according to my own plans and now I do not owe a cent upon it. Go thou and do likewise.

13 February 1945

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

Louis Ginsberg sings in PM:

"Our time now holds suspended breath;
"In lightning flashes of the war,
"We see on every side how Death
"Makes everything alive much more."

In nothing ought we to feel more alive than in the interpretation of the present plight of industry, of work and wealth and post-war employment. This is our old friend economic illiteracy and the problem that faces us as grownups is: what must one do if in the secondary school and in the high school nothing or worse than nothing was said about economics.

My great hope and faith for adult education has long been centered upon the forum: the lecture followed by a question period. I have been astonished and disappointed that this gate to democracy has not obtained greater vogue and quicker growth in America.

I remember once when the present United States Commissioner of Education was superintendent of schools in Des Moines. I shall always believe that he did there a better job than he has done since. He organized the whole city of Des Moines into regular forums. He came near putting the forum within a few blocks of every citizen so that at least once a week that citizen could hear an expert illucidate and discuss some current matter of interest and afterwards ask him questions about it. It was a brilliant idea and it was tremendously successful. Why did it virtually disappear? Because there are interests and vast interests in the United States who do not want the mass of people to know and discuss.

I have been especially interested in the spread of the forum idea among American Negroes. I have spoken to Negro audiences as well as white in nearly every

state in the Union for almost a half century. In practically all cases there have been questions after my talk and I have tried to allow the utmost freedom of inquiry and to answer honestly even if I had to say that I did not know.

This year I have recently been talking in New York, Philadelphia, Buffalo and Cleveland and I plan further discussions in Chicago and Detroit. My audiences have grown in intelligence and power of criticism. I can take a group of a thousand colored people and talk to them for an hour in straight logical exposition without joke or gesture and have them sit eager and tense and then ask searching questions.

Yet this lecture forum idea among us has not grown nearly as fast or widely as it should grow. It has not filled the real demand for it and there has not been concerted effort to increase and broaden this demand. There is still among many the idea that while plumbers and carpenters, house-maids and snow shovelers should be paid and paid well, that lecturers should work for nothing. One knows, of course, the far off reason for this: so many lecturers have been worth nothing. They have had nothing to say and did not know how to say that; they have tried merely to entertain and stir up the crowd. They have left trails of disappointment.

On the other hand, there are men and scores of them who have a message; who could teach the world and yet never try because they are never asked. Here is a field of development and education which we ought to be cultivating continuously and broadly.

20 February 1948

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

Countee Cullen sings:

"One three centuries removed
From the scenes his fathers loved,
Spicy grove, cinnamon tree,
What is Africa to me?"

Every writer receives a letter once a year and often once a month in portest against the use of the word Negro. Usually some honest soul has convinced himself that the essence of the Negro problem lies in the name. Change the name and lo! the problem disappears.

30-6-71

I have always had great admiration for H. L. Mencken's forthright courage and his scientific keenness. Recently, I regret to say, this latter faith has been shaken by his attempt to explain the attitude of American Negroes toward the word Negro. The explanation is superficial and becomes so because he has leaned on the testimony of one flippant columnist seeking to say something smart.

Let us remember once for all that a name is not necessarily a logical conclusion. Every name as the Century dictionary tells us is "the word or words by which an individual person or thing, or a class of persons or things is designated, and distinguished from others." A name, therefore, is a matter of present understanding and not of historical and logical deduction. If by a certain name the majority of people clearly understand what you mean, that designation stands.

Consequently names have histories. These histories show us how the meaning of a name has changed in the past. For instance when slaves were first brought to America they were brought by the Spanish or sold to the Spanish and they were called blacks (negros). This was simply a physical designation. After several centuries there apreared in the West Indies a group of persons of mixed blood, children of white masters by Negro mistresses born both in and out of legal wedlock. These persons were usually, by both French and Spanish law, free persons. Therefore the word Negro meant slaves while the word colored meant free person.

For many centuries the people of color fought fiercely against any attempt by word or deed to reduce them to slavery. It was this prejudice against the word Negro based upon a real and faithful distinction that put the word into disrepute. In the United States the earlier Negro leaders searching for a suitable designation chose the word African. Hence we had in the latter part of the eighteenth century the rise of African Societies in New York, Rhode Island and Pennsylvania and the formation of the African Methodist Church. But this was clearly a misnomer. American Negroes even of that day, except in very few cases, were not Africans. They were Americans. Therefore by the middle of the nineteenth century and especially after the Civil War, American Negroes were in a real quandary as to what they should call themselves. It was not a question of their being ashamed of their descent or of wanting to coin a new and fantastic designation.

With regard to the word Negro they had two objections: one, that the ancient connotation of the word in America was slave, and the other that in all uses of the name in America it had become an epithet and a mark of opprobium. To escape, therefore, this public and bitter use of the word Negro uncapitalized and "nigger", an attempt was made by colored writers in the latter half of the nineteenth century to substitute some new name like Afro-American or Aframerican or circumlocutions like American of African descent." The difficulty here lay in the fact that you cannot arbitrarily change a name. "Friends" were called Quakers in derision. They have never been able to escape the term and have ceased to try. The same was true with Puritans and similar nicknames.

A growing group of writers late in the nineteenth century determined to rescue the word Negro from its opprobium. They determined to use it, demand its capitalization and by sheer weight of will to make it the name of a great people. The history of this effort calls for careful study and documentation. Dunbar, Chesnutt, Whitman, James Weldon Johnson and many others joined in this continued pressure. Gradually the walls yielded to our trumpet blowing. I remember the fight which I had with the United States

Census of 1890 to make them capitalize Negro in my contribution to their publication.[5] I remember when periodicals like the Atlantic Monthly, New York Times, the Atlanta Constitution, slowly yielded to capitalization. The books on typography began to yield to capitalization. The word Negro today is no longer an epithet. It no longer means slaves or despised people. It has become the proper designation not only of thirteen million Americans descended from white, black and brown people, but of something between 150 and 200 million of other people in Africa, South America, the Caribbean area and Asia, who stand for a series of cultures and an history of struggle and opposition and only incidentally for the color of their skins.

30-6-72

27 February 1945

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

On my recent lecture trip to the West a porter handed me two copies of "The Negro Traveler". This is a new magazine sponsored by porters, trainmen, cooks and dining car waiters. It is aimed at such persons and at the colored traveling public in general. The two numbers which I saw were well printed, well illustrated and of great interest. It shows one phase in the development of our economic position. Up from our work as household servants we have developed occupations which are becoming professions. By organized union methods we have achieved a higher wage and security of service and limitation of hours. We have entered into industry from an unusual angle, parallel in modern days, to what happened to Europeans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

36-6-73

This brings me back again to my economic education and the relation between industry, wage earning and saving. I think on the whole the most puzzling thing in my early thought of work and income was the bank. Physically the banks of my little town were fascinating. I remember once having the chance to examine the waste paper of the Mahaiwe National Bank. Such hordes of beautifully lined paper and blank books and memoranda as I gathered! I loved the looks of the inside of the bank, the gleaming brass, the nice little windows, the moghogany desks. But just what a bank was for and what it did, I could not get clear in my mind. Now I know that there are in this country of ours not less than 100 million people who are just as ignorant now about banks as I was then.

Banks deal in that kind of wealth which is most easily exchangeable and are, therefore, in position to take first advantage of every change in the demands of the consumers for goods and services. This most exchangeable wealth is usually but not always money; real money, that is, gold and silver or promises to pay money printed on paper. This kind of wealth is not consumable. It satisfies no need except the need of exchanging one kind of goods for another; or one kind of work for good; or

one kind of goods for work.

There was a time in the nineteenth century when exchange for wealth was the chief way of making wealth quickly. This is becoming less true today. Tomorrow the measure of civilization will be not quick exchange of wealth but permanence and reliability and predictability of demand. In that day the bank will become less a symbol of prosperity than it is today. Today a bank deals in money and credit; it finances new business; it procures new capital for old businesses; it protects money which you do not use; uses it successfully itself and give you a part, a very small part, of what that money has earned. It may be a center of worldwide gambling; it may be a conservative way of saving money and protecting property. Just because it is a bank is no proof that it is either useful or trustworthy. It must be watched; it must be judged.

When, therefore, the American Bankers Association comes forward to advise the world concerning trade and industry after this war, we have a perfect right to be suspicious. The American Bankers Association is thinking solely of profit and benefit to banks, and benefit to banks is not always benefit to people who work and Save.

There was a period when American Negroes went into banking and looked upon that as a good deal more promising profession than working for railroads or preparing food or rendering various sorts of personal services. They came to this conclusion naturally because bankers made more money than servants, lived better and were more respected. We are in the midst of an era of change and we are working slowly, very slowly, toward the time when personal service is going to outrank gambling in any form and when banks by law and public opinion will be compelled to stop gambling. They will then be institutions to serve society and not merely to make bankers rich.

6 March 1945

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

30-6-74.

I attended last week a meeting of representatives of one hundred and six organizations called together by the Secretary of the Treasury to discuss the Bretton Woods proposals.

We had dinner at the Willard and as I said to an official of the State Department: here we are reaping the logical results of refusing to teach economics to people of the United States, young and old. How can the Treasury Department dream that in a few weeks a nation that knows little of [redacted] elementary economics can comprehend the plan for the economic restoration of the world which was discussed by the United Nations at Bretton Woods.

What happened at this meeting was characteristic. The Secretary of the Treasury himself welcomed us and then two assistant-secretaries of State took us in charge. We were told that the economic dislocation caused by war made efforts to restore trade and finance upon the proper basis imperative.

Then unconsciously narrowing the meaning of currency, trade and economics to matters and movements which do not include the emotions, feelings, wishes and desires of human beings, we became suddenly and curiously technical and found ourselves discussing rates of exchange, policies of investment, the stabilization of currencies, the raising of capital private and public for restoring war losses and securing post war profits.

I was uneasy and out of my depth. I refuse to envisage economics ~~and~~ as higher mathematics, or the investment of capital as the equivalent of economic progress. I insist on the contrary that the human will cannot be plotted by calculus but is subject to incalculable causal change and that the profits of investment are entirely subordinate to the income of workers, their conditions of work, their forms of enjoyment and the voice which they are given in the conduct of industry, - that these things are basic to democracy.

I therefore took occasion to interrupt the discussion of financial science, the attitude of the American Bankers Association and the gold standard to ask this question: "There is in the Bretton Woods proposals so far as I can gather no reference to colonies or colonial conditions. Yet colonies are economic rather than solely political problems. Seven hundred and fifty millions of people, a third of mankind, live in colonies. Cheap colonial labor and materials are basic to post-war industry and finance. Was this matter mentioned in any form at Bretton Woods?"

The answer which Assistant-Secretary Davis, author of the Bretton Woods proposals, gave was "No". The matter of colonies as well as other economic problems like that of Cartels was not touched upon at Bretton Woods. The Bretton Woods agreements propose first a fund of $8 billion to stabilize currency and rates of exchange since we have no international money; and another fund of $8 billion to be loaned to countries for reconstruction, the loans being guaranteed by the United Nations; and the thought being that private capital under such guarantees will furnish as much or more capital for investment.

The United Nations would furnish these funds each in proportion to its resources. The American Bankers Association objects; it wants to raise and control the funds for loaning money and to garner the results of the profit.

Here you have the old dichotomy: is the restoration of the world after this war a matter of private profit or public welfare? Is the safe investment of capital more important than wages, health, and education for the masses of the people both in colonies and in civilized states?

13 March 1945

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

The myth of the superiority of white European civilization is being absolutely destroyed by this war. I think first of the destruction. I saw the great towers of the cathedral of Cologne first in the fall of 1892. I walked in its vast and solemn aisles with a Dutch lady and her three daughters. I saw the great rose window and heard the role of organ music. Nothing th t I had ever heard or seen before equalled this sense of vast beauty. It took half of a thousand years to build this. It has been destroyed in less than a thousand hours. The shell is there. The cathedral is gone.

36-4-75

So too, the University of Bonn. I can see it yet spread placidly in the springtime. It had a certain aire of withdrawal and forgetfulness; living out and beyond a turbulent world and considering its yesterdays, not from a desire of withdrawal but from a deep sense of the fact that most men who made this world are dead and most thoughts, plans and ideals with which we live, belong to a world which no longer lives and yet continues and guides our lives. This is the reason that we dwell in the past and make it our subject of study.

The Rhine from Cologne to Bonn and from Bonn to Coblenz is the Rhine of romance and history and legend. The great statue of the Watch on the Rhine Rises where the Moselle flows into it at Ehrenereistein. Yonder lie the Drachenfels, the ancient castles begin to rise and on to the south are the rocks of the Lorelei. Few places in the world have lovelier scenes or more beautiful memories. War is covering them with blood.

In 1936, I sat last in Dresden and looked down toward its cluster of museums where I had just seen the Sistine Madonna and beyond in Breslau had talked of the world with a famous anthropologist married to a lady from Brazil and uneasy because of the whole outlook of the world.

That same year I saw Tokio, a vast and beautiful and intricate city swarming with human beings living in its tiny homes. I went with Kagawa down to his cooperative restaurant and saw him feeds thousands satisfactorily at a few cents a meal. I sat in club and theatre. I spoke at the university and saw geisha girls dance. All this is ashes or near ashes.

This has been brought about by people who have preened themselves on being leaders of civilization, disciples of the Prince of Peace, devoting themselves to keeping lesser breeds from fighting and disorder, distributing leisure to the world's workers that they might think and dance and enjoy life. Whence has come all this sordid and disastrous miscalculation? This destruction of wealth that runs today in figures so fantastic that no ordinary man can conceive of it; and besides this death, cripples, disease and hopelessness. This is the sort of thing into which European civilization has led us. It must never lead the world again. It never will.

The underlying cause is a fundamental disbelief in the equality of human beings, a disbelief that in the past has led and misled others into a march of superiorities. Read what Egypt wrote concerning the abject worthlessness of all men except Egyptians. Consider what the Persian Empire thought of the shopkeepers of Greece. Listen to the boasting of Roman citizenship that dragged all the world awry, made men deny their birth, their religion, their past in order to make their destiny one with the Roman world state. Think of the attitude of the great rulers of China in their heydey toward all the world outside the celestial kingdom. Then going far beyond all this, consider what for five hundred years the modern world has been taught concerning European civilization, of its incomparable superiority of anything that Egypt, China, Greece or Rome ever conceived, of the genius and mentality of its leaders, of the fact that the only history worth reading or writing was the history of Europe and that the majority of human beings were of no account only as they catered to the happiness and security of Europe. This is the kind of insanity which was bound sooner or later to disrupt and overthrow civilization.

THE WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

As I said to a member of the Bretton Woods Conference, "the difficulty of selling this idea of International Bank and Loan Fund to the people of the United States is that the great mass of intelligent people of this country know nothing of economics because they never have been taught."

The only way of teaching the elements of economic life today is through consumers cooperation; through the Rochdale plan of gathering groups of people for organizing group buying, distribution and manufacture; and putting in the hands of each person of this group the democratic right of deciding all questions of procedure and an equal share of returns regardless of money spent.

36-6-76

This does away with profit and the profit motive; and if civilization is going to restore itself and succeed, private ~~business~~ profit must go. There must be income for work, reward for exertion and sacrifice; but not profit due to gambling with necessities or monopoly of capital or privilege of position.

That this is coming in the United States is shown by the fact that such cooperative organizations are doing a business of nearly a billion dollars a year today and that this business has increased thirty-three per cent during the last twelve months.

Cooperative business today is engaged in the refining of oil, in coal mining, in real estate, wholesale manufacturing and retail merchandizing. ~~They~~ It operates one hundred and twelve mills, factories and refineries, and hundreds of agencies and stores.

The opponents of cooperative business are against these group enterprizes because they say that they are opposed to "private enterprise." This is true and ought to be true. Private enterprise, which is simply the unbridled permission of every gambler and monopolist to take advantage of the poverty and need of the poor, will

either be opposed by decent planning and organization or modern civilization will be ruined. Cooperative enterprise is as old as the world: the idea goes back to the history of Greece and Rome; it helped found the Christian church and it is or pretends to be present in all modern mutual organizations, friendly societies and groups united for common economic good.

They aid today over two and a half million of families but affect less than two per cent of normal consumers incomes under $25,000. They ought to affect ninety per cent and more. I know of no line of study, thought or effort that promises more for the development of Negroes in America and of disadvantaged groups than consumers cooperation.

In Europe where the modern cooperative movement began a hundred years ago and spread through England, Germany and Scandanavia, the whole organization has virtually been smashed by war; but it will return, either as overall planning patterned after Russian communism; or as group planning patterned after Denmark and Sweeden. This is the meaning of the Leftist movement throughout Europe. It is opposed by the American Bankers Association by men like Eric Johnson and W. L. White, by all of those vulture forces which look upon the end of this war as the harvest time for profit and exploitation on a world scale. The same insane dream drove the world to hell after the first World War. The anxiety to stop the war was not a demand for peace but for profit; a demand for selling things for more than they are worth to people who had nothing left to live on. This wild dream on a still larger scale will drive the world insane after this war unless we have learned something in the last generation.

26 March 1945

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

I remember distinctly when I first became aware of the problem of Poland. Of course I had heard of the partition of Poland in my history books but that had meant little to me.

When I was a student in Berlin one of my fellows was a Pole, Stanislau Ritter von Estreicher. I visited him in his home in Crakow and drank for the first time Polish schnapps which nearly choked me.

36-6-77

He told me of the desperate effort which the Poles had been making for years to regain their freedom; of the way in which they were denied the use of their own language; of the difficulty of learning their history in the schools; of the many indignities put upon them by the Germans.

At the same time there was another side to the story which gradually came to my knowledge. I knew that there were few masses of peasant people who were more imposed upon and exploited than the peasants of Poland at the hands of the great landlord. I knew too that the Jews in Poland had suffered more than even the Jews of Russia from cruelty, murder, and personal insult.

In the United States, I am today aware that of the foreign-born people here few if any, have despised Negroes more than the Poles. It was a Polish priest who stirred up the riot in Detroit in the case of the Sojourner Truth housing unit. There were the Poles in Hamtrack, Michigan who led agitation against Negroes and in one case drove them out of their church after they had once previously set it afire.

The Polish question, therefore makes for us one of those complicated problems which we are called to face within the frame of our own racial problems. There is no need that we should assume that Poles are uncommon folk, - unusually cruel, unreasonably lacking in human sympathy. On the contrary, we have here an all too natural situation. The Poles who came to the United States had been the victims of oppression and miserable poverty. In the United States they have had, in many respects, a much better chance than we Negroes have ever had. They have, on the whole prospered. Now when they think of

Poland they think of themselves, not as the poor and the oppressed, but as one with the great landlords, the educated aristocracy who have made the name of Poland famous in art and science. Consequently they take sides not only against the oppressed in this country but even against the oppressed in their own land. They do not remember their fathers as poor peasants. They picture themselves in the future as rich landlords and aristocratic upper classes.

It is a misfortune of America that this sort of curious transformation in attitude and thought has taken place in the case of many of our immigrant people: with the Irish, for instance, one miserably poor and half-starved, living in hovels with their pigs and chickens, finding refuge here in the United States, where they have in the course of a few generations become among the rich and prosperous Americans. For years they were bitter enemies of Negroes, fighting them for their jobs as laborers and scavengers. They killed them in Philadelphia and Cincinnati. They hanged Negroes to the lamp posts of New York in protest against being drafted in a Civil War to set slaves free.

On the other hand Russia is right to deny Poles the rule over Russians beyond the Curzon Line. Poland must learn to rule itself before it is given any right to rule alien peoples.

The Germans were never as bitter against Negroes as Poles and Irish, but nevertheless, they could hardly be counted our friends. They viewed us as suspicious strangers. Some of the German leaders who fought slavery but many refused to take sides.

In fact I came up in a day and a state, where I looked upon foreigners and immigrants as the natural enemies not only of my people, but of all true Americans. This of course was a foolish and short-sighted judgment. It was forgetting that one of the penalties of poverty and ignorance is to fight other people as poor, as ignorant as oneself. It has only been recently and in our day that the descendents of Negroes and the foreign-born in America have begun to know each other through the labor movement and especially through the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

3 April 1945

The Winds of Time

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

36-6-78

There is manifest among us today a curious economic paradox which not all thinkers can see clearly. We have for the first time in modern history practically full employment in the United States with high wage. This means that the members of the laboring classes are getting away from menial service just as much as possible. They do not want to do work which is under social stigma and which in itself is difficult, dirty, and uninspiring. The laboring class then is filled with a new independence and at the same time harrassed by a great fear. How long is this employment and high wage going to last? What is going to happen when it begins to disappear? How far are they going to be thrown back into the want and misery of the days of unemployment?

On the other hand, both the people who are receiving higher wage and those who are the regular employers and are receiving today, in many cases, tremendous profit, are baffled and frustrated by the high prices and by the lack of the ability to buy things which they want. Ordinarily those with the large income want service, the very best kind of service, trained service, and service which is in accord with traditional subservience. They do not get it.Today conductors on the trolley cars are impudent and brusque; servants in the house are independent and impudent. So far as the laborers themselves are concerned they cannot buy the things that they have always envisioned: a new car; plenty of rich food; travel; and excursions. That brings us to the very forefront of our thinking the question as to whether we want large

numbers of people to be fully employed and well-paid.

There are numbers of persons today in the United States who are more or less consciously asking themselves, "Do we want after all, this so-called democracy? Can we carry on civilization, that is, the kind of civilization which we like, if any large proportion of the population has a certain economic independence toward work and can refuse the kinds of employment which they do not like? Is it not neccessary for the happiness and civilization of the people in the world who count, that there should be a large number of poor and servile people driven with poverty and want?" Under those circumstances we can own that detached house with grounds and flowers and plenty of help to take care of it. We can have, if we are rich, the large estate with an army of trained maids, with butlers and valets. We can realize the kind of fate which is so common in the popular English novel where the lady at her ease rings for all sorts of service - where she drives, travels, reads, and entertains; and all of the work, all of the difficulties are taken care of by people whom she pays a sum which is small enough to be afforded from her income.

Manifestly, if the great mass of the laboring people are employed at good wages, they will not want to do that kind of work and they certainly will not do it at the low income which they have been offered before. Consequently, one would find, I do not doubt, on inquiry that a considerable number of people today are questioning the fact as to whether we really want employment and high wage. Suppose, gentle reader, that you examine your own reaction: do you want liberty, equality, and fraternity: Remember that one of the first protests put into verse in early English literature said,

"When Adam delved and Eve span
Who then was the gentleman?"

10 April 1945

Winds of Time

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

How shall we read the riddle posed by our article of last week with regard to menial service? The real reason for the attitude of servants and laborers toward their work lies in the minds of the employers and not in the minds of the workers. Just as long as the average person in the world regards it as socially degrading to cook, to clean house, to wait on table, wash clothes, empty garbage, dig in the earth, and lift burdens; just so long as this kind of work is regarded as degrading, the people who do it and who are compelled to do it will bitterly resent the necessity which compels them to do this work.

36-6-85

Such workers, particularly if they have training, intelligence, and ambition, will feel at enmity with the world; they will tend to do the work carelessly or resentfully; they will pout and slow up on the job. On the other hand, it is equally clear that these kinds of work are not in themselves degrading, but are of high social value. There are few sorts of work in the world of more importance than the preparation and serving of food; than the sanitation which depends upon cleanliness; than the moving of articles so that they will be in the right place at the right time; the cleaning of clothes; the lifting and carrying of burdens. These are life and necessary life; but you cannot make people realize this if you stigmatize this kind of work with social degradation.

Work that is necessary and worth doing must be held in the correspondingly high regard by the public. Young people must be

trained to do ~~them~~ it in the best and most efficient way. The people who do ~~them~~ it must be paid adequately and must be secure in tenure. The hours and the conditions of the labor must be standardized according to civilized usage. The work must carry with it no inevitable mark of inferiority, like addressing without courtesy titles of "Miss" and "Mrs"; or some other customs which mark the person as different and lower in rank.

We can see some of the changes in the social estimation in which common labor and personal service have been held beginning to appear. We have chefs in hotels and in restaurants who are well-paid and respected. We have organized house cleaning, with trained and adequately treated personel. Organized laundry work has come with appropiate machinery; there is rational disposal of garbage; digging and lifting by engineers with machines is common. Usually, however, when these changes take place in the technique of these necessary services a few people are elevated, trained, and put at the head with good pay, while most of the others become factory hands, ill-paid and insecure, and less satisfied with their work than when it was personal service. On the other hand those left in personal service either become flunkies, paid by gratuities and tips or sink to casual workers partially dependent on charity. In both cases their self-respect disappears.

It is on these conditions that the attack must be made in order to counteract the low regard for certain kinds of human labor. The essential work of the world must be done. No necessary work is menial in essence or should be so regarded. There must be training for all sorts of necessary work; but not only that, there must be in all cases adequate pay and social respect. What we are seeing, therefore,

today is a forecast of the things which we must face if we are going to realize democracy in the world, democracy not only in politics, but in work, in income, in distribution of the world's goods.

The reform does not come about simply by saying parrot-like that house-service is "respectable" when we know it is not respected; it is not effected by raising wages on lowly jobs and still regarding these jobs as undignified. The raising of wages must be followed by security, by training, and above all by fundamental change in the attitude of the world towards certain categories of work and toward common labor and menial service.

36-6-86

17 April 1945

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

After considerable agitation and negotiation the American Negro has won not indeed a seat at the peace table in San Francisco but official recognition as a consultant of the American delegation. This is considerable. The consultants have been appointed for forty-two labor, business, professional, religious and other organizations. These consultants will have no direct power; they may or may not be called into consultation; but at any rate it has been established that among the vast and varied interests of this nation in commerce, trade, law, labor, war veterans, farmers, women, Jews, Catholics, Protestants, education and various other general interests, the interest of thirteen million American Negroes must at least be recognized.

36-6-87

This is more than has ever happened before to American Negroes since the Civil War. It came to pas through temperate but insistent agitation on the part of the Negro press and organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

In addition to this there are certain over-all organizations fighting for the Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods plans. The most important of these is perhaps the American Association for the United Nations which is a union of a dozen or more national peace organizations. This federation has appointed a core committee of thirteen and one member of this committee is an American Negro.

We must also remember that directly represented at the peace table will be Liberia, Ethiopia, Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Finally, there will be numbers of interested observers from the Council on African Affairs, the West Indies National Council and probably from some of the great church organizations and especially reporters representing the Negro press.

From all these persons one thing will most certainly be accomplished: whatever is discussed and decided, the situation of the Negro race in Africa, in the West Indies and in America cannot and will not be neglected. It will become part and parcel

of the whole problem of colonies; and the problem of colonies either in San Francisco or soon after will become the central problem of world democracy and world peace.

At a small colonial conference held recently in New York the one central agreement was that the colonial system must go; and that plans for transition of colonials from subordination to empires to autonomy must be put on foot. I am not sure how soon the world is going to realize this. Opposition to the plan is of course centered in the British Empire and there it is strong. On the other hand, there are elements in England who sympathize with this program and believe in the danger of colonialism.

Of course the central problem behind all change is economic. Mere political freedom means nothing if people cannot earn a living and support with their income the education of their children and the protection of their health. This economic program is fundamental and the great hope of the world that its basic importance will not be ignored is the growing strength of Russia. Russia has based its growth upon the Marxian proposition that economic development is basic to all human progress. There is no gainsaying this foundation of truth.

The difficulty with all of the small and so-called independent countries is that imperial commerce is so organized today as to make their self-support impossible. Not only are the colonies wretchedly poor, ignorant and diseased but the little nations resemble them. The mass of the people of the Balkans are poverty stricken. The central problem of Ethiopia, Haiti and Liberia is the tremendous difficulty of earning decent returns for their work and materials. If after this war tariffs walls are maintained and rebuilt; if trade is manipulated in favor of the great empires; if the currencies are at the mercy of vast banking monopolies; then we cannot attack povery. We will have no money for education. We will have continued disease, primarily in colonies and small countries but also as a corollary among the depressed classes of the leading countries of the world.

24 April 1948

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

I presume that what we should be thankful for is that Franklin D. Roosevelt did not die while Garner was vice-President. That would have been too awful to contemplate. What fills us with regret is that Henry Wallace was not continued as vice-President. What faces us is the fact of President Truman.

Franklin Roosevelt did three things: one the New Deal. Two, his emphasis of race relations and three, the war.

Of these three the New Deal was of the greatest importance. For the first time a political party in the United States took upon itself as a distinct duty to plan the increase of wage income at the expense of profits. Of course this attack upon profit has been going on in English-speaking countries ever since English enfranchisement in the early nineteenth century. But never before in America has the head of the state and a leader of a great party stated it as a clear aim; that wages must be increased and security of work and income guaranteed the laborer by open and determined effort to cut down the amount of wealth and income which has been going to capitalists and employers.

It is this phase of Roosevelt's career which made him one of the best hated men in America. There were certain kinds of business men and commercial organizations which never forgave this aspect of the New Deal. Indeed so strong and bitter was the opposition that in his third and fourth terms President Roosevelt retreated from his more advanced stand for economic reform but he nevertheless accomplished the curbing of credit organizations, the federal recognition of union labor and a complete reorganization of the Supreme Court which led it to give wide recognition to his fundamental philosophy.

With the regard to the race problem, Mr. Roosevelt not only followed the attitude of his predecessors toward the recognition of Jews and their problems but did it at a time when anti-Semitism was spreading in the world. Going beyond this he gave the American Negro a kind of recognition in political life which the Negro had never before received. Instead of appointing machine politicians to certain designated positions in his gift, he appointed a series of unusually well-trained advisers. To be sure men like Weaver and Hastie had little power beyond advice but they were men whose advice was of so high a calibre, it had to be listened to.

36-6-89

Beyond this Roosevelt took three steps: he extended international and customary courtesy toward the heads of three Negro states: Ethiopia, Liberia and Haiti. This had never happened before so openly and definitely. In addition to this he spoke out on the conditions in the South and frankly called the South our Number One economic problem.

Finally, he went almost beyond his authority to establish the FEPC as a record-breaking precedent, emphasizing the fact that the basis of the race problem in the South is poverty based on unemployment and low wage.

The third work of President Roosevelt was to put the United States in the second World War in alliance with Russia. This was a tremendous step. Without it Hitler would have conquered Europe and Japan would have conquered China. Europe under Hitler would have been a center of race hate and new slavery and the splendid economic planning of Germany would have been used to depress the workers of the world rather than solve our economic problems of the distribution of wealth. Japan would have spread in Asia an Asiatic version of capitalist domination. Hitler and Japan could not be overcome without the aid of Russia and in order to aid Russia, Roosevelt had virtually to recognize communism as at least a respectable and efficient form of government. This in itself was epoch-making.

The heir to this policy is President Truman. He started political life as a machine politician. He did not have the opportunity of liberal education and he was born in a former slave state. All this is against him but he deserves charity and sympathy for his tremendous task. He may do far better than his antecedents indicate.

published 12 May 1945

Chicago Defender

Winds of Time

It has just come to my attention that there is an African National Congress in South Africa and that it held an important meeting in December, 1943. This illustrates how little we know of activities in Africa and how hard it is to get news. No mention so far as I know was made of this meeting by cable or newspaper press. I first heard of it through a pamphlet which came by mail to Anson Phelps-Stokes and which he has kindly loaned me. It is entitled "Africans' Claims in South Africa" and is the second pamphlet of the Congress series.

It contains findings unanimously adopted at the Annual Conference of the African National Congress at Bloemfontein December 16, 1943. It says that the Prime Minister will represent the interests of the Union of South Africa at the Peace Conference but "We want the Government and the people of South Africa to know the full aspirations of the African peoples so that their point of view will also be presented at the Peace Conference. We want the Government of the United Nations to know and act in the light of our own interpretation of the 'Atlantic Charter' to which they are signatories. This is our way of conveying to them our undisputed claim to full citizenship. We desire them to realise once and for all that a just and permanent peace will be possible only if the claims of all classes, colours and races for sharing and for full participation in the educational, political and economic activities are granted and recognised. "

This declaration is signed by A. B. Xuma, President-General of the African National Congress and also by 27 members of the Committee.

Physicians, lawyers, teachers, civil servants, merchants, clergymen and editors. Dr. Xuma himself received the degree in Science and Medicine in the United States, and degrees in Surgery at Edinburgh and Glasgow and in Public Health in London.

30-6-43

The statement declares:

"Already according to press reports there seems to be differences of opinion as to the applicability of the 'Atlantic Charter' as between the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of Great Britain. It would appear that President F. D. Roosevelt wanted the Atlantic Charter to apply to the whole world while the Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, understood it to be intended for the white people in the occupied countries in Europe.

"In South Africa, Africans have no freedom of movement, no freedom of choice of employment, no right of choice of residence and no right of freedom to purchase land or fixed property from anyone and anywhere. Under the guise of segregation, they are subjected to serious educational, political and economic disabilities and discriminations which are the chief causes of their apparent slow progress.

"We urge that if fascism and fascist tendencies are to be uprooted from the face of the earth, andto open the way for peace, prosperity and racial good-will, the 'Atlantic Charter' must apply to the whole British Empire, the United States of America and to all the nations of the world and their subject peoples. And we urge that South Africa as a prelude to her participation at the Peace Conference in the final destruction of Nazism and Fascism in Europe, must grant the just claims of her non-European peoples to freedom, democracy and human decency,***"

published 12 May 1945

Chicago Defender

W.E.B. DuBois

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36-6-90

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36-6-91

April 28, 1945

Mr. P. W. H. Fleming
814 Second Avenue
Salt Lake City, Utah

My dear Sir:

I could lecture in Salt Lake City Friday, May 25, unless there are unusual occurrences here which will keep me later than that. I do not think there will be.

I am writing directly to Dr. Horsfall and telling him of your proposal.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

published 19 May 1945

W.E.B. DuBOIS

CHICAGO DEFENDER

Winds of Time

The political developments at the San Francisco Conference are of great and increasing interest. Three nations are in the fore front: Russia , Great Britain and the United States. Two nations are in the background: France and China. Yesterday on a critical vote France, China and Russia, in effect, lined up against Great Britain and the United States. I say, in effect, because what happened was France and China did not vote on the admission of Argentina to the United Nations, while Great Britain and the United States voted for it, and Russia against it. The significance of the vote however, lay in the fact that two great nations which were not colonial powers, were balanced against one colonial power and the United States, which is only incidentally a colonial power and not devoted to that way of life.

36-6-94

Of course, China does not yet count much but her possibilities are enormous. France is a colonial power, but a colonial power which according to present plans and to past promises, is leading toward real incorporation of colonials into the French state. Thus, we have forecast a future balance of power in the world which is set against colonialism.

On the other hand in this conference, the influence of Great Britain is tremendous and her collaboration with the United States to perfect. Stettinius and Eden are working hand in hand, which means at least the attempt to restore and maintain British colonialism with the help of the United States. There are, however, possible rifts in this alliance. South America is following closely the leadership of the United States but not toward colonialism. Formerly her industrial alliance with Great Britain was momentous but that has been partially broken. Industrial alliance with the United States will probably supersede

it. In that case, however, the influence of America cannot long stand against colonial peoples. As China grows in power her influence will be against colonialism. And France cannot in the future be the same kindof colonial power that she has been in the past.

It was interesting yesterday to hear Molotov say frankly: "We all know that India is not an independent country but we all understand there is going to be a time when the voice of independent India is heard."

That is the reason that probably a clear pronouncement on colonialism will scarcely be reached at San Francisco; but nevertheless world opinion against colonialism will probably be given a strong push ahead. There are forces in the American delegation that would like to take a firm position concerning India, mandates and perhaps with regard to Africa. They may not become articulate and their accomplishment now may be small, but it will count for the future.

On the other hand there is a growing and powerful movement in San Francisco toward a Bill of Human Rights as part of the United Nations Charter. Another straw in the wind is the fact that the Balkan states, Czechoslovakia, Yogoslavia and Greece recently lined up with Russia against Great Britain and America and Belgium and New Zealand lurked in the background. There is hope in this for the future when democratic processes are going to apply to the 750 million dark people who today live in colonies.

published 26 May 1945

Metz L. P. Lochard
Chicago Defender
Winds of Time

W. E. B. DuBois

39-6-99

I remember with great interest the Congress at Versailles which was the predecessor of the San Francisco Conference. At the Congress of Versailles the attendance of the public was limited even more than at San Francisco because, France was still under martial law. Indeed for a time President Wilson was not disposed to let the American Press be represented. At the last moment he relented before public opinion and sent a press boat with correspondents on which, by great good fortune, and to the displeasure of many Americans, I got passage.

Landing in Paris in December, 1918, I found mud and poverty and all the difficulties of a war-torn country which had lost a generation of its men. No other country suffered like France in the first World War.

My first effort was to see if I could not get the question of color and colonies before the Conference, as the prime cause of the war, and as the best peace insurance for the future. Immediately I met difficulties. But I went to members of the American Delegation. I was told frankly that under the circumstances no Pan-African Congress could be held and that there was no way to bring pressure. My Harvard schoolmate, Walter Lippman, was among those who emphasized this fact. So far as America was concerned I was stopped in my tracks.

Then I turned to France. I got introduced to Blaise Diagne, the tall black deputy from Senegal, who had just brought to France more than 100 thousand black Africans to help save the world. Diagne was interested. He said: "I will put the matter before Clemenceau, the Prime Minister." There was delay. Weeks went by; but at last Diagne called me in. "Clemenceau says 'yes'! Hold your Congress. Don't say anything about it but go ahead!' "

Having gotten my Congress, the question then came of getting someone to attend it. I wrote to England. The English Government refused visas

even to white friends like John Harris, Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society. I cabled to America. The Secretary of State informed inquirers that no Pan-African Congress would be held and refused visas. In fact, after scouring around the available world it looked for a while as though I was going to have a Congress without Congressmen.

But after all there were Negroes in Paris. There were some American soldiers. There were a number of workers in the YMCA and YWCA. There was a considerable number of French colonials. And so, by hook and crook, we got together in the Grand Hotel, near the Opera, a meeting of 20 or 30 persons, including representatives from the French colonial ministry; and we held our Congress.

36-6-100

What we did there had no effect upon the Congress of Versailles. I doubt if most of the delegates even heard of it. I talked with Colonel House, Wilson's particular friend, and he was sympathetic with much that I said; but in the end considerations of colonies and of colored peoples played practically no part in the Congress of Versailles, except as pawns to satisfy the greed of colonial powers.

This is one reason why there is a San Francisco Conference; why there followed the most devestating war humanity has ever known; and why the chief problem before San Francisco ought to be the future of the colonial system, and of colonial peoples.

published 2 June 1945

Metz L. P. Lochard

CHICAGO DEFENDER

WINDS OF TIME

W. E. B. DUBOIS

The Bay Area around San Francisco is one of the most beautiful places of human habitation in the world. In a sense it reminds one of that great sweep around Naples as it used to be, with the fires and smoke of Vesuvius in the background. The geography is like the marvellous beautiful island of Skye in Northern Scotland, but there are few people at Skye. Perhaps, Tokyo and Yokahama have something similar, or did have before the terrible 29's.

I was talking with friends from the University of California last night and they spoke of the degrees conferred on Halifax, Eden, Soong and Smuts. It seems that a degree was also offered Molotov but he would not have it. He is said to have remarked that he could not receive such a degree because it belonged to a scientist or scholar and he was neither. If all men refused degrees that they did not deserve the number granted would be much smaller than at present. There is a certain lack of dignity in the way in which higher degrees are handed about in our day by great universities. There is something very like advertising in the process.

I do not know what the citations said in this case, but if I had been asked to write them I would have said something like this to Lord Halifax and Mr. Eden: "For keeping your mouths close shut on the matter of colonies and making it impossible for the world organization to take a single step forward." To General Smuts: For keeping Negroes in their places," and to Mr. Soong: "For saying nothing." In response they say Mr. Soong talked rather long, so long in fact that the reception which Mrs. Sproul prepared for the delegates went begging. They hurriedly rushed away, almost stepping on the students who mobbed them.

I do not think the occasion reflected that credit upon California and the world that it might have under other circumstances.

I can remember many cases of conferring degrees. Naturally, my strongest memory is when I got my Bachelor of Arts at Harvard. The Harvard ceremony is dignified and impressive, and was especially so under Charles William Eliot. Eliot sat in the center enthroned with heavy silk robe and beside him sat the Governor of Massachusetts and his staff in full uniform, reflecting the time when Harvard was a state institution. There were, as I remember, four commencement speakers, of which I was one, and with the characteristic impudence of my youth I had chosen the subject "Jefferson Davis". As I look back now the subject and the speaker must have been a matter of intense curiosity to that audience. At any rate I remember vividly that I had an exceedingly good time.

36-6-102

Fifty years later I received a doctorate in Human Letters at Wilberforce where the air, too, was electric. I talked "turkey" to an institution where I did my first teaching and for whose future development I have always had the liveliest hopes and the keenest disappointments. It was not a welcome speech. Several bishops did not shake hands with me and the State Board of Trustees forgot the traditional invitation to dinner. Nevertheless, again, rightly or wrongly, I felt the satisfaction of a job well done.

There are those who decry academic honors, and as I have intimated they have often been abused. In many countries scholarship is recognized with and without degrees. There have been professors at Cambridge and Oxford who have never taken a college degree. On the other hand, among our own institutions today there is stupid insistence upon degrees. A man with a doctorate, no matter how ignorant he may be, can always get the best of jobs. A man without a college degree is for many positions, practically never considered. Of course, obviously what must be done is to give degrees more sparingly and with more careful judgment of work actually accomplished. But always on work done, the things known, the knowledge digested, is the final criterion.

CHICAGO DEFENDER W.E.B. DUBOIS

WINDS OF TIME May 22, 1945

California is in many respects a curious and unpredictable land. It is a section where what one would call the lower middle class is dominant: people with small incomes, but incomes sufficient for pleasant living under normal circumstances, and in a land whose climate is as kind as this, and whose land is as fertile. But the income does not provide for savings. The schooling of the population is of elementary and high school grade which means that the mass of adults are a prey to "isms" and nostrums; nowhere in the United States, possibly, are there so many religions and cults.

This springs from a basic sincerity and curiosity but it has its dangers. There is all over California a fear of God, a suspicion against wealth and a hatred of poverty. The shoe pinches when competition over jobs comes to the fore. That was the basis of the prejudice against Chinese in the early days; it shows itself today in prejudice against Japanese, against "Oakies" and "Arkies"; and during this war time, against Negroes.

Despite this, the state is curiously cosmopolitan. In San Francisco the color line is noticed but infrequently. In Los Angeles it is more in evidence, but has none of the impudence of Atlanta or Birmingham.

The scenery of California is nothing less than magnificent. I went down from the Golden Gate to the City of the Angels on the Southern Pacific. There were fields of vegetables and more fields. Tunnels and sharp peaks, valleys, igneous rocks, missions and cattle; bits of the 18th century intruded upon the 20th. We swept around the vast and almost double horse-shoe curve, a little like Pennsylvania's but different as California is different. There came dark spiked peaks and

rounded rolling peaks, green valleys, and Thallata! the sea, the old and everlasting sea!.

We passed vineyards and orange groves, roses and white cottages nestling low; heavy-laden trucks, eucalyptus trees; the dunes sank golden against dark green with white flashes of curling surf. Dry, forbidding wastes lay beside the way for a while and then came the stretch of calm and blue Pacific. We rise aloft and look down upon white unbounded waters with swell of billows and wreath of foam and purple bands of seaweed. The beauty of this sun-drenched sea is unearthly; a light house looms far and still further, Asia.

Central Avenue is still a center of colored Los Angeles; but South Harvard Boulevard is the most astounding of the new developments. It can be compared to upper Manhattan of colored New York; to certain parts of West Philadelphia; and to DuBois Avenue and surrounding developments in Richmond. But on the whole it is more beautiful and more completely a modern residential district of the well-to-do than any of these others.

I have seldom enjoyed more a little stay in quiet and flowers. How natural and American it is that this fine result of thrift and taste has not escaped the grit of restrictive covenants!.

We must increasingly turn our thought and organized resistance against these restrictive covenants. They are a determined effort on the part of organized prejudice to confine Negroes to slums, to steal their savings and indirectly to increase crime and ignorance. Thousands of them are being negotiated every year. People who never dreamed of race hate are being approached by plausible agitators who say, mysteriously: "How would you like to have a nigger buy the home next door? You've got to guard against it! Your property values will be ruined. Your savings will be lost." And so a covenant is

signed and the Negro who wants to buy and live in a decent home finds himself paying for useless lawsuits. The technique applies often to Jews, Orientals, and Mexicans - and even to native Americans who can be herded in groups.

36-6-98

CHICAGO DEFENDER — W. E. B. Du Bois

WINDS OF TIME — June 12, 1945

The final pattern at San Francisco looks to me like this: All questions directly effecting individual freedom are today matters of national action. When, therefore, the UNCIO declared itself in favor of human rights, without race discrimination the declaration had no practical significance since it was contradicted in the next paragraph by the assertion that the world organization could not interfere in domestic affairs.

36-6-103

Beyond this, the whole question of colonies was not only kept out of discussion by the foregoing declaration but the whole problem was clouded by an unreal discussion of trusteeships. Trusteeships would have to do with strategic areas and World War One mandates. The real milk of the cocoanut in the discussion at San Francisco was the matter of strategic areas, which boiled down to its bones meant that the United States proposes in her own right to police the Pacific bases with her right wing on Australia and using the Union of South Africa to protect her rear. In this way she proposes to keep the Asiatic peoples in their places. Great Britain is perfectly willing to permit this since it will strengthen the legality of her hold upon Hong Kong, Singapore and Borneo.

Moreover so far as mandates are concerned the conclusions of San Francisco permit the peace conference, if it wishes, to hand over the mandates established after the first World War to the mandatory powers as integral parts of their colonial territory. Thus, the United States with her territories and quasi-colonies in the Pacific under the guise of strategic areas, becomes one of the three colonial powers - Great Britain, France and the United States. It would have been possible, had the United States so willed it, that this nation with China and Russia could have had

decisive voice in ruling the future world with three nations which did not depend upon the exploitation of colonies for their future development. That is, three nations whose prosperity was not going to be built upon illiteracy, cheap labor, disease and crime. This, the United States under the lead of Stettinius and Stassen refused to do. And since she now takes her place with the colonial powers and with increased colonialism, she faces the task of not only holding Asia in subjection, of helping in the continued suppression of India and Africa; but also in facing Russia with at least two great powers definitely and bitterly opposed to the Russian economic program.

36-6-102

There can be no doubt that organized business in the United States and Great Britain, and to some extent in France, not only fear communism, but are willing to organize to fight it. This is the meaning of the continual pinpricks at Russia at San Francisco! The petty dispute over the presiding officials at the conference; the lugging in of Poland, Austria and Trieste to divert and inflame public opinion; and the almost universal charge of American newspapers and magazines that Russia is petty, obstructionist, and dangerous to "free" enterprise. On the other hand, the one statesman at San Francisco who stood up for human rights and the emancipation of colonies was Molotov. His words have scarcely been reproduced.

Here, then, I seem to see outlined a third World War based on the suppression of Asia and the strangling of Russia. Perhaps I am wrong. God knows I hope I am.

CHICAGO DEFENDER

WINDS OF TIME

W. E. B. DUBOIS

June 12, 1945

The final pattern at San Francisco looks to me like this: All questions directly effecting individual freedom are today matters of national action. When, therefore, the UNCIO declared itself in favor of human rights, without race discrimination the declaration had no practical significance since it was contradicted in the next paragraph by the assertion that the world organization could not interfere in domestic affairs.

36-6-104

Beyond this, the whole question of colonies was not only kept out of discussion by the foregoing declaration but the whole problem was clouded by an unreal discussion of trusteeships. Trusteeships would have to do with strategic areas and World War One mandates. The real milk of the cocoanut in the discussion at San Francisco was the matter of strategic areas, which boiled down to its bones meant that the United States proposes in her own right to police the Pacific bases with her right wing on Australia and using the Union of South Africa to protect her rear. In this way she proposes to keep the Asiatic peoples in their places. Great Britain is perfectly willing to permit this since it will strengthen the legality of her hold upon Hong Kong, Singapore and Borneo.

Moreover so far as mandates are concerned the conclusions of San Francisco permit the peace conference, if it wishes, to hand over the mandates established after the first World War to the mandatory powers as integral parts of their colonial territory. Thus, the United States with her territories and quasi-colonies in the Pacific under the guise of strategic areas, becomes one of the three colonial powers - Great Britain, France and the United States. It would have been possible, had the United States so willed it, that this nation with China and Russia could have had decisive voice in ruling the future world with three nations which did not depend upon the exploitation of colonies for their future development. That is, three nations whose prosperity was not going to be built upon illiteracy, cheap labor, disease and crime. This, the United States under the lead of

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36-6-105

W.W.T.
Winds of Time

30-6-131

I have just been talking to Dr. Emanuel Abraham, Director General of the Ministry of Education in the Kingdom of Ethopia. He was one of the seven delegates from Ethopia to the U N I C O. The delegation includes the Prime Minister, the vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, vice Minister of Justice, the Minister to the United States and his Secretary, Minister of Finance and Dr. Abraham. It seems on the whole a delegation of intelligence and insight.

Dr. Abraham and I talked about the relations of Ethopia with the Negroes in the United States; about education and the difficult period through which Ethopia is now passing; of the nations destroyed in the World War. Few lands have suffered more, both in physical destruction and spiritual upheaval than this ancient and notable country. Dr. Abraham stressed the fact that Ethopia will restore its schools gradually and that they hope to begin by 1946 to send students to England and America for study. He pointed out that French was no longer the leading foreign language of Ethopia but rather English, and therefore they were sending their young men and women for training in English-speaking countries.

The restoration of the schools is hindered by the need of teachers. He pointed out that Ethopia had tried to get American Negro teachers and other trained people but so far without conspicuous success. He reminded me of Dr. Bayen whom I knew; the young Ethopian trained in America and married to an American Negro woman, who did so much to spread the knowledge of Etnopia in America and the American Negro in Ethopia and then

prematurely died. He pointed out that American Negroes who came to them were disappointed at the pioneer work which had to be done. I could see immediately what he meant. American Negroes are not pioneers. They have no idea of the tremendous task of opening up and restoring a country and setting it upon its feet. Their acquaintance with pioneer work had usually been in the Southern United States where the hand of death and cast repression have been such that the most enthusiastic pioneer had little chance of ultimate success. We have seen both brief and long continued work in certain southern communities. Sometimes successful as it is at Tuskegee; sometimes tragic failure as at a dozen forgotten places.

36-6-132

But Negroes must learn pioneering and learn it in the West Indies and South America and more especially in Africa. Few places in Africa present such possibilities as Ethopia. Its magnificent and startling terrain; its natural resources; its brave unconquered people, and the ideals of its future. It has been said that the nation which owns this little bit of Africa can control the continent, and this is still true. But it means hard work, cold and hunger, absence of modern city facilities; but all this not amid a hostile set of slave drivers as in our South, but in the midst of a great people who someday with proper leadership are going to make a new name in the world equal to that of their forebears 3,000 years ago when they led the world.

There have been some intimation in the Negro press that the Ethopian delegation was not cordial and did not want any connection with American Negroes, I do not believe this is true but

the impression can easily arise through differences of habit and language. The educated Ethopians have not been brought up in American free and easy back-slapping and first-name-calling methods. They follow rather the French and European attitude. They thus may appear a bit formal and restrained. They have naturally some difficulties with the European languages both in understanding and expression. It is possible therefore that they resented the methods of American photographers, and for that they can't be blamed. The impudence of these artists at San Francisco in the midst of the most formal proceedings of the U N I C O was often disgusting. On the other hand in my knowledge of covering annumber of years, I have found nothing but courtesy, desire of understanding, and especially a willingness to cooperate with American Negroes. Naturally, like the Liberians and Haitians, they do not regard American Negroes the last word in civilization or manners. And they resent receiving unrequested advice from people who know nothing about their country, and often, care less.

26-6-1330

July 9, 1945

WINDS OF TIME

by

W.E.B. DuBois

I have just returned from the celebration of the 55th Anniversary of my graduation from the Harvard University. Of the more than 300 members of that class 100 are still living and 25 sat down to our dinner. It was a peculiar experience as all these anniversary occasions have been. There was between us a certain close bond of personal knowledge extending over half a century in which we can see the ravages of time and trouble on our faces. Physically, the men on the whole looked healthy - none of them were fat. Only two were at all overweight.

But perhaps the most striking experience was the development of ideas, or rather the way in which I came closely in touch with the conservatism and even reaction which my class represents in America.

For instance, there was the matter of a scholarship named after our dead class secretary. The present secretary complained because the college wished to award the scholarship on the basis of high marks obtained. He, and I think the majority of the class, were distinctly in favor of a hereditary right to the scholarship, confining it to the family of the deceased, or descendants of our class.

Then there was Russia - I perhaps started the subject by speaking on the San Francisco Conference. It was concluded by a man who talked as though the Russians were dangerous and wild beasts, who however at present must be placated and pacified. No one said a word about the challenge which the Russian economic philosophy was offering to the world. Nobody contemplated any possible change of attitude in the American and British world.

Three songs were sung by the man who was formerly our leading songster. They echoed the late 19th century. It was first an Irish song, analogous to the darky stories with which Southerners always regale themselves; the Irish hero dressed gorgeously in a pink tie is knocked in the fight at "the Odd Fellows Hall." Then there was "Danny Deaver", picturing the stern and exact justice of English imperialism; and finally Mandalay. The class poet shouted out, "You know we have got it back again!" I wondered over that "we"! Did it mean the people of Burma or those of India? - Of course not - he meant the Anglomaniacs.

36-6-148

All was the feebly unconscious opinions of my friends - not enemies, of many who on the whole had a certain sympathy with my life work and who congratulated me on my new book, and looked forward to other meetings. And yet possibly few of them realised as I did the tremendous gap between our ideas; the way in which they still believe in a dying world and yet believe in it sincerely and with no understanding of those who believe that the economic organization of mankind is going through a definite revolution and that imperialism is dying - if not dead.

I was glad of this opportunity; and as a last memory I recall the remark of one of my classmates who is a Hampton Trustee: "We have got to have a white president at Hampton" he said, "there is so much white people can teach colored people." I did not remark, as perhaps Ishould have, "And there is so much that colored people can teach white people!" He would not have understood in the slightest degree what I meant; and yet he is really a good and sincere fellow.

5 July 1945

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

Since leaving San Francisco I have traveled through nineteen states and made nine speeches chiefly on the San Francisco conference. This means that since the middle of April I have seen a large part of the United States leaving out the extreme northwest and southwest, northeast and southeast. On the whole my reactions have been favorable. Most of all because the colored people that I have seen and met seem alive to current conditions and also because comparing conditions over wide stretches of time I can see undoubted advancement. In nearly all cases the present situation of Negroes is aggravated by migration. This is an old difficulty and not a matter of race. Just as long as a country has backwaters of depression, of poverty and discrimination, the first result of intelligence and initiative is a movement away from these unfortunate centers.

The second result is the more or less sudden impact of a mass of unlettered and inexperienced people who have suffered misfortune and discrimination and who are blindly seeking better conditions. This means that the average social level of the invaded group is lowered by the invaders. In the nineteenth century this happened continually among the white people in the cities, when the Germans poured into the West and the Irish poured into the East, when fugitive Negroes poured into the middle states and into southern Ohio, Illinois and Indiana. It happened again after the first World war among both colored people and whites as poor whites and Negroes poured into the industrial opportunities offered by the North. It is happening today. On the West Coast in California, Oregon and Washington masses of new Negroes have come, as into Colorado and, of course, into Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit and Buffalo.

It always seems a tough break for a group of colored people who are achieving independence and intelligence suddenly to be called upon to face the social problem of ignorance and poverty which is not of their making. But it has been done and this time it seems to me that it is being done with much more intelligence and sacrifice than ever before.

I spoke in Denver to a number of organizations representing interracial efforts. They were for the most part white people of sympathy and intelligence. They asked searching questions. I spoke to the Department of Sociology in the University of Chicago to students of training and research and got similar reactions. Great mass meetings like that at the Pilgrim Baptist Church in Chicago were as responsive and intelligent as similar gatherings in San Francisco, Oakland and Los Angeles.

Then I changed the tempo and spoke at three schools: at commencement exercises of a branch of Virginia State College in Norfolk, at Virginia Union in Richmond. I like the way in which they listened to an unemotional and strictly logical development of my theme. In Atlanta and Montgomery I spoke to citizens and summer school students representing the far-south. White Atlanta had just received a blow between the eyes in the revelation of its color discrimination in education. White Alabama was groping in the old segregation pattern but more conscious than ever before of being on the defensive. The race problem in these states is critical and alive with uncertain solutions for the future but it is not the same race problem that I knew thirty or twenty years ago or even ten years ago. The advance of the American Negro is unquestionable. To illustrate this I have received the following letter from a white correspondent at a white university in Virginia:

> "When race questions are discussed here at college, I am lost in a sea of racial hatred and condemned for being 'radical'. Too radical - I have been told - to ever become a successful lawyer in the South. . . . Unfortunately, I am able to find no basis for optimism in regard to a more liberal attitude on the part of Southerners. As a Georgia, I hate to admit this and would like to have your opinion. Do you believe that there are many Southerners today who Accept the Negro and will help him gain the political, economic, and social rights that should be his?"

I append my answer: " . . . I believe there are many Southerners today "who accept the Negro and will help him gain the political, economic, and social rights that should be his" but I am sure that they still form a small minority of the intelligent and powerful South which is today in control and I know that if they stand by their convictions they are going to suffer for it. I do not consider John Temple Grave II nor Virginius Dabney nor Ralph McGill - these men are professional liberals but they are not willing to stand up for principles. Until the South gets and keeps at home a group willing to suffer for the right, it will never become a great section."

9 July 1945

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

The resignation of Lester Walton, United States Minister to Liberia was probably forced and unavoidable. The tendency is for all colored groups unwittingly to follow the judgment of he white press concerning other colored groups. Thus it happens that educated West Africans have usually a certain contempt for American Negroes. Colored West Indians pity us and other colored groups in Asia and South America usually count us of small concern. This attitude, of course, changes as contact between these groups increase but it must change faster in the future.

Thus American Negroes have a long nurtured habit of criticizing Liberia and echoing more or less completely every nasty thing that has been said about Liberia in the last one hundred years and plenty has been said. There is no doubt that Liberia is not an ideal country; neither is Haiti, neither is China; neither is Burma. The reason for this is their poverty in the face of ruthless pressure on the part of imperial powers. These countries need all their strength for inner reform, education and upbuilding. But for a century and more their strength has not been sufficient to ward off every kind of attack, psychical and physical, which the civilized world has made upon them. Liberia today is in a difficult position but if she has a chance to fight her way through if she can count upon the sympathy of decent people. The United States Government represented on the one hand by investors in Firestone rubber and on the other hand by the navy is putting pressure upon Liberia which will, if they are not careful, reduce her either completely to colonial status or to the status of the un-free peoples of the world who are enslaved by foreign investors.

It has been the object of the Firestone Corporation to build up a white caste of colonial rulers who have their own housing, their own society and their own rates of wages. This is an imitation of English and Belgian colonial practice. But in Liberia its full realization has been stopped by the fact that the United States

Minister representing the political power of American Negroes on the spot, has understood, in the case of Lester Walton, exactly what was taking place and has stood like a rock against race segregation and white rule in Liberia. This has been a bitter pill for Firestone and the navy. Roosevelt kept Walton in his job. Truman has let him go. Now comes the question as to what kind of a man is going to re-place Walton and how this man is going to see the sinister forces that are trying to throttle and colonize Liberia.

It is no answer to this threat to bandy about the old charge of exploitation of the natives by a Liberian élite. If everything alleged in these charges were true they would not be one-tenth as bad as the kind of exploitation against natives that is being carried on by whites all over Africa and all over Asia and in much of South America. That the attitude of ruling Liberia toward the peasantry is not ideal, there is no doubt and no one realizes this more than leading Liberians themselves. But there is no time for the social re-organization of a country when it is under fire and pressure by white slave drivers and this is exactly the position of Liberia. We need to watch the appointment and conduct of the new Liberian Minister with great care.

One of the most interesting and significant happenings in the line of interracial countesy between color groups was the celebration in New York of the one hundreth anniversay of the birth of Antonio Maceo. The Cuban Government went to the expense of printing in Spanish and English a beautiful memorial pamphlet and sent representatives to speak at the great meeting at Town Hall. Not nearly enough notice of this epoch-making event has been taken. It was a gesture of amity and appreciation from democratic Cuba to thirteen million American Negroes as well as to those of their compatriots who realize the significance of Spanish America.

July 31, 1945

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. DuBois

The President of the United States made an astonishing statement July 20, 1945. He said, in Berlin, and at a time when England and Russia were in conference with him, the following words:

> "Let us not forget that we are fighting for peace and for the welfare of mankind. We are not fighting for conquest. There is not one piece of territory or one thing of a monetary nature that we want out of this war."

The curious query comes: did President Truman mean this, or did he fail to realize exactly what he was saying? We have reason to think that he meant it because he spoke tersely, and with deliberation, following a written manuscript.

We have equal reason to think he did not mean it because more time was taken up at San Francisco in arranging for United States ownership of Pacific islands than with any other single subject. We dominate now the Hawaiian Islands, Midway, Wake, Guam, the Marianas and the Marshall Islands. We have recently seized Okinawa and Iwo Jima. We fought for long months to dominate Guadacanal and others of the Solomon Islands. We have, of course, the Phillipines and we may seize Formosa.

In other words, we have outposts ranging over thousands of miles which can be turned into fortresses to dominate the Pacific Ocean, and enable us to point our guns toward the heart of Asia and the domination of the yellow race. The Charter adopted at San Francisco made definite and direct provision for our holding this territory, or a large part of it, without submitting to any internation-

36-6-144

al control, mandate or trustee system. The Senate sent a committee to San Francisco to see that this was done and to hold over the conference the threat of refusing to confirm the Charter unless it was done. It is well known that the Navy and also the Army, are determined in this way to make the United States the policeman of Asia.

There was practically no opposition to this from any nation of those assembled at San Francisco. The British were evidently all too glad to have the United States make this claim. Backing our claim they could reaffirm their right to numerous islands in the Pacific and to the fortresses of Hong Kong and Singapore; and above all, to the economic imperialism which domination of these and other points of vantage would restore to Great Britain. France, eager for the restoration of Indo-China was silent. Australia was delighted. South America said nothing, having had her mouth closed by yielding of the United States in the matter of Argentina.

All this, President Truman knows, and yet he says frankly and openly in a statement that we have no right yet to discredit: "There is not one piece of territory... that we want out of this war."

The time is coming, and it is not far away, when somebody has got to explain just where the United States stands in the matter of colonial imperialism. If the President means what he said in Berlin, he is in for a fight with reaction and Big Business that will make F. D. R. turn happily in his grave.

August 7, 1945

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. DuBois

30-6-145

Let no American Negro doubt but that the overwhelming triumph of the Labor Party in Great Britain is a triumph for the progress of democracy everywhere. The object of the British Labor Party is Socialism. By Socialism we mean the intervention of the state into industry so as to control and, in part, to own capital and to plan and direct the industrial process in order that the object of industry will be not private profit but public welfare.

Socialism, in this sense, has been the object of all forward-looking statesmen and philanthropists for 150 years. It is still their object. They differ widely in the methods by which they think Socialism can be obtained. Communism believes that it can only be made certain by violent revolutions. The British Labor Party believes that it can gradually be brought to successful realization by democratic methods; by using the vote which they have so long misused and even neglected. They fought a battle of ballots this time on clear issues. The Labor Party believes in nationalizing coal and electricity; state ownership of the Bank of England; increased government security and government control over employment, housing and farming. The Conservatives under Churchill accepted the challenge and fought for what is often called "private initiative", and "keeping the government out of business". They would not go, of course, as far in this irrational program as the dominant powers of the United States have gone. The overwhelming triumph of the Labor Party means that in one of the greatest countries of the world the gradual realization of Socialism is going to be attempted.

This leaves only one reactionary country among the great powers. China, of course, under Chiang Kai-shek is only partially progressive. Russia heads the procession, now joined by England. Our America is the one great world power

30-6-146

which is fighting for anarchy in industry and private monopoly and privilege for the benefit of the rich.

The whole trend of Europe is towards Socialism, but we must not preen ourselves too much upon this fact. The same was just as true after the first World War; but the collapse of industry, the great depression, not only halted this development but threw us back into the absolutism of Hitler and Mussolini. Today the world is pressing forward again; but it cannot forget that in the basic organization of industry lies the chance for real advance. So far the war in America, just as in the first World War, has made for vast accumulations of wealth and power in the hands of privileged persons; and stirred by this example we are trying again to return to "normalcy" and to make further fortunes out of the misfortunes of the mass of people. Here we are courting the worst of disasters.

We must remember that not only in England but in France, in Czechoslovakia, in the Balkan States and in Italy, we have this movement toward Socialism. It must come in the United States, if this country is going to continue to be a land of opportunity. It is not easy to think straight under these circumstances. One can be misled by the conviction that in violence alone lies salvation. Or on the other hand, with just as great tragedy, we can lazily conclude that if we do nothing and sit and look on, our salvation will come automatically. Neither attitude is sensible nor is indicated by the known facts. We have got to work hard for a new organization of industry and a new distribution of wealth. In no other way can real freedom come to the American people.

WINDS OF TIME August 14, 1945
by
W. E. B. DuBois

30-6-136

Every American Negro has been unhappy over the war with Japan because it is a war between nations of different colors, between Europe and Asia. And because we cannot help but believe that the fundamental impulse back of this war was, on the one hand, the century-old determination of Europe to dominate the yellow peoples for the benefit of the white; and on the other hand, the resentment of Asiatics at being considered and treated as inferior to Europeans.

This we see as the basic pattern; but it would not by any means excuse in our minds the unwise and ill-considered attack upon the United States at Pearl Harbor. That very act gave us pause. Many Negroes, many times, and in many places; have looked on revolt and war as the necessary and sole solution of race friction. The experience of Japan has proven two things: that domination of one people by other and selfish races, bad as it is, is no whit better than domination within a race by elements whose aims and ideals are anti-social.

So far as Japan was fighting against color caste, and striving against the domination of Asia by Europeans, she was absolutely right. But so far as she tried to substitute for European, an Asiatic caste system under a "superior" Japanese race; and for the domination and exploitation of the peasants of Asia by Japanese trusts and industrialists, she was offering Asia no acceptable exchange for Western exploitation.

Uneasy, therefore, as we have been about war between the United States and Japan, and about our having as colored people to fight colored people possibly only for the benefit of white people, we have this to remember and sustain us: we are facing the beginning of the end of European domination in Asia. The ideas which Japan started and did not carry through, are notdead, but growing. The utter smashing of the terrible Japanese machine by American technique is not

an exhibition of race superiority of white over yellow: it is the overthrow of an economy and social tyrrany which had gripped a fine and progressive people by the throat, and which deserved to be overthrown.

Now comes the question, after the overthrow of the dominant powers in Japan, what have we to offer in its place? Here again we are puzzled and discouraged. It is outrageous to have at the head of our fighting forces a man like Halsay whose bitter contempt of colored people can hardly be restrained. He is not fighting a system - he is fighting and hating a colored race. How far does he represent America? Is there an America which can find itself in this struggle and demand for an emancipated Japanese people, freedom and equality, self-government and development, without slavery and without the contempt of white folk?

26-6-137

The recent declaration by the Allies of the terms offered Japan are reassuring. They are, complete disarmament; the deprivation of recent conquests; the installation of democratic methods in Japan's government; destruction of her war-making industry, but access to outside raw materials. Until a new order of peace and justice is established the Allies will occupy designated points in Japanese territory.

This last requirement is unfortunate and perhaps unnecessary. Whenever white troops are put in control in a colored country the results are notorious. It is to be hoped that this part of the Allied program will be sternly limited in space and time.

August 21, 1945

WINDS OF TIME
by
W.E.B. DuBois

I have been trying ever since I returned from San Francisco to arrange for a Fifth Pan-African Congress. As yet I have had no success. The chief difficulty, however, is the matter of transportation. A few delegates from America could probably get the consent of the State Department and War Department to go to Europe, but with the stream of soldiers returning from the war in Europe, or enroute from Europe to the war in Asia, it is doubtful if we could get transportation back in any reasonable time.

30-6-136

But back of this difficulty, however, lies a more important one, and that is the question as to whether we American Negroes should help to organize a Pan-African Congress and what such a movement would have in view. I want, in several articles, to argue this matter, and first of all to recall certain efforts in the past.

In defense of this Congress I wrote a quarter of a century ago in the New York Age, in reply to criticisms:

> "The First Pan-African Congress, held while Paris was still under martial law and in face of the open opposition of many of the leading countries of the world, was attended by fifty-seven delegates, of whom sixteen were from the United States of America, thirteen from the French West Indies, fourteen from Africa and seven from Haiti. This Congress was unofficially recognized by many of the colonial powers. The French Colonial Office had an under secretary in constant attendance, as had also the American Peace Commission. Among the speakers were the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the French Chamber of Deputies; M. Van Overbergh

of the Belgian Peace Commission; M. Freire d'Andrade, former Portugese Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Madame Jules Siegfried, President of the French National Association for the Rights of Women. Colonel Edward House of the American Peace Commission received the resolutions and petition adopted by the Congress and conferred in person with the secretary. The French Prime Minister, Georges Clemenceau, received the petition and conferred with the president of the Congress.

36-6-139

"Among the members were three colored members of the French Parliament; the President of Liberia and two senators; the ex-Mayor of Battersee, London; and Dr. George Jackson, for many years United States Counsul at La Rochelle, France. Professor Paul Otlet of Belgium known as the father of the League of Nations and Rene Claparede, a well-known Swiss philanthropist, were both interested in the Congress, and present in Paris, but could not stay until the actual session."

"..... How far the Negroes of Africa and of the world can be of service to Africa and themselves is a question, but certainly the first step toward finding out what they can do is for their men of light and leading to come together for mutual knowledge and conference. To throw up our hands in despair, to say that because Africa is partitioned among European powers, the West Indies held in economic serfdom, we must not even sit down and talk about them in a rational manner is an extraordinary dictum."

28 August 1945

THE WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

In this time of reconversion and readjustment may I suggest five points of guidance and orientation:

1. READING. In order to keep abreast with a rapidly changing and developing world it is necessary to adopt or readjust our habits of systematic reading. We should read (A) a local daily: not a reactionary sheet which deals in lies like the leading daily in Chicago; but something like the New York Times, the Louisville Courier-Journal, the Boston Christian Monitor. Avoid the Hearst press and the tabloids, except of course PM. (B) a Negro weekly; not the most sensational, but the most accurate with wide news coverage. (C) a national weekly, like the Nation, the New Republic, the New Masses; avoid the Reader's Digest like the measles; Time and News Week have predigested opinions for the weak-minded. Life is for those who like pictures and cannot read; Collier's is so-so; the woman's journals, hog-wash; the Saturday Evening Post is the Saturday Evening Post. (D) a monthly; they are few and mostly dull and bad. But they are inevitable. (E) Finally, books. If you are going to be educated and intelligent you must read books. Newspapers are necessary for news (and don't let gossipy, inaccurate and deliberately biased radio displace them). But newspapers, weeklies, magazines, all [illegible] echo books and at second hand. First-hand knowledge is collected and preserved in books. Book reviews guide but they are but samples and often poor samples of the real stuff. Radio commentators are of all sorts, mostly cheap and superficial. Conceive of an honest man deliberately mixing his news with an hair tonic, like Gabriel Heater! Books to be read properly must be owned: mulled at leisure, marked, dog-eared made intimate, personal. Free libraries have ruined our reading habits. If you have not read a book in the last year you are an ignorant person and your loud talk will deceive no one.

2. EDUCATION. Take in hand now and anew your own education and that of your children. Cut down the enormous and costly time spent at bridge, and give up one night a

week to education pure and simple: mathematics, so as to stop feeling like a fool every time the conversation goes above ten; electricity so that radio, radar, atomic energy, begin to mean something real; history and the social sciences, so as to stop talking nonsense about what "never" took place; about what "human nature" can do about "races", "wars", ancient "worlds", "foreign nations; when in fact you have never read one reliable, authoratative treatise on any one of these subjects. Think of what the world has learned of chemistry, physics, psychology, health and a thousand things since that one little volume which you read twenty years ago and even then only half-understood. The education of Children is a serious study and not a way of getting them taken care of outside the home. The whole philosophy of the education of children and youth is being today overhauled root and branch. It is no longer an over-simplified matter of jim-crow schools, of industrial and higher training, of educating for a job or for culture. It is the infinitely vaster problem of how average humanity can be made intelligently informed and good enough so as to save civilization from suicide and make life worth living. What are you doing and thinking about it, beside buying the boy shoes and the girl books?

3. HOMES. WE NEED homes: not boxes, boarding-houses, lodging and places for receiving visitors; but organized and functioning centers of human culture, so planned and conducted as to be units of national life and developing civilization. This means marriage, children, clothes, furniture, play, meals, sleep, love and sacrifice and loyalty. Such things come from thought, work, devotion, reverence and ability. They are not the neglected weeds of cabarets, jitterbugging and drunkenness.

4. JOBS. These five, but the greatest of these is jobs; not jobs simply for the income they bring; not jobs for "busy work" so as to stop strikes and bolster profits; but jobs to permit and compel human beings to do their best as to ~~to~~ supply in the best way the highest and greatest needs of mankind. Such jobs call for long preparation: the planned and continuous supply of capital at the lowest cost; the skilled preparing of each job for each man, so that it will be efficient, safe, interesting, adequately paid life work. Preparing the man for the job; so he can do it well; so that he will love his work for the work's sake and accomplishment; so that he will be strong and well to do it. We do not want "free enterprise"; we want worthwhile endeavor for men who will find spiritual freedom in work.

Here then are five fundamental jobs for the day of reconversion from war to peace - from murder to life.

4 September 1945

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

Now that the Second World War has ended what have we Americans of Negro descent lost and gained? We may record five groups of losses:

1. War itself is always a loss which bears harvest among the segregated and the oppressed leaving a legacy of death and destruction which is almost incalculable.
2. We have suffered the tremendous disadvantage of a "jim crow" army and of segregation in army circles which will form and have formed a basis of similar segregation in civil life. This segregation is not simply separation of human beings in their ordinary life; in order to make segregation effective it has been found necessary to suppress ability and deny opportunity.
3. The defeat and humiliation of Japan marks the tragedy of the greatest colored nation which has risen to leadership in modern times. No matter how we explain and assess the damage, the result of thinking along the lines of race and color will affect human relations for many years and will excuse contempt and injustice toward colored skin. It will set back the time of the emancipation of the majority of people in the world.
4. If the military regimentation of living will retard civilization, it means the training of men through long and costly years for murder and destruction and then afterwards to use these same men and the same methods for cultural uplift. The whole proposal is impossible. It retards human culture; it places authority, obedience and submission in the place of freedom and ideals.
5. And finally, we have seen in this war, to our amazement and distress a marriage between science and destruction, a marriage such as we had never dreamed of before. We have always thought of science as the emancipator. We see it now as the enslaver of mankind.

We turn from this sad picture to six gains which have come out of war, not necessarily because of it, but in most cases despite the organized destruction:

1. The world of culture has been compelled to make a re-statement of democracy at a time in our development when we were beginning to distrust and ignore democracy. We have

been compelled to come back to the basic idea that the government and direction of human beings must in the long run rest upon the wishes and the will of those who are governed and guided.

2. We have been compelled to admit Asia into the picture of future political and and democratic power. We can no longer regard Europe as the sole center of the world. The development of human beings in the future is going to depend largely upon what happens in Asia.

3. We have been compelled to admit China as a great power. When China was first attacked it was because of attack by Europe. When the attack continued it was through the acquiescence of Europe and America, and when finally against the will of the white world we were dragged into the great center of Asiatic war, we took up and exposed the cause of Chinese freedom and independence because we knew well that the Japanese cry of "Asia for the Asiatics" would be turned against us unless we helped China maintain her independence.

4. We have been compelled to recognize Russia as an equal country in spite of the fact that her economic organization is directly and categorically opposed to the profit making industrial organization of the Western world. And moreover because of the prominence given Russia today in this war, her backing of China and alliance with China means that China will not be at the sole direction of Western Europe. The dream of Europe as the profiteer of China and the controller of her destiny through its effort fall before the menace of Russia.

5. More specifically there can be no doubt but what India and the Dutch Netherlands and French Indo-China are going to in our day achieve something approaching autonomy in government.

6. And last there is upheaval in Pan Africa: among the people in Africa itself, north west and south; but also and just as significantly among the people of African descent in the Caribbean area, in South and Central America and in the United States of America. Here in the United States there has come because of the war an enlightenment among us, evidencing the power of united effort and determination to fight for freedom together with increasing knowledge of methods by which the fight may be carried on. And out of this has come a recognition of the importance of alliance in this fight, of alliance with all organizations of good will and more especially with the organizations of labor.

It cannot be said that, balancing these losses and gains, that the war has been either a vast success or a terrible failure. It can be said that civilization after this war has a chance to go forward and no group of civilized people have better opportunity to forward the advance of human culture than American Negroes.

11 September 1945

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

Speaking as I did last week of Pan Africa, let me remind my readers that this word was born in the twentieth century. You will not find it mentioned in dictionaries before 1900 and it did not come into general currency until about 1920. The reason for this is not difficult to see. In the last year of the nineteenth century a young West Indian barrister, Sylvester Williams, called a Pan African Conference in London. It was the first modern use of the world. The conference was small but interesting and composed chiefly of West Indians with a few American Negroes. The late Bishop Alexander Walters was elected permanent chairman and I was the secretary for America but no further effort took place for a generation. At the time of the Armistice after the First World War, I was instrumental in assemblying in Paris what was called the First Pan African Congress. It was composed of American Negroes, French Negroes, and West Indians with a few Africans. It planted the idea and helped establish the Mandates Commission.

Two years later in 1921 there assembled in London, Paris and Brussels in successive what may be regarded as the first real Pan African Congress. It was called the Second Pan African Congress. It had over one hundred and twelve paid members and one thousand or more interested auditors. Africa, itself, the United States and the West Indies were strongly represented and a permanent organization again attempt. This permanent organization centered in Paris went astray in attempting commercial enterprise and the Third Pan African Congress in 1923 merely marked time. Its meeting in London was small but that in Lisbon large and impressive.

From Lisbon I went to make my first visit to Africa. Between 1925 and 1927, we tried again to re-vivify the Pan African idea but we could do little more

because of economic conditions and because of the distraction of the strong and growing Garvey Movement. There were likeness between Pan Africa and Garvey's idea but while Garvey tended toward commercial and political power, we were trying to stress cultural and economic development.

In 1927, we did assemble an important Pan African Congress, the fourth, in New York. But that was the last before the depression. We were not able to call other conferences as we had planned in the West Indies and in North Africa. Again for a generation the idea died but in 1944 and 1945 there has been revived the idea in an interesting and hopeful manner. While I and others were seeking to call a Pan African Congress from America, African labor delegates meeting in Great Britain united in such a call. As a result of this there will meet October fifteenth in London a Fifth Pan African Congress. It will be composed mainly of representatives from British Africa but back of it is still the idea of all Africa: French, Belgian and Portugues and of independent Africa: Ethiopia and Liberia.

It is hope that out of this London meeting there will be growing a real Pan African movement, a movement centered in the African continent and among native Africans, a movement which will seek and secure the cooperation of all people the world over of African descent, and of the friends of the oppressed everywhere. This can and will become, if properly guided, the real movement for the final emancipation of Africa and the introduction of the black world into the world of modern culture.

WINDS OF TIME

W. E. B. DUBOIS

36-6-129

Recently, I have written in this column about the various Pan African Congresses which have been held between 1900 and 1927. Of all these, however, one and one alone deserves to be remembered as a real Congress, representing as never before the peoples of Africa and of African descent; and that was the second Pan African Congress held in Paris, London and Brussells in 1921. It met in London August 28th and 29th, in Brussells August 31st, September 1st and 2nd, and in Paris September 5th and 6th. One Hundred thirteen accredited delegates were present from 26 different groups; and there were at least one thousand visitors. From Africa itself came 41 delegates representing the Belgian Congo, Sierre Leone, Abyssinia, Angola, Morrocco, Madagascar, Nigeria, East Africa, Liberia, French Senegal and the Gold Coast; from the United States there were 35 delegates; from the West Indies 7 delegates and from Europe 27. In addition, there were three from India.

The London meetings were held in Central Hall opposite Westminister Abbey, August 28 and 29. They were preceeded by two preliminary conferences: one with the International Department of the English Labor Party, where the question of the relation of white and colored labor was discussed; the other was held with the Aborigines Protection Society. Sir Sidney Olivier presided and a dozen or more members of their governing body were present. The general relation of white philanthropy and the educated Negro leaders was the principal subject of discussion here.

There were four regular sessions of the London Conference attended by audiences varying from one hundred to three hundred persons. A series of resolutions were unanimously adopted. After an interval of one day the Congress reassembled at the Palais Mondial, Brussells, Belgium, where sessions

36-4-130

were held August 31 and September 2nd and 3rd. These sessions were presided over by Blaise Diagne, French Deputy from Senegal and president of the Congress. Among those in attendance were two generals, two representatives from the Belgium Colonial Office, a large number of students from the International University, numbers of Congo natives and representatives of the Portuguese and French Colonies in addition to the group of thirty-five American delegates. A special visit was made to the Congo museum and an illustrated lecture on Abyssinia was given. The Congress was entertained socially at the Hotel de Ville and at the home of General Sorelas. The London resolutions were discussed but postponed for adoption at the Paris meeting on account of much excited opposition in Belgium to our bold demands.

After another interval of one day the Congress reassembled for its final session in Paris, September 5 and 6th. Here the French colonies were more largely represented than the former congresses. Four sessions were held. Much time was taken in threshing out the French version of the resolutions which were finally agreed to and adopted unanimously in practically the same form as adopted in London. There was much debate and discussion as to the relation of France to the Negro and as to the future of Africa. The Congress went in a body to the Arc de Triomphe and deposited a wreath upon the grave of the Unknown Soldier.

1

Mailed 5 November 1945

WINDS OF TIME

by
W. E. B. Du Bois

I have made a miracle, I have done the impossible, for today all things are possible.

Do you remember when music in the air was a fairy tale of imagination? Today we turn a button and the Ninth Symphony rolls down upon our ears! Do you recall when the voice heard round the world, even in the strong throat of William Jennings Bryan lost him the presidency because it could be heard less than a mile? Today we talk to China. Once we declared Mass was Energy but alchemy foolishness. Today at Hiroshima we transmute the world.

32-C-112

It was but yesterday when flying was for birds and angels, yet today I flew the Atlantic. What was superman for Lindbergh, I did as a passing chore.

It was not a large plane, nor impressive. We taxied a mile churning up the Sound to mist. We rose above the jagged cream cliffs of Manhattan. Gaily we sailed over sprawling New England and the brown bits that were Boston. Then shooting above the clouds, for hours we rode on a carpet-like filmy cotton fleece. We dropped on a cold Newfoundland town and I drank apricot brandy. We climbed to twenty thousand feet and streaked on long low level flight. Night fell in the afternoon. The Aurora Borealis flared in the North, back of the Great Bear. On the right hung a half moon.

Most of the time we rode steadily on even keel with the low thrill of the engine; but at times the ship realised itself, shook, swayed, trembled and dipped, to prove that it yet owned its own soul and was not wholly thrall to machine. Darkness and fog envoloped us, but on and on and ever

on we flew. I fell into troubled sleep; but suddenly, the sun came up like thunder and we dropped on the Green Island and the River Shannon. We dined in London.

Nothing is impossible. One of these mornings we will breakfast in New York, lunch on the moon, and after dinner shake hands with God.

Surely this new ease and swiftness of travel makes a meeting of the Sixth Pan African Congress in Liberia in 1947, a simple and feasable matter. There need be no difficulty of time or transport. Only the human soul now lags behind Possibility: can Liberia venture to face the imperial powers with a vast world demonstration of the might and unity of the black race and its final challenge to colonialism?

36-6-113

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

At the Pan African Congress sitting in Manchester the West Indians had their day to complain of treatment and conditions. There were representatives of many of the islands, from Jamaica to British Guiana but no spokesman for Cuba, Haiti and the French islands.

Attention of the Congress was called to the fact that there were three million people in the West Indies compoed of Negroes, East Indians, Chinese and other races.

36-6-114

The history of the West Indies is the history of the empire "of sugar by sugar for sugar". Other crops are important but sugar is still dominant. George Padmore pointed out that the West Indies were so prosperous in the eighteenth century that France swopped Canada for Guadeloupe and Great Britain was willing to give up the North American colonies in order to hold the richer West Indies.

Delegates then went on to tell of local conditions, it was in part, a replica of the African tale of low wages, wretched housing, poor health conditions and political repression. No literature which the British Governor does not want the British people to read can be admitted. The local press is sternly gagged.

Taxation falls on the poor in Jamaica. Before the war seventy-five per cent of tax income came from indirect imports laid upon poor consumers. The great landholders were lightly taxed.

In most of the islands the land is monopolized, few peasants own land in Trinidad and when the Governor tells them to go back to the land, he is pushing them toward semi-slavery.

In all the colonies while the price of living is practically double, during the war wages have risen seldom more than fifty per cent. Education is usually confined to the well-to-do, especially in secondary schools. It was this condition that brought the West Indian Revolution of 1937. Butler led a strike in Trinidad with riots, Bustamente led the strikers in Jamaica and Payne in Barbados. They were punished with imprisonment but in the end changes came, the rights and suffering of the workers had to be recognized in some respects.

The political constitution of Jamaica was liberalized and today they are beginning a vital experiment in democratic government. In other islands more persons were admitted to the ballot. Trade Unions have grown and strengthened and the color line in many of the islands between the blacks and mulattoes has begun to disappear. Nevertheless, the people are still suffering from poverty and ill health. They are demanding federation of the various British islands in order to cut down expenses and increase cooperative social services.

One delegate referred to the two "M. G's" - Marcus Garvey and Mahatma Gandhi. It was interesting to have the widow of Marcus Garvey present making a moving plea for the black women of Jamaica. Jamaica has a rate of illegitimacy over seventy per cent but Mrs. Garvey laid this to poverty, the low legal age of consent and the custom of apprenticing girls to employers.

Sent 19 November 1945

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

I visited yesterday H. G. Wells. I have known him many years. Once he attended a session of the Pan African Congress in London; once he called on me in my office at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York. In 1936, Ruth Fisher of the Library of Congress and I lunched with him and his secretary at his Regent Park residence in London and he invited me down to his country home.

H. G. Wells has always been interested in human beings; he has been a life-long socialist, and keenly sensitive not simply to the suffering of the working masses of England, but to the analogous degradation of the suppressed peoples and "lower" races. It was Wells who called race prejudice, the worst evil of modern civilization. He is best know to the public by his scientific romances, as illustrated by his story of the invasion of Earth by the inhabitants of Mars. It was a realistic recital of this that shot Orson Wells into national notoriety, when people thought that his radio script was reality. H. G. Wells has been a great student of biology, especially the human species, and has used his knowledge and art in this line for the uplift of man.

36-6-116

And so on this visit to London, I made my pilgrimage to this great artist and champion of man. His secretary wrote that he would be glad to see me, but that he was a sick man and my visit must be short. For years he has been suffering from diabetes and has done much lately to use his wealth for the free distribution to the poor of the new means of alleviating this disease.

I rode from my temporary office near Euston Street where Mr. Rogers of the colored Red Cross club has kindly placed his hospitality at my service up to Regent Park, the largest in London, where once wealth and fashion centered under George IV. Here in Hanover Terrace, where I well remembered coming before, was the modest row of yellow homes where Mr. Wells still lived. They were scarred by war, and nearby whole mansions were in ruins. I was taken up to Mr. Wells room; a small den, filled to the

ceiling with books. He was sitting in an arm chair, close to a small open log fire. He looked sick, old and shrunken; but he arose and greeted me. The maid brought in tea and left us alone while I served. He took hot milk and buttered toast, while I took tea, toast and biscuits. We sat and talked leisurely; he looked over the Evening Standard; and we sat silent at times. In word and silence we saw the world: the extraordinary developments of the day when both our lives had been culminating. He expressed his dismay and apprehension and too his clinging hope; he had faith that the Labor Party would hold together and get on with its job. He asked about American Negroes. I did not stay long. He thanked me for coming. I went out and the nurse came in. The end of man is always sad. But the shadow which hovers about a great genius is ultimate tragedy.

27 November 1945

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

I have just had a talk with Harold Laski. When, in 1923, I was searching for headliners to speak at the third Pan African Congress in London, Laski and the then Sir Sidney Olivier helped me out of a rather deep hole. Laski, especially, made a very excellent speech. He was then lecturer at the University of London and had formerly taught at both Harvard and Yale. I met him and his wife afterwards in his home. Harold Laski has recently been thrown into world prominance by Winston Churchill's inconsiderate attack upon him in the late elections. Laski is a devoute socialist and he stated his position clearly: he wants not simply "gradualness" but a Socialist State. He said this as Chairman of the triumphant Socialist Party and Churchill made the mistake of thinking that he could successfully use this to beat Labour. He failed.

36-6-119

Laski is a slim, youngish-looking man, with slightly greying hair, intense and energetic. I waited for him in his room at the London School of Economics, a small, bare, poorly-lighted and poorly-heated place. He hurried in with apologies and explained that he had been applying at the American Embassy for permission to travel to the United States and had been finger-printed!

We talked first about the recent expulsion of a student from one of the new hostels for African students established in London. There has been some difficulty about these hostels, because the students, instead of being becomingly docile and appreciative, have been belligerent and radical. During the war one hostel was closed because the students insisted on listening to Lord Haw Haw. Laski said that the case of this student, who had been unjustly removed by the Warden, had kept him awake all night and that he was going to see that the Colonial Office re-instated the boy and made the Warden apoligise.

This, of course, brought us to the "problem". Laski said frankly that he felt this kind of oppression because he was a Jew. Then we turned to America, and he asked if the Myrdal study was still regarded as authoritative. I told him that it certainly was, but I also remarked that it was not exactly popular, especially in those quarters where it had been hoped to get a statement from a foreign scholar stressing the ultimate impossibility of Negro equality.

Then Laski brought up the case of the young Jamaican Negro, Lewis, who had been appointed lecturer in the London School of Economics and would, if he stayed, eventually become the first Negro professor in an English university. Lewis, he said, was a brilliant scholar, and even the conservative Colonial Secret ry had had to consent to his appointment. We then discussed the Colonial Office, composed, as Lewis had said when he was working there, of two parties: one who wanted nothing done; the other which wanted to do something but did not believe they could. Laski quoted Jeremy Bentham as saying that in such matters time was never ripe and never would be. We talked about the program of the Labour Party and he expressed his satisfaction that his service as chairman would be over in May. Then he had to hurry to his classes. My half hour was an interesting glimpse from within of the British problems of colour and class.

Sent 19 November 1945

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

Lately in London I faced twenty-two newspaper men and women and talked of Africa and the peoples of African descent. We met just off Charing Cross, not far from Trafalgar Square. The writers represented Europe, Asia and Africa. There was the Faily Mail and other London papers; the Tass agency of the Soviet Union, Reuters, the Indian Press and the press of West Africa. Sylvia Pankhurst was there and Robert Broadhurst who helped me in the Second Pan African Congress.

36-6-117

I talked of my various early approaches to the solution of the Negro problem, leading to the Atlanta Studies and the NAACP. Then I sketched the Pan African Congresses and dwelt on the Fifth just finished in Manchester.

They asked questions: What would be the next step? How would we try to implement our speeches and resolutions? What form would the permanent organization take? And (this from India) did I think it possible for the colored peoples of the world to gain their freedom without fighting the whites?

I replied that the first reliance of the Pan African movement was upon wide publicity on the exact nature of the grievances of colonies and groups of oppressed peoples. I pointed out how American Negroes used to be slandered and their complaints cavalierly dismissed, until we gathered such a body of unanswerable fact that the nation began to realize our condition and what it meant. I reminded them that, to cable companies, Africa

today was not "news"; and how difficult it is to have its just complaints aired or understood. I instanced the indefensible exploitation of the West African cocoa farmers which was reported to our Congress and which the Colonial Secretary of the new Labor Government refused a hearing. I outlined our plans for national groups of students and correspondents who by interchange of data would keep our various groups acquainted with conditions over Pan Africa. The representative of the South African press asked if we contemplated establishing cable companies, and when I said no, he wondered if our distribution of news would be effective; a woman asked if the news thus gathered would not tend to be propaganda and biased rather than fact. It certainly would, I answered, but now the propaganda was all anti-Negro; our reports would at least restore the balance and in the long run the truth would emerge. To the Indian I answered: fifty years ago I would have agreed that only force and force to the uttermost would bring the white world to its senses and free the world of color. Since I had lived through two of the most awful wars in human history; and looking at the results, I doubted if force in itself could settle anything. It was doubtful if in two World Wars, which had suffered most, the victors or the vanquished. After all only the chastened human spirit could bring freedom and democracy to the world.

36-6-118

18 December 1945

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

The contrasts of this Christmas-Tide are alarming. In England my hostess came to me of a Sunday morning with one egg in a cup and beaming gave it to me for breakfast. Perhaps it wasn't the only egg in the house but there were three robust children and her husband and herself and I know perfectly well there weren't enough eggs to go around. I come back to America and find Tiffany advertising lovely cocktail watches for $3,225. Then I know that between these extreme out from either end stretch tragedy, luxury and pain in unending vista.

We, colored people in the United States, are torn so completely by contradictory emotions and reactions that we do not know whether to laugh or scream. The number of happenings which record triumph and crossing of the color line have been in the last year extraordinary. Never before in modern civilization have so many men of Negro descent worn the insignia of military and naval officers; never before has Negro art and literature been able to record so many solid accomplishments; never in American history has it been so impossible to survey any field of accomplishment and leave out the work of the Negro race in political position, among the trades unions, the accumulation of wealth, in the number of students in college. We have forged forward not only in the United States but in the West Indies and in West and South Africa.

But when with joyful faces we turn from this, we turn to a world still persisting in the discrimination which we know all too well: the war has not ended and it is continuing with the great democracies fighting to suppress self-rule among colord people directly or indirectly. The specious gifts of self-government in Jamaica as well as in Nigeria are elaborate and subtle lies. The color line not only exists in our armed forces, it

is going to be projected into the draft after this war and continue to be indefinitely the pattern of American life. President Truman has not only refused to fight for a permanent FEPC, he has deliberately sabotaged what little we had accomplished toward it. In Washington the South is in the saddle by the grace of the Republican North and the new Republican platform foredasts in the middlewest has no single crumb of comfort for Negroes. Unemployment is on the horizon. Unless something miraculous happens it is bound to increase, and unemployment means unemployment for Negroes first of all. The ghost of this disaster sits upon the horizon. Moreover, with all our accomplishment and organization there is no real accomplishment toward inner organization within this group destined and calculated to use democratic methods for economic and social salvation. We are still pleading against discrimination; we still hesitate at self-help.

Wherefore, our Christmas trees must burn brightly and then dim and die, our joy must be edged with endless sorrow and apprehension. Our holiday time must be, as for years and decades it has been, a time of apprehension and fear.

Men do not cease work because all is well. Before the shadow or wrath of defeat they do not stop fighting. Grim men and determined men begin at that time really to organize and assess their forces. As compared with 1845, the day of triumph of Negro slavery; and 1745, when England was making the slavetrade the first step toward triumphant capitalism; as compared with those days, this is a morning when the sunlight is streaming from the East and I mean the East: China and India and Indonesia.

24 December 1945

WINDS OF TIME

by
W. E. B. Du Bois

Nothing gives one greater courage than looking forward in the past; that is, carefully examining the present and then comparing it with what actually happened in years gone by. Today, for instance, what could be more exciting than to think of the situation of the American Negro at Christmas time 1845? This was the year in which Frederick Douglass published his autobiography, that thin little book of one hundred and twenty-five pages, which Wendell Phillips read with amazement and begged Douglass not to publish; because he knew that if this book came out Douglass was in danger of being returned to slavery. But Douglass published it and then escaped to England to become one of the great reasons why the British Empire did not eventually recognize the Confederacy and enable it to become a great slave-holding country.

It was in 1845 that the conspiracy to dismember Mexico and bring Texas into the Union culminated. Thousands of slaves had been smuggled into Texas. It was calculated that Texas would make four states and with this additional representation in Congress, the South could hold the Union as a slave compact. It was difficult, of course, to goad Mexico into war, but President Polk knew how to do it. He declared early in 1846 "that a state of war already existed because of Mexico's actions". Word was given for the Pacific fleet to seize California. The United States demanded more than one half of Mexico and the whole West was now safe for slavery. The North which for ten years had been listening to the abolitionists with distaste now began to see the light. Meetings were called; some proposed that Canada be annexed to the United States so as to balance the insurgent South. Congress appropriated money for war and the South was jubilant.

Suppose someone at Christmas 1845, had stood up and prophesized, and said that the three million American Negroes of 1845 would be fourteen million in 1945;

in the meantime they would have so reenforced the revolt of the abolitionists that the nation had to listen; that they had furnished two hundred thousand soldiers in the Civil War who turned the tide in favor of the North; that from an illiteracy which was over ninety per cent they had come to a place where certainly two-thirds, if not three-fourths, could read and write; that they had tens of thousands of college graduates with diplomas from every institution in the land; that they were not only able to stand up and talk and fight for themselves but impartial scientific study conducted by experts from abroad admitted that their integration into the citizenry of the United States was a matter of ethical right and not of biological scission. If he had made such a prophecy, and if intuitively the world had known the prophecy was true, perhaps the Civil War would not have been necessary to make it come true. In the same way today looking forward from a basis of fact, we have a right to assume that in 2045 there will be no second class citizens composed of the descendants of Negro slaves in the United States.

This will not mean, or at least let us hope that it will not mean, that dark faces will have disappeared. As a sheer matter of taste, dark skins are worthy of preservation. But beyond that and beyond loose talk about race and blood there are certain cultural values which may be preserved for the next century. Everything that prejudice and social tension has brought out in the human soul and made a part of world experience may be preserved if we take the best of its results. There will remain then, I trust in 2045 a fine Negro American culture, a group effort in art and literature, in education and social cooperation, rich enough to teach the third millenium the beginning of a real and universal civilization, to lead such movement not in all but in many essential directions; and to make men proud that they share the cultural heritage which gave birth to such movement.

8 January 1946

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

THE PARADOX OF ENGLAND

I think most people who read English history are a bit mystified at its contradictions. On the one hand modern history writes England down as the nation that abolished slavery and for a hundred years or more led a world crusade against human bondage. On the other hand, it is perfectly clear that the British Empire was the chief instrument for establishing slavery in ~~the United States~~ America and making it a great modern institution which became the foundation of capitalistic enterprise in the nineteenth century.

36-7-120

How does one reconcile these contradictions? It is not easy because so little careful study has been given the subject by those willing to face the facts. British and American historians want to write the history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries without emphasizing slavery or the Negro. They treat these subjects, if they touch them at all, as large incidental, slurring over the slavetrade and emphasizing the philanthropy of emancipation. This is not only historically wrong but it spoils the picture; it makes it impossible to realize what the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries did to Africa.

Wealth in the shape of gold and silver poured into Spain in the sixteenth century and enriched and in a sense ruined the nobility. It was used chiefly for increasing consumption, luxury and conspicuous expenditure. But this wealth attracted the British in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries because England was then a comparatively poor country becoming property conscious. The British became gradually a strong naval power; they were the traders of the sea. By force, piracy and bare-faced theft they preyed upon Spanish wealth. Then as the Latin American colonies began to demand labor for the sugar plantations, England in the eighteenth century became the world's slavetrader. She developed the trade in human flesh between Africa and America

to an extent never dreamed of before and never equalled since. She not only filled the Spanish and Portuguese demands for slaves but she literally forced black slaves on her own colonies.

Then came a change in the British organization of life. During the last half of the eighteenth century India began to pour a stream of wealth into England and this wealth went not so much to the former aristocracy as to the new merchants and the new merchants were religious and ethical people as compared with the England of Charles II. They saved and invested their money and believed in life, liberty and property. They had a chance for investment because tobacco, sugar and eventually cotton became great commodities in trade. The new capitalism was built upon this saving and investment arising from slavery and new crops in wide demand.

When to this was added the new inventions of the era of the Industrial Revolution full-fledged capitalism was developed in modern Europe. This meant that it was possible to make more money, larger profit on colonial development rather than on plantation development. The slave trade and slavery in America ceased to pay as much as colonial exploitation in Asia and Africa. Those who could transfer, read their investments; those who could not were ruined. The abolition of the slave trade was really an attempt to boost the price of labor in order to keep hold of the investment in sugar plantations. It failed because of the Napoleonic wars as well as for other reasons; so that colonial empire became the field for nineteenth century and twentieth century capitalism and the plantation slave economy of the West Indies fell in ruins.

British emancipation was, therefore, a transfer of capital to more profitable fields aided by philanthropy but not caused by philanthropy.

15 January 1946

WINDS OF TIME

by
W. E. B. Du Bois

The death of Countee Cullen at the early age of forty-two is an irreparable loss to American Negro literature. He had a precious and individual gift of expression. He was a master of language and his life with its sorrow and bitter disappointment gave a certain fine fullness of experience which he began to develop as a school boy. His career was never completed. In a sense it was halted in mid-flight and becomes at once inspiration and warning to the American Negro group. First inspiration: the group needs expression. Its development toward self-revelation may become one of the greatest gifts of any group of people to modern civilization. The burning experience through which it has come is unique and precious. No one else can give voice and body to it but Negroes. It is sheer nonsense to put before Negro writers the ideal of being just writers and not Negroes. There is no such possibility. Englishmen are not just writers and not Englishmen. Englishmen are English from birth to death and in that fact lies most of the value of their contribution. The ideal of pure art divorced from actual life is nothing but an ideal and of questionable value in any day or time. Least of all is it of value today when the whirling tragedy, bitterness, blood and sweat of our intricate and puzzling life on this earth calls and even shrieks for that knowledge of each other's soul which only the soul itself in its own individual experience can furnish.

The opportunity then for literary expression upon which American Negroes have so often turned their backs is their opportunity and not their handicap. That Countee Cullen was born with the twentieth century as a black boy to live in Harlem was a priceless experience. It had no counterpart in Athens of the second century before Christ or in Rome of the fifth century after. Not even the crooked developments of the Middle Ages presented the same facets of suffering and inspiration

36-7-122

and certainly nothing before in American history was like this tremendous development in Harlem.

Yet, as I have said, Cullen's career was not finished. It did not culminate. It laid fine, beautiful foundation but the shape of the building never emerged. In part this may have been the result of his troubled life but we American Negroes ourselves are partly to blame. We did not give him the encouragement that might have led him to make literature a career instead of an avocation. We were laggard and stingy in our praise even of his finest flights which moved us in spite of ourselves. We sat back with the assumed omniscience of critics and tried to tell a master what he should say and how he should say it. Even when he sings such perfect words as these:

36-7-123

"Inscrutable His ways are, and immune
To catechism by a mind too strewn
With petty cares to slightly understand
What awful brain compels His awful hand.
Yet do I marvel at this curious thing:
To make a poet black, and bid him sing!"

I do not know just what we can do to cure ourselves of carlessness toward the most precious things we have created in America: our poets and painters, our men who have sought knowledge and not wealth; but certainly we must do something. That we starved Richard Brown; that we crucified C. H. Turner; that we lost Henry Tanner is a terrible price to pay for carelessness and neglect. What we need is not flowers upon a bier or belated appreciation, but a sort of united determined effort to make such requiem as this unnecessary and untrue:

"These straining eyes, clairvoyant then,
Shall probe beneath the calloused husk
That hides the better selves of men.
And as my day throbs into dusk,
This heart the world has made to bleed,
While all its red stream deathward flows,
Shall comprehend just why the seed
Must agonize to be the rose."

21 January 1946

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

This is the day when every intelligent Negro should take a firm stand and have a clear outlook toward the strike situation. There is still among us, especially among the educated classes, a current of opposition to strikes and even to trade unions. This has come down to us from the day when every prosperous American expected to be a millionaire and looked upon every poor worker as essentially shiftless and unprogressive. We ought by this time to see clearly that all people cannot be rich; that the ideal of civilization is not waste and luxury but simple living on an income sufficient for health, security and enjoyment of the reasonable gifts of life.

Today with the help of science there is no reason why the majority and the vast majority of human beings should not be able to accomplish this in return for an amount of work and effort well within the ability of all normal men.

Yet what we see is in most of the world a poverty among the masses so terrible as to be almost inconceivable. Even in a country like the United States, rich in resources and abounding in human ability, the majority of the working families are not receiving today an income which allows them to live in health and decency and to rear and educate a family. The reason for this is that a large proportion of the income, material and spiritual, which the workers of America make go to a small part of the population which does not need it and does not use it. There has been no successful refutation of the statement by Lundberg in America's 60 Families "that fewer than twenty per cent of the people possess nearly everything while eighty per cent own practically nothing."

From time to time the workingmen of the United States who do the hardest toil and get the least for it have rebelled against this situation. Their instrument of rebellion has been the strike. At first the strikers were held up to the nation as criminals and were beaten and jailed by the police. They formed

protective unions. The unions were partially outlawed and suffered from the fact that they did not include all the workers. One group especially, the Negroes, were widely excluded. They were brought in as strike breakers, accepting, as they had to, low wages and they broke strike after strike particularly the great steel and stockyard strikes of 1919 to 1922.

Today, however, they start anew with strong unions and intelligent demands. The Negroes are included in nearly all the unions except the machinists and the railway unions. They ask for a share in the tremendous profits of the war which went to the steel makers, the automobile makers and the electrical cooperations. The corporations have replied through General Motors with an astonishing argument and that is: that if capitalists work together for production and the capitalists make a fortune while the laborers hardly keep alive, the question of higher wages for the laborer has nothing to do with the swollen profits of the capitalists. This is an astonishing and cynical argument.

Every American Negro ought to stand back of the strikers, give them their support and sympathy and recognize that if we are going to have peace on earth, democracy and a decent standard of living, the reactionary leaders of organized industry have got to be beaten in this series of strikes.

29 January 1945

THE WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

One of the great services that Tuskegee Institute is giving the world is its care for Negro children suffering from infantile paralysis. During the year 1944 there were nineteen thousand new cases of this terrible disease in the United States. How many of these victims were Negroes we do not know but it is safe to assume that nearly two thousand must have been. Some of these found beds in regular hospitals but most of those in the South had no hospitalization except at Tuskegee. Tuskegee treated thirty of these children in 1941, fifty-seven in 1942, forty-eight in 1943 and thirty-six in 1944 or one hundred and seventy-one in all.

Tuskegee Center is on a smaller scale the same kind of institution as the Georgia Spring Foundation ninety miles away. The two are the only ones in the country devoted to the one disease of poliomyelitis. The National Foundation founded by Franklin Delano Roosevelt made its first grant to Tuskegee only a year after its incorporation. Tuskegee was chosen because of its average low humidity, its mild winters and temperate climate. There is no other complete hospital for the care of Negro crippled children in the area from Nashville to New Orleans and from Atlanta to Jacksonville. The center was dedicated January 15, 1941 and the first patient, a nine year old boy from Thomasville, Georgia was admitted February 19. Dr. John W. Chenault is at the head of the center assisted by seven nurses and a physical therapist. Dr. Patterson of Tuskegee has said "The unit was not built with the idea of reaching all Negro patients, but to be a center for training doctors, nurses and physical therapists and for studying unusual cases. It is taking some patients, and will take more. But the greatest good will come through the kind of cases successfully treated and the enriching experience afforded Negro doctors, among whom there are at present dangerously few orthopedic surgeons."

The center is housed near the graveyard where Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver are buried and is a part of the John A. Andrews Memorial Hospital. Patients have come to this center not only from Alabama but as far north as New York

and as far west as Oklahoma. More than half are from Alabama and Georgia. A two weeks institute on the care of infantile paralysis was held in June in which the teaching staff of Georgia Warm Springs Foundation participated and there were in attendance six doctors, sixteen public health nurses and six institutional nurses and ten private nurses. A part of the training of student nurses in the regular Institute nursing school is spent in this center. Already plans for enlarging the center have been made. The present building is three stories, fire proof brick, with a sound proof lobby. Entering are the doctor's office to the right and the secretary's to the left and beyond six rooms, three on each side, dedicated to three purposes: first the plaster room where the castes are made; then the head nurse's office, then a recreation room which is a school room with books, pictures and curtains donated by the Phi Delta Kappa Sorrority. On the other side are the laboratory, nurses lounge and the brace shops where appliances are fitted. In the basement reached by electric elevator are the gymnasium, baths and machines for massage. At one end is the green tile treatment pool with a capacity of twenty thousand gallons maintained at a temperature of 92°. On the top floor are six rooms with hospital beds. Each day while under treatment the children go to school and each day at meals they chant the old grace which Fisk University has used for seventy-five years

"God is Grace, and God is good
And we thank Thee for this food
Bow our heads, must all be fed
Give us, Lord, our daily bread."

5 February 1946

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

I am celebrating Negro History Week this year by an attempt to re-write the history of the Negro race. For something over a hundred years there has been a determined attempt to segregate the history of Africa and Africans from the history of the world. One would think that Africa and its peoples could be entirely cut out of universal history without disturbing to any extent the flow of the development of men. There is nothing more untrue than this assumption and nothing that leads to greater mis-direction of thought within and without the Negro world. I am, therefore, writing a book called "The World and Africa" which will be published this year and which will tell the history of Africa as a part of the history of the world and interpret the history of the world as depending to a large and important degree upon developments in Africa.

One has but to mention events in African history to make it perfectly clear that this thesis is true. For five thousand years before Christ the history of Africa was the history of the world. So true was it that world history centered in the Valley of the Nile; that both Greece and Rome sat at the feet of Egypt to learn human culture. When in western Asia the great empires began to expand, they were held in check by Africa and their triumph depended upon their domination of Africa. The glory that was Greece found its final culmination when the Greek empire established Alexandria with the greatest library of the world. The duel between Europe and Africa which we know as the Punic Wars was a turning point in world history. We are less familiar with the empire of the Monomatapa and the way in which its trade reached to India and China and sent a black and curly haired Budha from the Indian Ocean to the Pacific. The Crusades found black men ruling in Egypt and the consequent renaissance came to Europe through Africa. The Negro empires in North Africa in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries equalled in civilization the culture of England and Germany.

The transformation of the world which we know as the Industrial Revolution started with the upheaval of black slaves in America, culminated first in the French Revolution and finally in the revolution which through the slave trade made England mistress of the seas. Modern capitalism is the child of African labor. The striving for African colonies, their materials and cheap labor caused the first World War, and the second World War was caused by the strife within countries to see what group could dominate the wealth which the colonies of Asia and Africa were still pouring into Europe.

The future of the world and the future of democracy depends upon Africa and Asia more than on any other part of the world. The twentieth century spells the end of European domination of the world through the manipulation of the Color Line.

This is the line of thought which I am contributing to Negro History week in 1946.

11 February 1946

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

Carnegie Hall stands out in my memory and experience. Once before the First World War, the then radical Stephen S. Wise, had me come from Atlanta to this Hall which his congregation filled and speak on the Negro problem. It was a brave stand to furnish a forum for such a problem in those days. How many waves of bitterness have passed over our heads since that time. I saw Stephen Wise last in San Francisco fighting for Jewish freedom.

It was at Carnegie Hall during the first world War that I introduced to his last audience Theodore Roosevelt. I have seen in this hall audiences listening to Roland Hayes and refusing to leave until he gave encore after encore, until the last and infinitely beautiful strain of that prayer to Manon held thousands breathless. I have seen Marian Anderson staged like a fold of velvet upon that platform before audiences that quivered.

Yet in many ways what I saw at Carnegie Hall last night was unique and prophetic. It was a plea for a race but that race was the Jews in the rendition of Granick's Warsaw Ghetto set to music by Morgenstern. But this concert was not merely a plea for race tolerance. It was a great deal more than this. It was the American Youth Orchestra composed of musicians without reference to race and color. A black girl with a violin sat in front far to the left. Dark men played brass and wind instruments but above all guiding this whole orchestra of hundreds of instruments was a young handsome black man, Dean Dixon, who seemed to hold their thoughts and hearts in absolute control. One could see what the race-hating South was losing in trying to develop art and excluding a third of its population and by far the most talented third. One laughs at Virginia with its state theater for whites only.

There was a splendid baritone voice interpreting Khrennikov's music from "Much Ado About Nothing" and above all there was the Rachmaninoff concerto with a

Scandinavian woman at the piano who looked like Brunhilda. All this was more than racial. It was human and universal. It was an appeal to mankind none the less beautiful because of its throb of sorrow. To all this was added a "Danse Calinda" written by a Negro sailor who had jim-crowed his way through war for democracy.

If any one could conceive a more paradoxical contribution to the happiness of mankind, I cannot conceive what it would be.

It has often been said that art is the clear, straight path to democracy and while I have continually doubted this I have wanted this to be true. Certainly as I look back upon our path in this land I can see nothing that has guided us more consistently toward freedom and accomplishment than our literature and music, our sculpture and painting, our drama. Our political efforts despite our triumphs have failed us; our economic emancipation has hardly more than begun; our physical revolt died a-borning. But our art forms have not only made America, they are an integral part of the Twentieth Century.

18 February 1946

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

It would be interesting to have Mr. Atlee, Mr. Stalin and Mr. Truman talk with us and each other frankly at a Town Hall Meeting about democracy. I should not care to have them discuss it theoretically. I know now what each would say. But I should like to hear from them what they consider that their respective countries have contributed to democracy in the post war period.

Mr. Atlee could say, but I think he would not, that his contribution had consisted in keeping tight hold of India, helping the Dutch re-conquer Indonesia and holding back the EAM of Greece so as to allow the Anglo-Saxon King George to re-gain his lost throne. Also incidentally he might mention oil in Iran overflowing into Palestine and likely to drown the Jews, and little armies in China, Burma, Syria and other parts of the world. All this he could mention but I do not think he would. He would probably confine himself to stressing the nationalization of the Bank of England and the British coal mines. This would be something but it would not be much.

36-7-118

Mr. Truman might bring to our attention the fact that the United States Senate not only could not decide about race discrimination in employment in the United States but even was not allowed to vote upon it; that under the leadership of two disreputable politicians hailing from the poorest and most ignorant and most fascist-minded state in the Union and casting only a handful of purchased votes, the Senate of the United States was not allowed even to consider the FEPC; that the full employment bill was hamstrung; that the power of the House of Representatives has been used to pass a bill designed to stop the man who is not receiving decent wages from quitting his job. Mr. Truman might mention these things but I presume he would not. I presume he would talk about private initiative, the American way of life and our splendid record in the World War and how we are to make the world behave itself by secretly manufacturing atom bombs. Here again I would not be impressed.

On the other hand I am pressed, and tremendously impressed, with what Mr. Stalin said the other day. I am not interested in theoretical arguments for and against Communism but I do like to have a man stand up and talk straight. Mr. Stalin said and I believe he was stating the exact truth that the late war "arose in reality as the inevitable result of the development of the world economic and political forces on the basis of monopoly capitalism." He showed that Czarist Russia produced four million tons of steel and twenty-nine million tons of coal in 1913; that Bolshevik Russia in 1940 made eighteen million tons of steel and one hundred and sixty-six million tons of coal. Then he said that he proposed within the next five years that Russia should produce sixty million tons of steel and five hundred million tons of coal. Now this is something tremendous and it is especially impressive when you remember that despite the greatest war effort that any nation has made, Russia has kept her schools going while in the United States a city like St. Louis admits that one-half the children in her elementary schools are not learning to read and write and this means two-thirds of the colored children. It also means that what is true of St. Louis is practically true of the whole country.

We can add this to what Mr. Stalin said: that while here in the United States millions of workers, black and white, are declaring with frantic insistence that they are not getting enough to eat and that the employers have during the war made more profits than they can spend. While we have, during this wild and awful war, stood together in battle we have moved farther apart in group hatred based on color, creed and nationality.

It seems to me that what the people of America and England have got to take to heart is this: no matter what they profess in democracy or human uplift, it is what they do that counts. Stalin declares that the peoples of Russia today form one united community "Living in one common collective, they fought together for the strengthening of the might of our country. Together they found and shed their blood at the fronts for the sake of the freedom and greatness of our motherland." Can England and America say as much? If they can not, it is not Communism that we need fear, it is ourselves.

25 February 1946

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

The first meeting of the United Nations Organization was not as successful as many of us hoped and not the failure that some feared. On the great movements which would make for peace and democracy, the UNO stalled and contradicted itself. Russia alone stood for the withdrawal of British troops from interference with the government of Greece; for the defense of independence in Indonesia; and for the withdrawal of British and French troops from the Middle East. Also Russia was the only voice to speak up plainly and clearly for the colonies and immediate trusteeships. The United States under the leadership of Stettinius simply scurred around and said "me too" to everything that Britain proposed.

30-7-119

Vishinsky's logic was unanswerable. He said to England: either Greece has the government which she wants, in which case she does not need your troops; or she has a government which she does not want, in which case your troops have no business there forcing it on her. The only answer which the blustering bully, who today represents the British Foreign Office, had to offer was an ill-mannered "liar". The accusation of deliberate interference by Great Britain in Indonesia to deprive them of freedom and democracy was just as unanswerable and unanswered.

The situation in the Middle East both among Jews and Pan Arabs was left in the air where it started; and in the case of colonies there was not only the usual British impasse on most colonial questions, but in addition to that the United States is determined to hog the whole Pacific and police Asia in order to guard American and British investments which they fondly hope China will furnish in the future.

Nor is this the worst of it: in spite of the fight which Russia, almost alone, made for freedom and democracy, the so-called free press of America succeeded, as usual, in utterly distorting the picture; in painting Russia as obstructionist;

white-washing the British Empire and adding a few gratuitous lies about compulsory migration of Germans and interference with the present Papal Consistory.

To cap the climax instead of getting down on his knees and apologizing to Russia, as Stettinius ought to in order to atone in some slight way for the blunder at San Francisco, the Argentine was not mentioned except in general complaint because it is doing today exactly what it has been doing since 1939. The guilt of Argentina was known at San Francisco. Molotov begged the nations there not to rush in accepting Aregentina as a member. Stettinius led the nations in jamming the acceptance through and the American press led the chorus which charged Russia again with obstruction. Today the world sees the needless blunder which it made then and is stupidly seeking a way out without war.

4 March 1946

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

When I was in Harvard College near the end of the nineteenth century, Frank Taussig, the great American economist, was still giving his course on "The Wages Fund". This was the Ricardian doctrine already under severe criticism; but having for him and others a certain dialetical interest, he laid its elements before us: from the income due to industry the cost of the material used must first be subtracted and then the profit due to capital. Unless capital got this profit there would be no capital; there would no incentive to save; no incentive to refrain from immediate consumption. After these two costs were subtracted what was left was called "The Wages Fund". It was small, predetermined and could not be increased because of the two first demands made upon income. Consequently the Ricardians of the late nineteenth century could prove without shadow of doubt the useless ness of labor unions and the futility of strikes. The wages fund was fixed and within its limits men must live and reproduce the species. The more children, the larger the families, the less the income. On this irrefutable fact the Malthusian theory was built and emphasized.

36-7-112

Is it not clear today that we are silently reverting to a new statement of this doctrine? Did not Reuther put his hand upon the present difficulty in the beginning of the automobile strike? He demanded higher wages at the expense of lower profit. He virtually denied that profits were fixed and that the amount of capital depended upon high profit. He knew, as we all know, that the owners of capital cannot consume it; they cannot eat more than three meals a day; extravagant homes, yachts and retinues of servants ~~do not~~ still keep capital lying idle in vast quantities and willing to take low profit and even none at all. This labor unions maintains that profit in the war period had been abnormal even fantastic; that they could be greatly reduced and wages increased without increasing the price of products.

The truth of this assertion is not easily adduced because we have no public record of profits. Wages are known; profits are secret. The owners of property can be concealed. It is for this reason that we have such difficulty equitably to assess taxes according to ability to pay. We can always soak the poor but we do not know exactly who the rich are or

how much wealth they have. In our blundering to find out, we may do grave injustice to many persons; but of the injustice to the poor there can be no question. Many persons like the editors of the New York Times and commentators like Raymond Gramm Swing simply accept the dictum without question: that profits are normally low so that a transfer of profits to wages is impossible without higher prices to the consumer.

On the other hand, may it not be perfectly true that not only profits are high but too high for healthy industry. We must include here under profits many sources of income which are concealed, which are put down under high salaries and bonuses to managers, under reserve funds and especially under rent. It can easily be true, and there is little doubt but that it is true, that as compared with the wages paid the worker, the income given middle men and entrepreneurs, investors and managers and particularly owners of property is so large that it makes wages correspondingly low and that consequently the wage earner is unable to buy the consumers goods which industry is pouring out. Nothing illustrates this more than the automobile industry. There is a vast demand for small, cheap durable and efficient cars. Considering the size of the country, the need for travel, the obsolescence of the present cars, new good cars could literally be sold by the million. But who is going to buy them? The great demand is not for luxury limosines but for cars within the budget limit of the workingman. If now the profit upon the making of the cars is going to be so large and the rents for homes so high and the payment for skilled management so fantastic that wages must be kept low that homes cannot be built and owned, that sufficient good food cannot be purchased, what money is going to be left to buy an automobile? Manifestly imbalance, something that the nineteenth century could not conceive of; something that has already played hell with the industrial organization of the twentieth century and bids fair to invite a collapse within the next generation as disastrous as that in the thirties.

It is not only possible, it is reasonable that a reduction of rents and profits accompanied by an increase in the wages of labor would result in an increase in production because of increased demand for goods and services. The savings arising from inventions and the techniques of mass production instead of going as they do today almost entirely to capital and property could go largely, if not mainly, to labor and result in a higher standard of living.

11 March 1946

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

The speech of Winston Churchill was one of the most discouraging occurrences of modern times. Here is a statesman who has been on the wrong side of practically every great social question in our day: a determined imperialist, an opponent of woman suffrage, against the striving for independent free states and bitterly against Russia. The organization called the British Empire, of which he is one of the worst and most determined representatives, has been one of the chief causes of two world wars which have nearly overthrown civilization.

36-7-113

At a time when it is possible by re-organizing the outlook of Great Britain toward democracy and race tolerance this man proposes to the United States that we should help to restore that empire, help to insure its investments, help to perpetuate its hold upon colonial peoples. Bevin, Mr. Churchill's stooge, has declared that the British Empire ought to persist because it represents free peoples. Mr. Churchill made a plea for free peoples in his speech. And yet the free peoples in the British Empire consist of fifty million Britishers, nine million in Canada, seven million in Australia, one and a half million in New Zealand and two million in South Africa. These seventy-eight million people are ruling over four hundred million colored people who have no voice in their government and are used for the support and luxury of the whites. If this is what it means to be free, God save freedom.

The American people are now asked to bolster and restore this empire which for one hundred and fifty years has treated America with every kind of contempt except when it wanted something. I trust that the result of this outrageous appeal made with the assent, nod and smile of the President of the United States, will bring the Middlewest to its senses, will disrupt the unholy alliance between the farmers and big business and

show the farmer that big busine s is perfectly willing to throw the world again into war and destruction if the resulting profit is large enough. That, on the other hand, Great Britain has nothing for the American farmer and laborer except to repudiate imperialism, to free her colonies and honestly to embrace democracy. The present labor government is pledged to socialism, the same socialism which is the basis of the Soviet Union and it envisages the ownership of the mass of industrial capital by the state and planned economic life.

We shall see whether Churchill's pronouncements are accepted by the Atlee government just as his program of foreign affairs has been swallowed hook, line and sinker. If it is, and if in addition to this, the American people, or any considerable part of them, are beguiled by this siren song of British aristocracy then we must know that there is no hope for modern civilization; that it is going to plunge itself into war after war; it is going to kill off its youth, sterilize its literature and art and go down to hell to the beat of drums and display of military pageantry.

18 March 1946

WINDS OF TIMES
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

There are certain patterns about race riots which the public forgets. There is always wide publicity about actual occurrences like at Columbia, Tennessee and more or less successful attempt to punish at least some of the perpetrators. But of the events, and especially the economic events, preceding and following the riots there is apt to be little knowledge and less action.

I know this part of Tennessee fairly well. As a student at Fisk I was less than fifty miles from Columbia and I taught a country school near Lebanon not seventy-five miles away. This is a part of the upper South which is becoming industrialized and the patterns follows certain well-known outlines: poor white population eager for decent paying work, a smaller Negro population equally eager. There would be none or few labor unions. The whites would secure the better paid work in local factories; the Negroes would get jobs at less pay and their lower pay would threaten the wage standards of whites. There would be little intercourse, understanding and much less friendship between these two classes. The merchant class would prey upon both and the capitalists own the factories, the surrounding farms and the rental housing. The political power of the Negro would be very small because unorganized and the officials would all be white serving and catering to a white constituency. There would be a nucleus of colored people with some education, a number of them owning their homes; a small number running businesses and a few professional men. It is to the interest of the owners of capital both to encourage and discourage race friction: to encourage economic rivalry so as to keep down wages and keep out labor unions; to discourage any outbreak that would destroy capital or drive away workers.

Then comes the riot nearly always comparatively trivial and vague in its causes. Whatever punishment may be secured after long effort is not very important because the actual perpetrators are those who have allowed racial friction to grow. They are the editors of local newspapers, the preachers in white churches who have kept still, the

employers of labor who have said nothing and yet encouraged race f eling. During the riot there is not only the flare-up but always the systematic disarming of the Negroes, the jailing and perhaps killing of numbers of innocent people and then the setting of the armed police belonging to the city, county or state upon the Negro community to loot and hurt and shoot the Negroes. The looting is apt to be systematic. Many of the poor whites take this opportunity to steal from the Negroes whose economic prosperity they have envied and to ruin Negro business.

After the riot comes however the much more important social events. For a gen ration or longer Columbia is going to be known to every Negro in this part of the South as the pl ce where a riot and lyching occurred. They are going to avoid it. Those colored people who are able, some quickly and some slowly, will migrate from Columbia. They will go first to Nashville. If they have a little property they will sell it or give it away. The lower strata of loafers and ne'er-do-wells will probably stay. They will be offered high wages to induce them to w ork because the better workers will leave. Those who do migrate and have lost their property are the real victims of the riot. For them there ought to be a rehabilitation fund: they ought to receive reimbursement for their lost homes and above all they should be given economic opportunity. The Negro community where they go should regard them quietly as first line fighters, veterans returned from the front to find well-paid work and welcome.

Usually of course nothing of this sort occurs. From the earning of a decent living with a little home and social and church surroundings, they suddenly find themselves poor, in a strange moisy and hostile environment, with little chance to work and no place to live. Some of them inevitably sink into idleness and crime; some become sick and insane. They are a burden upon Chicago, upon Detroit, upon Indianapolis. Their children in school are retarded or indifferent. They swell the burden of the Negro community which is striving desperately to rise. They receive little sympathy.

Here is where real social work and uplift ought to come. A community like this which has gone mad and committed a terrible social crime ought to be a subject of continued study and the victims reimbursed to the first and second generation and given opportunity to live again. Why would not something of this sort be the peculiar chance of the Negro church?

26 March 1946

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

America was built on Africa. From being a mere stopping place between Europe and Asia or a chance treasure house of gold, America became through African labor the center of the sugar empire and the cotton kingdom and an integral part of the world industry and trade which caused the Industrial Revolution and the reign of capitalism. Through the nineteenth century America on its black labor grew in wealth and importance. It became the greatest experiment in modern democracy embracing eventually not simply the white but the black worker and today not only is the Negro an important part of American labor and Negro art integral to the art of the United States, but beyond this the trade of America is built in large degree upon the products raised by Africans and their children the world over.

What now is America? It is a great working nation, vast, marvelously organized and rich. We grow and mine materials; we process and manufacture it; we trade it, we transport it, we buy and sell it. Bound up with this not only is there the planning of this work but the hard digging, lifting and cleaning and the services of parents and friends, professional men and servants. With all this we produce goods and homes, buildings and roads, light and heat, tools and machines and all manner of transport from railways and automobiles to airplanes.

But of course the basic question here is for whom all this work is done? How are the goods and services divided? Here we realize that all the facts are not known in America just as they are partially unknown in other parts of the world. The distribution of wealth and human service is a more or less closely guarded secret. We have some general ideas which are disconcerting: we know that the lowest and hardest work and the work least honored is despite its necessity the lowest paid. We know that men do not get rich according to ability or according to the degree in which they serve the

the public. There is something, of course, of recognition of talent but it is not sufficient to keep down dissatisfaction, and the demand of the twentieth century in America just as the demand of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe is that the distribution of wealth be more logical and ethical.

Men have tried to think that the distribution of goods and services was a matter of natural law. We know better than that today; we know that especially in America planning does go on on wide scale and that it is personal and based on will and not on democratic methods. Great groups have power to plan industry and division of wealth: groups carrying on organized industry like General Motors and General electric and the British Unilevers; these groups own machines and material and inventions which enable them to reap large profit by marevelous and striking organization. Imports and exports depend upon the decisions of captains of industry. Monopoly of natural resources play a tremendous part and the ownership of land. The economic rent that comes with time and growth of population, the shores of the ocean, the places suited for business and pleasure, all are controlled and distributed by men. We know that the control of credit, the foreseeing of need for materials and machines and the supplying of it by those who can use it most profitably is in itself a field of tremendous planning and prophecy. We know that the government must come in and help this planning and make it efficient, not only by carrying mail and transporting goods, but by settling disputes and administering government and policing the land.

2 April 1946

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

What now are the results of this planning and why do these results make Americans dissatisfied? We still have poverty; not nearly as much as many other parts of the world, but on the other hand most Americans do not receive an income large enough to allow them to live in health and decency. This leads not only to envy but to cheating and stealing, to the kind of struggles which begin as race riots and end as organized strikes. It leads to widespread gambling so that horse racing is one of our greatest businesses. It leads to the postponing of marriage and the limiting of children.

36-7-110

This poverty makes for ignorance; not simply illiteracy which is still serious among us, but for inexperience, the neglect of the lessons of history, selfish prejudices and conventions. Poverty leads to disease; it lets us spend more for war than for the perfectly possible extirpation of tuberculosis and lessening of cancer and for the physical welfare of children. Poverty, ignorance and disease are back of most of our crime and to this is added a curious lack of ethical guidance. The church tends to teach dogma rather than emphasis on right and wrong and the funny strips exalt and sneer at suffering.

In addition to all this comes the reign of luxury, conspicuous expenditure; the use of diamonds and furs, great estates and servants while round about is sickness, starvation, insanity. We grow used to a luxury and display that we know is built upon wealth and work taken from suffering mankind. We demand profit for investment even at the expense of public welfare. The great business organizations of the United States drove a hard bargain in blood to increase their profits during the last war; America invests in colonies, British, Dutch and French; and colonies are slums used for profit on cheap labor. We continually set before us the successful rich man as more typical of what America means than the student or the philanthropist.

It is this kind of thing which makes for our continued slavery. We demand Freedom, but thousands upon thousands are toiling discontentedly at work which they hate when more careful and thoughtful planning could make work much more agreeable and more efficiently distributed. We curb thought and discussion because we are afraid that those who are powerful and comfortable under present conditions may be disturbed in their present control of the world. We distort news and prostitute the newspapers to the ownership of those who use them for profit. Science is becoming increasingly not the work of free universities but the property of organizations for private profit and directed to their objects. Education both in school and out is encouraging that economic illiteracy which keeps the mass of American people from knowing and inquirying just how the work of the world is done. To the support of all this comes the theatre and the movies and other forms of art, serving the idea that private profit rather than social welfare is the end and aim of man.

9 April 1946

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

Is there any wonder that the result is widespread fear? We are afraid of unemployment and loss of work; we are suspicious of other men, other races and other nations, not because we are the poorest and most wretched but because here in America we have tasted the possibility of comfort and happiness. Perhaps all this is best shown by certain paradoxes in our daily life, thought and action. We Americans boast and strut when we have every cause to be meek and humble. We seek happiness and escape through drunkenness and night clubs. We couple our religion with hate, saying "God so loved the world" and boasting how much we hate our enemies; we turn the other cheek to make bombs. We want peace and make war. We want Truth and curb research. We want wealth and condone legal stealing.

We Americans have invented an apt phrase to enrich the English language. So what! It expresses a singular complex. A great statesman comes from Britain and tells us that he wants a world of free states and democracy and admits at the same time that among the vast majority of the British Empire there is no freedom and no democracy. So what? We see standing before the United Nations at San Francisco a prime minister asking for a recognition of humanity and in the same voice telling the world that anyone who regards the natives of South Africa as human in the same sense as white folk is "mad, quite mad". We have a Secretary of State arraigning Russia for lack of democracy while he represents South Carolina where the majority of the people have never had a chance to vote. So what?

But perhaps our greatest contradiction and paradox comes in our attitude toward servants. We know that personal services between mother and child, friend and relative, is the highest form of human effort but we treat that same personal service

when it is done for pay as the lowest form of work, paid least and subject to personal insult. The subtle and complete contradiction here involved is our most frightful paradox.

What can we do about all this? It is not a matter of law, it is a matter of the human heart. We know what must be done: industry must be carried on not for private profit but for public welfare; we must progressively approach the time when no person shall have cake while any person has no bread. We must increase production and income by the use of the great natural powers which science has placed in our hands: electricity which is being kept from the masses by organized effort in the Valley of the Missouri and in the Valley of the St. Lawrence just as once monopoly fought in vain in the Valley of the Tennessee and still fights at Boulder Dam. We know that automobiles could be built to last ten years at little greater cost than those which last two years, if the object was transportation and not gain. We must have schools that teach truth despite what some are afraid to know. We must use the radio for real information and not for quack advertising and the cinema for instruction as well as entertainment. We must have a press that is free and not monopolized by business. We must have socialized medicine following the great example being set today by Britain and go beyond it as we ought to.

7 May 1946

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

36-7-167

I have just been attending a conference which marks the new day at Lincoln University under the Negro President, Horace Mann Bond. Lincoln University has always been a strong factor in Negro education and has graduated some splendid and influential men. But in the few remarks which I made as consultant I said "I must say frankly that I have never liked Lincoln University nor the Presbyterian Church." I then explained that my dislike was based upon the fact that this dogmatic and often reactionary church had for years refused to put a colored man on the faculty of Lincoln University and in this attitude they were supported by a considerable number of Lincoln graduates. Such splendid men as Francis and Archibald Grimke, who would have been ornaments to any faculty, fought in vain and against their own fellow alumni to make the faculty of Lincoln University bi-racial. Francis Grimke wrote to Dean Johnson of Lincoln in 1916: "Do you realize the fact that it is the only university in the United States for colored people that has never had a Negro among its professors or on its Trustee Board?"

But that is water under the bridge. Today there are Negro professors and a Negro president and this conference reached a high water mark in frank and suggestive debate. Of course the great problem, and the reason that a Negro has been made president is the matter of finance. It will be astonishing information to most people to realize that today the Presbyterian Church contributes less than one per cent of the income of Lincoln University and has not at any time during the twentieth century given as much as ~~twenty~~ ten per cent. Here then is one of the oldest institutions for Negro education in the United States that has got to raise two hundred thousand dollars a year in order to do its work well. ~~Fifteen~~ Twenty per cent of this comes from its small endowment and ~~fifteen~~ twenty per cent from the State of Pennsylvania. The students pay in the astonishing total of ~~sixty~~ thirty per cent leaving ~~fifty~~ thirty per cent to be raised by gifts.

I told the conference that what must happen in the case of Lincoln, Fisk, Talladega and Dillard is that these private institutions must either become state institutions or must organize the alumni so as to put the support of the institution mainly on the alumni. Lincoln, for instance, if she wishes to avoid further state control and refuse to ask for further church help, which is already nearly nothing, and increase scholarship funds for students, must raise among her alumni an hundred thousand dollars a year. Can this be done? Can these other private institutions do the same? At first the answer would seem to be emphatically no, and that the only refuge is state control. I believe that state control in the future is inevitable for nearly all higher institutions white and black but I have been turning over in my mind the pos ibility of a small number of Negro colleges supported by their alumni, without dependence upon the state, and without begging boards and millionaires for contributions. The method of getting money from the rich is deadening. It fills the trustee board with men who have no personal interest in the institution, do not visit it, do not know its problems and have had the position thrust upon them because of the hope that they may give or secure funds for the college. This is unfair and humiliating to both sides. The practice should stop.

On the other hand can a body of three thousand alumni, such as Lincoln has today, raise an hundred thousand dollars a year? The answer is that they can if they are convinced that it is necessary. They probably spend at least an hundred thousand dollars a year on hats; they spend perhaps twice as much on luxuries that could be spared. If they had to face the alternative of either giving up some of their luxuries or not having their children properly educated, they could raise money enough to support these institutions. But it would have to be a hard effort and a deep conviction on the part of graduates that this is necessary.

20 May 1946

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

Lester T. Walton has retired as United States Minister to Liberia after serving from 1935 to 1945, eleven years, a longer period than any other American Minister has ever held this office. This is a record which ought to be known. Mr. Walton left with the complete confidence of the Government of Liberia and of the Firestone interests. On his resignation he received the highest decoration of Liberia the ~~golden~~ grand cordon of the Order of African Redemption, and in addition the warm commendation of the United States Department of State.

During his term he negotiated eight treaties and agreements concerning air power, the health mission of which John West is head, and the new port to be built by the United States Navy which for the first time in history will give an independent African nation a port where ships may call and anchor. This does not mean that conditions in Liberia are satisfactory but it does mean that there has been built up through Mr. Walton's efforts a condition of cordial relations between this government and the Liberian and a chance for economic progress.

36-7-108

It is one of the acute tragedies of the situation that the understanding between Liberia and American Negroes has never been as cordial as it should be. The causes are clear: American Negroes have always assumed that they had certain rights in Liberia, that in a sense they owned it and that their advice should always be taken and their criticism heeded. On the other hand, the Liberians have had a desperately hard row to hoe. They have had to fight the Africans themselves for their original foothold because they were foreigners. They have had continuous struggle with the English and the French who were determined to annex the country and from America they have had at first an attitude of disdain and lack of interest and finally the pressure of economic and military interference.

The great defense upon which Liberia today depends and has depended is the political power of the American Negro. But that political power ought to be backed by intelligent comprehension of Liberian history, difficulties and present condition. We Negroes in America have the common American fault of thinking if we visit a country for fifteen minutes or fifteen months we know all about it. No casual visit to West Africa can make any man, however intelligent, expert on its social conditions. So that when a Negro like Mr. Walton has had actual experience for eleven years being in that time intimately connected with the government and people of the country it is reassuring to have him vouched for the integrity of the leaders of Liberia and the possibility of its successful development.

Nothing would help the cause of American Negroes more than the increasing prosperity of Liberia, Haiti and Ethiopia. We could receive no greater blow to our aspirations than that these countries or any one of them should fail or retrograde. Yet Liberia is in the midst of an economic and social battle which could result in her defeat unless she has intelligent help. The small nations of the world no matter what their race and color who are struggling today against the great empires are at tremendous disadvantage. The battle for the laboring man centers there quite as much as it does in the trade unions of England and America.

There should be a movement, and I trust Mr. Walton will head it, to interpret Liberia and its problems intelligently to the American public and especially to American Negroes.

27 May 1946

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

The Pacific Coast is full of religious and semi-religious groups and organizations. They represent for the most part people without university training or scientific background but on the other hand those who are honest and earnest in their religious convictions. Sometimes this makes large numbers of peoply fly off to organizations like Aimee McPherson's Temple and to do what to most of us seems strange and unpleasant things. In other cases they embrace movements like the Ku Klux Klan and various efforts at economic reform without a backing of sound knowledge.

36-7-104

On the other hand, I noted in my recent visit a movement which has no parallel so far as I know in other parts of the United States and that is an attempt at interracial churches; at actually welcoming into a Christian church representatives of various races of people and carrying on the services and activities with reference to the well-being of these people. One finds, of course, here and there in the United States a few colored members in white congregations and now and then a white person in a colored congregation. Usually segregation according to race and color is more thoroughly carried out in the Christian church in America than in any other social institution. This, of course, is a queer commentary upon our religion.

In San Francisco and in Los Angeles there are interracial churches. In San Francisco, Howard Thurman is co-pastor of a church which holds meetings of a high order of intelligence and is well attended. Easter morning I went to the Church of Christian Fellowship of Los Angeles. It was holding temporary meetings in one of those magnificent houses built in the last generation by a millionaire. The chief pastor is an American Negro, Harold M. Kingsley, well-known as pastor of the Congregational Church of the Good Shepherd in Chicago for twenty years or more. The assistant pastor is G. Raymond Booth, a white man and a Quaker; and the other assistant, Reverend Royden Susu-Mago, a Japanese. The audience consisted of white and colored persons representing so far as I could

see well-to-do and intelligent people. There was no evidence of that fringe of enthusiasts who go into movements of this sort without well-balanced reflexion. The services were in accord with normal American religious customs; the matter of immortality was skirted about tactfully rather than met philosophically. But it was an interesting and sincere ceremony and the wonder of it is that this sort of thing is so rare in the United States.

How does it happen that in a religion which above all other boasts of its catholicity, of the equality of rich and poor and of the one humanity united in Jesus Christ, - how does it happen that this creed in America is almost never practiced? The whites give long distant treatment to the colored folk through missions and movements. The colored people gather in their own churches with their own organizations and look upon white religion as a sort of distant foreign land. This means, of course, that whatever religion tries to do as such in the United States it is split by the color line and one sees the results in all sorts of ways. Even where in larger bodies like the Federation of Churches white and colored members are present, they come in representing for the most part different racial organizations and not one integral thought or ethical concept. I doubt if the pioneer work in interracial churches on the west coast is going to have much influence upon the east and the Christian church in general. I rather feel that the color line which has been so successfully broken down in the labor movement and in various movements for social uplift is going to yield last in religion and this is the strongest attack upon religion that could be made and is being made by the church itself and not by outsiders.

3 June 1946

Uncensored

THE WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

When I returned from England last November, I was filled with a strange pity for a thousand babies whom I left there facing distress. They were the illegimate children of Negro soldiers quartered in England during the Second World War. I do not blame the soldiers because the disruption of normal sex relations during war is always a discreditable thing and it was engineered in the last war with unusual calousness and disregard of consequences. I did not blame the women of England nor gloat over them. Their lives were torn apart; their men send away and their incomes uncertain. I did ~~not~~ blame the American Army which for the most part made every effort to keep these unions from being legimate ~~and thus~~ for fear of bring ing white wives to colored America.

201-1-93

But all this was beside the point and unprofitable moralizing. The real thing was the children. They were facing an extraordinary destiny: their ~~Negro~~ illegal birth was stamped plainly upon their foreheads and what sort of lives were before them. England cares for her orphans but there would be all sorts of difficulties with these strangers. They could not easily be farmed out to normal families; they could not easily be trained for the usual walks of life and yet they were innocent, beautiful tragic victims of a torn world.

I talked with an official of the General Education Board as we returned and he suggested: is this not an opportunity for Negro philanthropy in the United States? I brought the problem before a group of people, white and colored, intelligent, liberal but they were silent or even laughed. I sensed among the colored ones a certain feeling of vengance accomplished upon white womanhood in retaliation for what colored women had suffered. I saw among the whites no adequate realization of what the problems of these colored children were going to be. On the other hand several colored persons from various part of the United States have written me asking of the possibility of the adopting one of these children but I had no answer until the other day a letter came to me from a Jamaican girl whom I met in London. She wrote to appeal in behalf of these children and said:

"You will no doubt remember me as the Jamaica girl who attended the Pan African Congress and promised in my little talk to do something for the coloured babies. . . . I call them 'orphans of the storm' because I think that is really what they are. A Committee has been formed over here, and I am on it together with George Padmore and Leary Constantine. I feel that we will have done a good job if out of the Pan African Congress comes this really good thing, the responsibility for the welfare of the coloured babies. I know that the American coloured people are most generous and that they will be very willing to help once they realise the position, I am certain too that the British people will help but as this is a matter of joint responsibility and our men have been guilty in some cases of affairs with married women, we must do something about it. Some of the husbands will forgive their erring wives once the offending coloured infant is removed from the midst of the family circle. . . . It is a problem which I think can be met easily as there are only a thousand babies I believe here who need help, the only thing is whatever we do must have some degree of permanency as the children wont be self supporting at least until they are sixteen, so permanent committees will have to be formed pledging the help for at least another sixteen years. . . . When they grow older possibly it would be a good idea if we could get them sent to the colonies, where there is not much prejudice like Jamaica for instance. This of course is looking ahead, but one has to in cases like this. We propose to have a home for them, and where practicable we will have coloured help to look after them. Then they have to be fed and arrangements made for medical attention, and clothing and food. My idea is that some permanent committee of distinguished Negroes on that side could be formed, just as is done for the white orphans here under the foster parents plan. I have visited these colonies as they are called and they are run to perfection."

The name and address of this young woman is: Alma LaBadie, c/o Headquarters Transport Command, Teddington Bushey Park, Middelsex, United Kingdom.

I hope she will receive letters from readers of the Defender.

10 June 1946

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

While the sympathies of American Negroes are with organized labor to a far greater extent then ever before, there is still a certain lack of understanding. What we are seeing just now is a method by which the laboring class from time to time has raised its standard of living. There are always long periods when labor lives in huts and hovels, earns scarcely enough to buy food, a d yet is content and makes little protest. They have adopted a fatal resignation to circumstances which they do not believe can be changed. Then comes change either of their own initiative or, as is more apt to happen, from the outside. The laboring class for a time lives better and then trouble begins when men seek to force them back into their old patience and docility.

This is what happened during the last World War. Numbers of people were satisfied in earning ten to fifteen dollars a week and had no thought that more was possible. Suddenly there was an unprecedented demand for labor, high wages were paid and even though this included long hours, millions were elated to receive twenty, thirty and forty dollars a week. Then at the end of the war came the attempt to push them back to their old wage and they refused. They had tasted certain higher standards of living; they refused to assent to less.

There comes then the basic question as to whether their demand for higher wages is proper, and secondly, whether it can be met. There can be no doubt as to its propriety. Every decent man with a family should today receive at least $2,400 a year. This has been abundantly proven and it has also been proven that the majority of people, even in the rich and prosperous United States, receive no such income. But men answer: the reason they do not receive it is because industry cannot afford to pay it. Right There comes the real battle of the age. It is assumed and fiercely maintained that higher wages cannot be taken out of profits; that the cost of higher wages can only be unloaded since laborers are consumers on the consumer which in the end will reduce these very wages. If this was the first time that this argument had appeared we might be satisfied with it. But in the heyday

of the nineteenth century this doctrine appeared as the Ricardian Iron Law of Wages: no matter what philanthropists might want, wages simply could not be increased without ruining all industry. What are the facts in the matter? Let us turn to the railways because we have been lately intensely interested in the railway strike.

Let me quote a few figures about profit on railways from the perfectly respectable Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences. Lewis Corley brings the following facts to light. In the period following the Civil War great fortunes were made from railways and yet the legimate costs of building the railways were paid by government contributions of $700 million and 155 million acres of public lands which the railways got free. As a result Cornelius Vanderbuilt by speculating in railways and watering the stock made $100 million and one of his sons made $200 million. A gang of promoters and politicians made $40 million by false construction costs out of the Union Pacific Railway. Jay Gould made $72 million without any constructive work. The fortunes of Hill and Harriman were piled up by manipulation of railway consolidations between 1895 and 1905. Andrew Carnegie before the forming of the steel trust would have been delighted to have received $200 million for his interests. When the trust was formed he received $447 million for the same interests.

This is only a small part of the story. Profits in industry and especially in railways have been so enormous that part of them could easily have been paid the workers without raising fares or rates and still leave the capitalists more than well-off.

There is, of course, one aspect of the strike of the railway workers that interests Negroes: they have been successfully fighting a vicious combine but at the same time they, themselves, have drawn an equally vicious color-line. Many of us would think that at this time when they have been crudely slapped in the face by the President of the United States the day would be ripe for us to demand that they yield to Negro workers something of the same justice they demand for themselves. Logically this is true but I presume that our wisest strategy today would be to support the demand of railway workers in every way and to refuse to side against them with their exploiters; but at the same time at every opportunity, and we should make opportunities, we ought to tell these strikers that justice begins at home; and the engineers and conductors, the trainmen and the seventeen other railway organizations should at the very first opportunity, and of their own initiative, strike the color-line from their constitutions.

17 June 1946

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

Summer schools are inventions of the devil designed to destroy what few brains mankind has left. Teaching used to be in many ways an enviable job: you worked nine months for near nothing and then you loafed and laughed and planned for three months on your savings. If there were no savings you might even get an advance from next year's salary. But at any rate life for the teacher used to become organized on the basis of nine months in hell and three in heaven and on the whole this was a rather pleasant arrangement.

But, of course, the devil got on to it. He was spending his summer in Mississippi where he could cool off and noticed an hilarious group of teachers starting on their vacation. "What is all this?" said he. Then somebody explained. "My God!" yelled Beelzebub - "Here are people enjoying their jobs! What the hell! Stop it. So it stop ed. That remarked the devil, is a hell of a note and I am going to take it up with the school authorities. He had, you could well imagine, channels of contact with these persons. He whispered to them and they saw the light. They spoke to the superintendent and the foundations and other ultimate sources of authority, and then they called on the college presidents and said, "Your plant is being idle and deteriorating during three months of the year!" The presidents being under the impression that they were referring to the students and their education started to show that students needed some escape from school. But no! the authorities had reference to the buildings and books and tools and were not prepared to listen to any argument that the bricks would not soften or the books show undue wear if they were left alone for a period. So they came to the idea that if nine months school was good, twelve months school was that much better.

I remember when in 1933, I thought of returning to teaching one of the allurements was the summer vacation when I would put aside regular work and do anything or nothing. I had dreams of dolce far niente, but President Hope approached me at the end of the second semester and said, "I have no one to teach sociology this summer school and

the students will be pouring in. Won't you help me out?" I kindly did so. Then at the next end of the year I found him expecting the same thing; so I said, "Hope, let us reason together. I came down not chiefly but certainly in part to enjoy a summer vacation. Now if it is absolutely necessary that I should teach in the summer I will do so on the condition that I have a whole semester off during the year with pay." We struck a bargain. Once I got a semester off. Other times I simply did not teach summer school.

The argument was and is, and it was started by the devil, that a number of people are madly anxious to get the degree of master of arts and incidentally this was necessary for keeping their job and therefore summer schools must become regular institutions. Of course I do not believe in this nor does any one else. If any one needs to study more in order to do a better job of teaching, then they need to study more and to send them to school when they are too tired to stand up after a grueling year's work may mean that they will study less rather than more. But however this may be with regard to the effect of the summer school on students on the faculty, it is absolutely and undeniably fatal. They are tired after a year's work and as the thing has been manipulated today with no adequate increase in pay, no adequate provision for lessened load in general, an overworked teacher becomes absolutely swamped with a horde of careless people divided into those who are present because they don't want to be, those who come because they wanted to and do not propose to do any work and don't, and those who have no cheaper way to spend the summer.

I would not say that nothing worthwhile was ever done in summer school but I would say from my experience that the amount that is accomplished either in teaching or learning is not worth ruining the tempers and softening the brains of those engaged in this questionable work. All of it stems from a mistaken idea that you can get something for nothing; that all you have to do to educate a person is to extend the time that he spends upon it; that education is a matter of courses and credits and hanging about. When, of course, it is a matter of development and understanding and real and devoted study. Mental labor must be limited. It must be alternated with physical exercise. The trouble with the world is it attempts to realize an absolute dichotomy between muscle and brain and then to increase the efficiency of both simply by addition. God knows the teachers in our schools need to be educated; they need to spend more time in study than they ever have. The way to accomplish this is to relieve them of their duties, pay them a decent wage and send them off for a year at school. To think we can accomplish the same thing by crucifying them and their manacled teachers for the summer months is an hideous mistake. I have seldom been guilty of aiding or abetting and I promise in future not to countenance it in any way.

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published 13 July

THE WINDS OF TIME

THE COST OF DEATH

My friend Thomas Bell is dead at the unreasonable age of sixty. I have known him intimately for thirty years. He has been among my few close friends and his family has been almost as dear to me as my own. He was a tall and well-built man, white and sandy-haired, with a face that reflectdd his innate frankness, honesty and kindliness. Life to him was to him essentially straightforward and simple. Not that for a moment he ignored its wrong and evil; but just as clearly he saw just what was the essential trouble and how it could be met and how he himself could help meet it. The world's muddle did not make him angry nor hopeless; rather it spurred him to unceasing effort on his own part, and here and now, to make things better, as he knew they could be better. In this way he died, scalpel in hand, standing and working in a public clinic with the thermometer at ninety, and the suffering about him. He was a Great Physician.

THE COST OF COLOR

The problem of Thomas Bell was a curious inversion of the color line, often remarked upon, endlessly studied, but nearly always misinterpreted. Of his ancestors, perhaps one of his great-grand-fathers was an African Negro. Far from resenting this fact, least of all bemoaning it, and never capitalizing upon it, Thomas Bell recognized it as a normal and perfectly justifiable bit of history. It was not a matter for denial or concealment. Nor on the other hand was it any reason for him to ignore or refuse to fight American prejudice against color. Such a fight of course compelled him to seem to go out of his logical path and repeatedly to bring up a matter or a situation which apparently did not personally concern him:" What has Bell to grouch about?" complained a white fellow-physician; "Nobody objects to his presence on

on the hospital staff" But they did object to the presence of competent practicianers who happened to be brown. This was unfair and silly and Dr. Bell insisted on pointing this out. It was not a personal peeve, it was justice and justice was his job. He did not go out of his way to force the color issue, but he never under any circumstances avoided it when it appeared in his plain path of life. His colored fellow-physicians time and again blamed him for bringing up the color question, while they sat back comfortably silent, but ready to cash in on opportunity after Bell had borne the brunt of battle and incurred the dislike of his white fellows for it.

36-7-95

THE BATTLE

Dr. Bell never hesitated. In the days of starvation, when the task of securing in New York recognition for a Tennessee medical degree seemed hopeless, he consistently and calmly stood to his guns and every victory won was not simply for himself but for Negro blood in America. He never avoided the problem; he always took his unwavering stand and slowly, surely he won, not simply because his contention was just, but because he was a good physician and men had to respect his unwavering convictions.

Slowly, inevitably he rose to prominence, not wide but firm despite his colored and white patients, his white and colored friends. He was repeatedly selected for high and responsible position in the hospitals, in the community, in the hard and thankless tasks of social reform.. He could always be counted on despite the strain on his weak heart, and he never exacted the reward of acclaim and advertisement much less sought it. His honors were always thrust upon him and usually embarrased him.

A young man yesterday stood in the news store where I stopped exuding wisdom: "Its all a frame-up, a racket" he said. In his fifteen years of adult life, all that he had seen of life was self-advertisement and graft. He never had known a Dr. Bell. He did not believe such men

existed. Life to him was drinking, back-slapping, pushing, getting and keeping. He had never known family life like that of the four Bells -- father, mother, the two dear girls. They worked and played together; they disagreed and contended and came back to the nest and loved life.

This is the life of a man. This is the America we crave and often fail to see because it is so near us.

36-1-96

15 July 1946

Winds of Time

by

W.E.B. Du Bois

NEEDLE TRADES

William Kassim writes in the July 6, issue of the Nation a letter from Maywood, Illinois which is timely and important. It brings up again the question of earning a living for the mass of Negroes living in the South. I have for the last ten years stressed the immediate need of this problem. I believe it is fundamental for gaining political rights and social privileges. I do not for a moment underestimate the right to vote and the right to be treated as a man but I maintain that until a man can earn a decent living he cannot fight effectively for his fundamental rights. A hungry man is helpless.

Mr. Kassim says, "The colored share-croppers are being gradually displaced by the mechanical cotton-pickers." The needle-work trades need new workers to replace the older group of immigrants who were the principle source of the industries labor pool. "It is my impression that the needle-work trade could logically absorb the marginal share-cropper, giving him a much better standard of living and possibility giving the South a new industry." Thereupon he proposes that an industrial leader like the late Sidney Hillman and a committee of colored vocational leaders should plan a program including immediate and long range training for setting up needle-work industries among the Southern Negroes. The training would include employer - union sponsored apprentice courses in cities, and state vocational school training. Thus a graduate could immediately upon graduating step into a job.

Something of this sort must be done, not only in the South, but also in the whole country. Negroes must begin to get places in manufacturing industry.

INDUSTRIAL SETTLEMENTS

It will not do for them simply to find places in industries already established; that is important. But beyond that they could establish their own industries. They could establish such industries and apply to them the ideas that lie back of consumers cooperation. They must not be traditional American investments for private profit. They must be social settlements. They could solve the problem of mechanical power - that problem which herded the European workers in the factories in the early ~~19th~~ nineteenth century and began the worst aspect of modern industrialism. By taking advantage of the TVA and the other great developments of power throughout the United States which are bound to come, the home industry could be established in the country districts, where each home would have its garden and raise the food which it needs. It could establish communities where education, art and industry could go hand in hand.

There need be no permanent color-line although it goes without saying that when colored groups first establish such communties they would long be left to themselves; but if they were successful, and there is no reason why they should not be, segregation would not continue. People will always seek good companions, industrious centers, good wages and decent home conditions then they are offered and the color-line will not last.

We, American Negroes lack the pioneer spirit for obvious reasons. We are herded by ourselves into cities; we are sticking close to every thing that the white American does.

WINDS OF TIME

Published Aug 3, 1946

UNITED NATIONS

We need from time to time to follow the development of the United Nations especially with regard to the question of color and colonies. So far a combination of the United States and Great Britain has tried to dominate the world organization. Usually this is stated as a case of "opposition" on the part of Russia; but of course the opposition is just as much on the part of Great Britain and the United States. It happens just now that these two countries have a majority of the Great Powers and they feel that they can keep this majority and dictate the policies of the United Nations in the future. Consequently they have changed from their attitude on the veto power which they had at the time of the San Francisco Conference. Now apparently they are willing to settle the world questions by majority vote. The difficulty is going to be that just as soon as they lose command of the majority, or fear they are going to, they may suddenly and even violently again change their attitude.

SOCIALISM

What is of importance then is not their present power, but the future development of the world. The world is moving definitely toward socialism. Attempts are being made to indicate that this socialism. is not communism. That is quite true. Communism is an extreme form of socialism. But what men must remember, is that Communism is Socialism and differs from it only in the time and method of accomplishing the full power of the socialistic state. The socialistic state is growing in the world; it is dominating the home policies of England; it fully dominates Czechoslavakia and a large part of all the Balkans; it is strong in Italy and France.

CAPITALISM

The only place where capitalism is holding out against socialism is in the United States of America and in certain parts of South America. This means that the ideas dominant in the United States are not dominant in the world. And the United States holds its power today because of its immense wealth and natural resources. Through those resources it is holding the whip hand over China; it is seeking to rule the Pacific and trying to increase its hold upon South America.

It is a grave question however, as to whether this policy is going to continue to be successful even here in the United States. No matter how much the National Association of Manufacturers may talk about "private initative", "individual enterprise" and the "American way of life", there is growing opposition to the anarchy of business, the tremendous concentration of power in the hands of monopolists, and the denial of democracy because of the power of concentrated wealth. This fight in the United States is going to increase rather than decrease. Strikes and labor troubles are but surface indications of the deep dissatisfaction and distress in this country, and of the bewilderment with which the honest and thinking people of the United States are viewing our attitude toward world affairs.

36-7-84

COLONIES

With regard to colonies, the United Nations have done almost nothing. They have waited upon the greatest colonial empire in the world, Great Britain, to see what is going to be done concerning India. In India, Great Britain has managed to keep this vast country divided, by insisting that ~~eighty~~ 70 million Mohammendans shall have the same political power in the provisional government as ~~three~~ Two hundred million Hindu majority We have left the African colonies of Italy in Great Britains hands. We have done nothing in South Africa. Burma has gained from Britain only what she won herself in war. Indonesia has had no UN help.

23 July 1946

Winds of Time

by

W.E.B. Du Bois

I remember my friend George Mitchell, the young Virginian, who made the first effort at the modern Philadelphia bar for recognition of the Negro lawyer. He told me that coming up to Washington as a boy whenever the news butcher passed through the car with his wares, Mitchell always bought something. He said that he thought he had to; that this was part of his right to ride.

There is the same attitude today among a large number of consumers; they complacently assume that it is their duty to buy the things they are offered in the stores at the price which the storekeeper asks. They have apparently no idea that as consumers they have any voice in the matter or that any organization on their part could affect either the prices or the kind of goods offered for sale.

And yet of course, the whole industrial process begins with the consumer not with the producer. It is the consumer that has the need for goods; and beginning with his wants should come the effort of the producer to satisfy them. But no; in our American state, the producer is all powerful; the producer determines what it is that he is going to offer, and what price he is going to put upon it. What he offers is not dictated by the need of the buyer but by the amount of the profit which the producer thinks he can make. Consequently one of the greatest powers of the modern world and particularly of modern government: the power to say whether the stores shall be filled with expensive furs or curious hats or bread or sandwiches; that power is not usually under any sort of democratic control. Most people indeed have no idea what or who it is

that decides, what the contents of the stores shall be and what the prices of those contents shall be.

Today, however, the consumer is beginning to become conscious of himself and of his power. After all he is the buyer. The producer cannot exist; cannot carry out his work unless people buy his goods. If, however, you are going to have on one side organized powerful production and on the other side, a mass of unorganized and unintelligent buyers, the producer can rule the economic world which is precisely what he is doing today. But is it necessary to allow that; is it good for the producer as well as the consumer?

Ac-7-100

We all know what happens to the producer. He produces goods which he cannot sell; the goods are dumped upon the market and he fails in his business or has to change the kind of work that he is doing. If this happens on a large enough and wide enough scale, we have one of the periodic crises which has cursed the world for several hundred years, - ever since capitalistic production came into being. It is therefore clear that opposite the organization for production there should come the consumer organization. People who buy goods and especially working people who buy in small amounts ought systematically to pool their knowledge: what they buy; what they pay for it, how the transaction is carried on, what would suit them better. Not only that, there should be a pooling of funds. There is a great deal of waste in the separation and lack of concerted action among buyers. Money is wasted upon rent for prominent and showy locations, instead of others which would serve equally well as depots for the display of goods. There is waste in the hours during which the retail stores stay open; it is not necessary that a store should stay open from early morning to late at night. The consumers could be so organ-

ized so as to concentrate their buying and experience. Especially is it necessary that those who buy should be assured as to what they are buying, as to what adulterations are used; as to validity of weight; as to the condition of the goods. All of this could be easily found out if the buyers would consult together and gather knowledge which is easily obtainable. What is of greatest importance is the pooling of funds.

36-7-101

29 July 1946

Winds of Time

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

During the recent meeting of the great powers in Paris, Mr. James F. Byrnes our militant Secretary of State, spoke plainly to the representative of Bulgaria. He "stressed the great importance attached by the United States for the maintenance of civil rights for all the population, adding that the United States could not understand or approve any system of government where the Opposition is permitted to have no press, where political arrests are continually taking place and where there is no possibility for the people freely to express their will in elections."

In current dialect "ain't that somethin'". It reminds me of an editorial which I wrote in the Crisis, twenty-seven years ago, in October, 1919. May I quote those words:

"You have, perhaps, noticed our double-page advertisement in the Congressional Record, due to the kindness of our good friend James Francis Byrnes, of South Carolina. Congressman Byrnes is from the Second District and a confrere of the late Congressman James W. Ragsdale, who died suddenly during the Washington riots.

"The Congressional Districts of these two gentlemen have about 400,000 inhabitants and probably 80,000 of these are males of voting age, the majority being Negroes. Mr. Byrnes was elected to Congress by a vote of 7,681 ballots out of a total of 7,801 ballots cast.

"In the Second District of New York it took, the same year, 46,141 votes to make an election and 24,064 of these to elect a Congressman; but all this is not necessary in South Carolina.

"Yet Mr. Byrnes, representing without any legal authority the supressed votes of 12,000 white men and 20,000 blacks, stands in Congress and talks just as loud - indeed, considerably louder - than Mr. Caldwell of New York.

"Mr. Byrnes is alarmed, and so are we. He is alarmed over us and we over him. He accuses The Crisis and other Negro journals of causing not only the Washington and Chicago riots, but the whole unrest and dissatisfaction in the Negro race. We accuse Mr. Byrnes, and his kind, of being primarily the ones who not only precipitated the riots in Washington, Chicago, Atlanta, Houston, Longview and East St. Louis, but also of encouraging for fifty years the lynching of 4,000 Negroes, the disfranchisement of a million and a half voters, the enforced ignorance of three million human beings and the theft of hundreds of millions of dollars in wages, but particularly the theft of the highest privilege of a freeman - our vote and our self-respect."

36-7-103

What was written a quarter of a century ago is still true today. Neither South Carolina nor Mr. Byrnes can represent democracy before the world. Least of all have they any right to point the finger of criticism at Russia. Let us not forget that Monroe, Georgia, where the recent lynchings took place, is half way between Atlanta and the South Carolina line and in the same cultural orbit. Here was a white planter, Harrison, who had secured the services of a field hand by going his bail, a species of crime-servitude common this part of the South. Harrison knows the neighbors who perpetrated this crime and is keeping his mouth shut in self-defense and in loyalty to the sort of democracy which our Secretary of State represents.

5 August 1946

Winds of Time

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

AUSTRALIA

Let no American Negro get excited at the noise which Dr. Herbert C. Evatt, Minister for External Affairs of Australia, is making at the Paris Conference. Mr. Evatt represents some six million white people in Australia, who are holding a continent very nearly the size of the United States and who call themselves a nation. This nation and this continent are being held as the outpost of the British Empire to prevent the expansion of brown and black people from China, India, and the South Seas into Australia. Australia is planned to be a bulwark of the white race for the domination of Asia.

Consequently Mr. Evatt while talking in the name of the small nations, really speaks in the interest of the great white empires. It is an unfortunate situation. We need the voice of the Little People to offset the power of the Big Four. But that voice should be unhampered and clear and for definite objects. If it stood for the self-determination and independence of the smaller groups of men, then, it would stand preeminently for the colonies. But nobody in Paris as yet is raising his voice in defense of colonial peoples, least of all, is Australia. Australia as a matter of logic has to stand with the Union of South Africa; the Union of South Africa is, as one most continually repeats, the most outrageous case of human oppression which the earth knows today, outside the Southern south in the United States.

THE RHODESIAS AND KENYA

To these two countries Australia and South Africa which

have achieved independence, must be added three other countries desperately striving for independence, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Kenya. These countries propose to speak for Africa and by that they mean that the small minority of investors, farmers, miners, white skilled workers in these countries, are going to demand not only the domination of millions of black workers, but also to have in their hands the political power which should belong to these black workers. Thus Africa is to have a white mouthpiece and all three of these countries are in the orbit of the British Empire.

It will be well, therefore, to watch Mr. Evatt and listen carefully to his words and efforts, and every now and then to ask and demand clear answers. Beyond that when General Smuts of South Africa arrives there will even be a greater need for this watchfulness and interrogation.

36-7-80

PAN AFRICA

Unfortunately there is no international organization which has the legal right to attend to this necessary work of defending the colonial peoples of the world and particularly of Africa. For that reason I have sent out a letter to a dozen or more organizations and a few individuals asking if they would be willing to unite in a demand upon the United Nations Assembly, which meets in New York late in September, to give to some committee representing the peoples of Africa, the right at least to sit in the Assembly and listen to its work and perhaps even to take part in debate.

12 August 1946

Winds of Time

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

Few people have talked more about vacation and paid less attention to my own advice than I; but I am going to do better in the future. As I start off on a two weeks trip to Maine, I am minded to preach to my fellow citizens. The object of a vacation is recreation: the attempt to expend less energy than one takes in in order to restore a balance after our usual habit of working too hard and being continously tired. Such re-creation of vital force can be brought about by change and rest. The change must be real; if a person has been living in the city with its noise, hurry and bad air; then vacation would be a trip to the country with wide open spaces, fresh air, and a chance especially to rest one's eyes and ears. Persons in the country should of course go to the city and see what modern life has done in art, in information, in building. The brain-worker should stop and read and listen. If you have been playing cards all night, all winter it will be well to take at least a month off, and not play cards. If you have been drinking whiskey, try wine; and when you come back from vacation, stick to it. Sedentary workers should of course get rid of fat; not by prescription and crucifixtion but by laying off bread, potatoes, butter and sugar.

I think that no one needs a vacation more than housewives. Most husbands do not realize this. We all remember the story of the man who took his wife and three babies down to the station and said, "Now dear go to Atlantic City for two weeks and enjoy yourself!" The housewife should have time off and real rest. The children should go to camp;

not any camp but a good camp. Professional men especially should sleep. Sleep is a habit which may be cultivated or ruined. It is absolutely essential to longevity and happiness. Most peoples are criminally careless about it. It would be well if some lawyers and doctors could go off in the summer and sleep a month. The problem of vacation for teachers is difficult; the teacher has a curious combination of hard physical and mental work. The physical work is indoors with bad air and other unhealthy surroundings; the mental work is conventional, repetitious and uninspired. For this reason, the teacher is apt to choose both physical and mental work for their vacation. But as a matter of fact, they are really tired from both. They need mental relaxation and inspiration but not continued use of eye and ear to the point of exhaustion. They need physical exercise, but outdoors not indoors and above all, they need rest.

36-7-88

All of this of course is twice told and yet we cannot think of it too much. The thing that distresses me is the plight of men and women in the prime of life losing their hold upon living, principally because of the failure of physical health. We cannot say too often that a man at forty is either a fool or a physician; either he knows his body and its power and is taking care of it, or he is simply inviting an early death or that which is worse than death, lack of capacity to do full work. It is symptomatic of our present attitude toward labor that vacations are being considered more often as part of their wage. I shall never forget my visit while in Russia to some of the great palaces of the Czars. I remember Tsarkoe Selo where the rulers of Russia used to live in splendor. The great palaces are now given over to laborers for their vacation and I can see no finer compensation for senseless extravagance in the past.

19 August 1946

Winds of Time

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

AFRICAN CULTURE

If I were Master of Liberia, I would arrange a Centennial of my country in this wise: fifty miles in the interior, at the edge of the great plateau, I would lay out a great map of Africa on the scale of a foot to a mile, occupying roughly a square mile of space. On a smaller scale I would indicate all its main physical features - mountains, plateaus, forests and deserts, with real water for lakes and rivers. Laying this garden out true to the points of the compass, I would put three buildings upon it: on the northeast, along the Nile, a Temple of Phylae, small, yellow and crimson, perhaps fifty feet square. In this "House of African Culture", I would put maps, plans, charts and statues, illustrating the history and cultural development of Africa for seven thousand years. I would quite modestly use Du Bois' World and Africa, which Viking Press will publish this fall, as the basis of this exhibit.

On the southern tip of the continent, I would build a modern hotel: two stories, with fifty rooms, ten of them en-suite, and all with toilets and baths; I would have patios, verandahs, public and private dining rooms, electricity and running water. I would call it "Joseph J. Roberts House" after the President of Liberia, who declared in 1847 its independence.

HOUSE OF LIBERIA

On the west coast, approximately where Liberia is now situated, I would erect the "House of Liberia". Here in a building fifty to seventy-five feet square, modelled after the ancient palace of

of the Kings of Benin, I would put an exhibit of Liberia, illustrating its History; its Inhabitants; its Geography and Geology; its present Resources; its Government, Education, Churches and Social activities. I would illustrate all this by careful charts, maps, models, photographs, and groups of living persons. I would exclude all commercial advertising and blah-blah. I would see to it that the Firestone people did not buy out space to deceive the world into believing the preposterous lie that Liberia was their creation. I would even put the United States Government and the missionaries in their proper and subordinate places in the history of this brave and desperately striving land; and let the world know what Elijah Johnson and Arthur Barclay and a dozen others did for mankind in building a free land in Africa up from the dregs of human slavery out of which white folk made themselves rich and powerful and impudent. I would tell Black America, that while they were willing to be whipped slaves and White Folks' "Niggers" (as too many of them still are) Liberia's fathers went out into a hostile jeering world, and fought black men and white to build a free land for black folk on the oldest culture the world knows.

30-7-90

FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS

I would not waste money on all this: I would make a centennial and exhibit for not a cent over $50,000, and I would do it simply and completely. Over all, I would spread like a blanket the music of Africa: the roll of ancient drums, the wierd chant of forest and jungle; the sorrow songs of Afro-America, the dance and cadence of the Caribbean. I would do a job so simple and complete, that never again would Europe dare to call a commercial exhibit of profit-making gadgets, a "World's Fair".

But I am not Master of Liberia.

26 August 1946

Winds of Time

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

Old Man Paradox certainly gets my goat. Most people don't recognize him. They only see a certain blur on the faces of friends, but fail to descry that pale, thin blank countenance that is Paradox itself. I seldom corner him and tell him just what I think of him, but a chance came last night. Believe me I - but wait.

We were quite a gang: a high federal official, two colonels from the army; a navy lieutenant, a postmaster, and two ~~councillors~~ counselors-at-law; a member of the Academy of Surgeons and of the Institute of Arts and Letters; heads of the Y.M.C.A., and a crowd of similar folk. We were in the dining-boat room, beside the shining lake, just after the miracle of sunset; with crackers, cheese and ale before us; with bass, white perch and a two and an half pound pickerel in the fish box.

The Colonel opened: he told us that in the First World War we had seven hundred officers and in this, seven thousand. We had more than our quota of soldiers in the regular army today, but too few officers - 150 out of 25,000; he urged more to apply.

Then I heard a faint swish at the door. I knew Old Man Paradox was there, although I couldn't see him. No one else noticed. Someone said:

"As an American, I am willing to defend my country".

Another answered: "Of course, but I don't like Segregation and Discrimination"

All agreed. We munched and drank.

Then Old Man Paradox got to work. I saw him glide dimly back of the Colonel. The Colonel's face hardened; he straightened and his voice grew belligerent: "As an American" he grated "I'll fight and die for my country, no matter what they do to me or how they treat me!"

Old Man Paradox flew to the Merchant-Marine, a lieutenant, with Junior Grade, gold sleeve stripe on his sleeve. "I'm damned if I will again", he hollered. I and three brothers, were in the war and kicked around like dogs. Why in the hell should I fight for a country that treats me worse than the enemy they're fighting!"

I knew the battle was on, as I had heard it for fifty years. I began to stalk Old Man Paradox, but he was too quick for me. He leapt from ear to ear and face to face:

"If we didn't call ourselves Negroes, we'd be Americans."

"A hell of a lot of difference it would make what we call ourselves, we're still niggers."

26-1-93

"We've made the greatest progress any people ever made in a generation."

"So what? They still lynch us and rape our women and rear our children in ignorance and crime."

"We should never accept segregation. We should fight and die first".

"We should make our segregated world the best possible, including the church you attend, the schools where you were educated, and this camp where you're shooting off your mouths."

Just then I caught Old Man Paradox by the arm and twisted it until he squealed. The men thought it was a rat. It was. He squirmed and fought until he got on my back with both his thin arms locked about my neck. I knew I was in for it. He hissed now in my right ear, now in my left:

Do!
Don't

I will
I won't

I can
I can't

I must
I mustn't

I'm a man
I'm a nigger

Hope
Despair

Try
Kill

But just here, I got Old Man Paradox by the neck. I squeezed until he shrieked. The men thought it was the loons calling from the lake. But I knew. I sat on his face, gouged my thumbs in his eyes and tied his hands and legs into double hard knots. Then distinctly (but under my breath), I began to cuss:

"You God-damned, lousy, son-of- "

[The Publisher regrets that the language of the rest of this most interesting article is of such a nature that he fears to publish it on account of the libel laws and injury to the matrix of the Merganthaler. If our gentle Readers would like the balance they may order it by express. The United States mail won't carry it.]

2 September 1946

Winds of Time

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

I am alarmed at the increase of gambling in the nation in general, among Negroes in particular. Especially there is the danger of youth growing up without realization of the real tragedy of games of chance. All life is risk; from the pangs of birth to the shadow of death: sowing and harvest; food and digestion; work and accident; joy and disease - all life is risk. But human beings seem not to be satisfied with that risk which is necessary, but seek to add artificial risk, and then spoil even that by cheating.

If it is the thrill of living that men want, the world is full of it: travel, exploration; the plumbing of the seas, flying in the air; the long, hard and relentless logic of thought; the knowing of men, the guiding of children. But ignoring or disparaging all this, men seek today:

card games,
chance games like the "Numbers",
horse-racing,
stock-buying and selling,
real-estate and insurance,
"business".

All these become games of chance from which men seek gain: first, by betting; second, by "rigging" the market; and finally by cheating and stealing deliberately. The "numbers" is the filthiest method of stealing from the poor and ignorant ever invented. Its inventors, and those who carry it on today, richly deserve jail. In too many cases, especially among Negroes, they are honored leaders, to our shame.

Cards may be played for skill and for chance. Bridge is largely skill; poker is chance. It is when betting and cheating are added, that cards lead to hell. Horse-racing may be a noble sport and thrilling

to witness; but today it is supported by betting; and involves cheating by owners, jockeys, trainers, "touts", and "racing-form" swindlers. It is today the most dangerous form of public dissipation, and is growing.

The "stock-market" is ostensibly a most respectable, even aristocratic calling; yet it is the method by which millions of hard-earned savings are stolen from the toilers and given to powerful monopolists and swindlers, posing as Captains of Industry. Attempted regulation has merely curbed the most bare-faced and unscrupulous; it has not changed the system.

36-7-72

Many will gasp to see real estate and insurance named among gambling devices. Not all such businesses are, but the amount of cheating, and stealing and organized deception inherent today in buying and selling land, homes and business sites is not only criminal, but is fastening on the young the idea that all business is and must be mainly gambling; and that land and its resources should be monopolized for private gain; that sickness and death can legitmately be used to make men rich instead of primarily to relieve suffering and distress!

Business, that is, raising food and materials, processing them, transporting and distributing them - involve necessary risk; climate and quake, accident and change, all make the filling of human wants a matter of risk and uncertainty. But this can be minimized and much eliminated by thought and plan. Instead, today every ingenuity is used in hundreds of cases and over widespread areas, to increase chance, conceal facts, monopolize opportunities, and make business a game of gambling. Hence comes failures, crises, poverty, hatred, ignorance and war.

Avoid artifical, unfair games of chance as you would the devil. Don't bet, Work. Face the real and unavoidable risks of life, like men and not like thieves.

9 September 1946

Winds of Time

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

Henry George Wells, who lies dead in London, was one of the few of the world's Great, whom I felt justified in calling Friend. It is a cherished memory that only last November, I sat in the home where he succumbed to diabetes and whispered with him as he sat "busy dying".

I met him first, I think, at the Races Congress in London, 1911, - that perhaps greatest meeting of racial groups the world has ever seen. Then in 1919 and 1921, he gladly helped me with the Pan African Congresses, speaking at the 1921 meeting; having me lunch at his club and inviting me down to his country home. He entertained me and Ruth Fisher at lunch in his Regent Park home in 1936. He was at his best then; keen, humorous, cynical and yet kindly. He had both knowledge and sympathy with the American Negro, and to me his greatest word was that blast against race prejudice, as the most evil thing in the world - "the very worst!"

Several times when he came to America, he sought me out, calling once at my office at 69 Fifth Avenue. I did not succeed in getting him to Atlanta University, as he was tied up with lecture contracts.

Popularly, Wells is known by his phantastic novels and essays interpreting science to the half-educated. It was an adaptation of one of these in a radio script that scared the unwashed of New Jersey and put Orson Wells on the map, to the greater glory of God.

But Wells primarily was a Socialist; a scientist, pupil of the great Huxley, who saw that the planning of life, and especially of work and wealth is the only answer to the problems of poverty, nationalism and war. War particularly distressed and angered Wells by its inherent

stupidity. One of his last prophecies was the self-destruction of the present species of human beings for sheer, dumb blundering, in the face of miracles of science.

Wells was not content with vague generalities. He talked turkey. He called Hitler a "clumsy lout"; Mussolini, "vain and rhetorical" and Stalin, "honest, strong and human". He dubbed Winston Churchill a-would-be Hitler. Only yesterday, he was the only Englishman or American who dared to say that if George of England received bribes from Mussolini, he ought to be dethroned.

36-7-74

All have read at least some of Wells' work, like The War of the Worlds, Tono-Bungay and Marriage. Of all his books, I like best and least his History of the World. I keep it on my shelves near at hand, and every intelligent man should know it and refer to it. It would be antidote to current coventional history. Yet it does not do justice to the Blace Race. It does not to be sure omit and traduce it, but it writes world history and largely leaves the Negro out. For this I do not altogether blame Wells himself. His History was cooperative, in which he selected from chosen collaborators, facts and views which seemed to him true. Where in modern history would he find any writer suggesting the Negroid characteristics of Egypt or the world role of black Ethiopia? Despite all this, it is a great book and Wells was a great man.

He was a gardener's son; he was self-educated through scholarships; he knew toil and disappointment. He dared public opinion. He suffered pain and incurable disease. He was crucified. He did not die but arose from the dead and sits today at the right hand of God.

13 September 1946

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

Once upon a time in Kansas, free settlers from the North and slaveowners from the South clashed. A constitution was adopted at LeCompton which permitted and protected slavery. When the state came to vote on the subject, they found on the ballot that they could vote "for the LeCompton constitution, with slavery" or "for the LeCompton constitution without slavery". And they realized that no matter which way they voted they were voting for slavery.

36-7-75

We have something of the same situation facing us in the United States this fall. The real questions before us fall into six catagories: 1. The question of labor unions; 2. the question of imperialistic rule of colonial regions; 3. the problem of whether we are going to favor Great Britain or Russia; 4. the problem of the "rotten boroughs" of the South, which give a small minority of the nation control of legislation; 5. the problem of state rights for lynching; and 6. the problem of job discrimination.

Yet when we come to the polls next November, and later when we elect a new President, we are not going to have the chance to vote clearly on any one of these subjects. Neither the Democrats or the Republicans have any clear policy with regard to any of these six matters. But both of them agree on one thing and that is private greed. It is the predominant policy in America today that every individual should have the right to make private income by any means that he can, within wide and liberal interpretation of the law. He can receive gifts for which he has made no adequate return, as in the case of the sponsors of the Maritime Monopoly which reaped billions in unwarranted profits, and salved public opinion with diamond bracelets; fantastic salaries and bonuses have been paid; men like Representative May

of Kentucky have secured favor and influence by direction of legislation. In fine bribery, graft and theft is rampant.

There is no real public protest against this. We know the people who are doing the essential hard work of the world are scarcely earning enough for decent living while on the other hand, by gambling, bribery, gifts and favors, we have an growing group in this country to whom it makes no difference whether butter costs fifty cents a pound or two dollars; Whether automobiles sell for a thousand dollars or for five. They have plenty of money made during the fantastic war years and still making.

Not only then will we have no opportunity to vote on the main six social questions, we will have absolutely no chance to vote concerning the universal greed. And yet what is it that this greed is doing today? It is hiring all the workmen that it can for the lowest wage which will keep them from striking and ~~making the goods~~ let it make goods in universal demand so that they can sell them at high famine prices. They are going to find out that these goods cannot be bought unless people are earning enough to buy them. By and by those goods piled up and unsold will put people out of their jobs because manufacturing will slow down or stop; and then we will have another of the regular series of crisis which is the history of the nineteenth and twentieth century.

Against this program the Democratic process as applied in the United States is at present absolutely helpless. Notwithstanding this we have in Europe today, making speeches and waving his hands, a Secretary of State who represents disfranchisement, fraud and lynching in South Carolina. He tells the German and the Russian people of the advantages of democracy as typified by the United States; he knows and they know that in the United States is the majority of people cannot today say clearly what they want; that they will not be able to say it in the next

congressional and presidential elections.

How long are people of even average intelligence going to allow themselves to be put into this impossible position? And how far do we think that we are fooling anybody? Are we really under the impression that the people of Europe and Asia think that democracy in the United States is something which is going to save the world?

30-7-77

23 September 1946

Winds of Time

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

PLANNING

There is little disposition among American Negroes to strike out boldly in thought or action toward new or unusual lines for solving the problem of their place in the modern world. To most of us it seems enough if we "keep up with the Joneses", who are average Americans and do what they do. We distrust our ability to do more than this. But suppose that Americans get on the wrong track, as all folk sometimes do; and suppose that we see things from a different point of view just because we have been so terribly disadvantaged in this land? Take for instance this matter of "individual initiative" and "free enterprise": to a New England white boy of the middle class; to a vigorous young white Westerner, whether of German, Scandinavian, or Irish descent, these phrases make sense; they have seen men start at scratch and become executives, millionaires, senators, presidents. They can easily forget or never know of the vast numbers even of them who have become underpaid laborers, crippled drudges, paupers, bums, beggars and criminals.

We Negroes cannot ignore these, because we know that only by exception and bull-necked luck does even the gifted Negro get a fair chance in America today. We get by and up, now and then, but our enterprise in not free to act and our initiative is heavily handicapped.

What can we do to free our own ability and make it easier for the average colored boy to succeed? Manifestly such action must be social; it must be planned by the group; it must strike out in new and untried ways. It will not be enough to imitate America, especially just at the time when the old American ways are breaking down and social planning is unpopular. No, we must think and plan for ourselves, with faith and independence.

36-7-79

ECONOMIC PLANNING

Especially must we try economic pioneering; we must branch out the new ways of doing things and helping ourselves. The first matter is this question of group production and then comes the distribution of these goods and services among the people who consume them, without the intervention of the middle-man. That is industrial democracy; the carrying out of the consumers cooperatives can lead us into a knowledge of what political democracy really is. We long tried to envisage a modern democracy as mainly political; it is not. So far as it succeeds and where it succeeds, it is and must be economic. We must take out first steps in independent cooperation with the world along such paths.

30 September 1946

Winds of Time
by
W.E.B. Du Bois

EDUCATION

The other day Mr. Justice Frankfurter told an audience that education would solve our problems. How true this is and how familiar. What could be more logical: what's wrong with the world but the stupidity and ignorance of men; we have just come through two wars that have near destroyed civilization. Yet we are not only talking of a third war, but preparing for it at top speed. Cannot every intelligent man see that no matter what the world wants, it cannot get it by mass murder? Have not men said this for many thousand years? Does not every library carry proof of this on its shelves? Of course; but who reads? Some people can read but many of these only look at the pictures and scan the headlines; and the headlines contradict or misstate the news. Why do the people refuse to read carefully and think? Why is the world so ignorant and uninformed? Have we not free schools and universal education?

FAILURE OF SCHOOLS

The answer is, we have not, at least in any such degree as we think and say. For years, for decades, we in America have boasted of our educational system. We are said to be extremely intelligent because we have schools, we have libraries, we have public lectures, we have adult education. We Negroes have joined in this chorus: we are in school by the million; we have college graduates by the ten thousands, etc. Yet when the test comes, an amazing number of us cannot read and write decently, cannot count, cannot think straight. A Negro officer who was in the late war teaching recruits, told me that thirty percent of the young Negroes could not read and write. These were men just reaching their prime and presumably exposed to the best of our current education. I know from my own experience that the number of college Negro youth who

know enough arithmetic and algebra to reason clearly and accurately, is appallingly small. What is wrong? Have we no brains? Nonsense; we have brains but too few or no schools and too few teachers in them, who have time or space to teach or are paid enough to live while teaching.

36-7-81

OPPORTUNITY FOR EDUCATION

I have not figures and cannot get them; but from wide and long observation I firmly believe that the majority of Negro children in the United States, from 6-18, do not have the opportunity to learn to read and write. We know this is true in the country districts of Mississippi, Louisiana and a half dozen other southern states. But even in the towns and cities of the South, the Negro schools are so crowded and ill-equipped that no thorough teaching is possible. Look at the revelations in rich Atlanta as to conditions in her Negro schools. Nor does it end there. Turn to the North, to the great cities where there is no race segregation in schools and vast sums are expended: many of the colored children there got their elementary training in the South, which means they got little or very poor instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic. Even Northern-born and trained children, find in the average Northern public school, neither the time, space nor individual training so absolutely indispensible to real education. Those living in slums with crime and gambling, ~~they~~ learn more deviltry on the way to school than the school can cope with. Their harassed overworked and underpaid parents cannot give them home surroundings to inspire them. They suffer from this when they enter college, and lack for the most part the supplement of training and guidance, which must complete the training of the school, if the school is to succeed.

STUPIDITY

What is true of Negroes is true in varying degree of whites; some classes of whites are receiving education, but under such conditions

that make them regard their intelligence as exceptional and their education designed for a picked class — the same aristocratic poison that has ruined civilization again and again; other classes of whites get fair training, but are taught to regard it chiefly as a means for making money and not for building character or developing a nation; the lower classes ~~are while~~ of whites are as handicapped in education as we are and they help increase the ignorance of our day and hinder us. Americans are not an educated people. Education is not solving our problems; and it will not because it is not being tried in any degree commensurate with the need. We spend millions on education and billions on war. So we have War and continue to be stupid.

30.7.82

7 October 1946

Winds of Time
by

W.E.B. Du Bois

I have just received from England "The Voice of Labor" edited by George Padmore. It is an extract from the speeches and reports of the colonial delegates to the World Trade Unions Conference held in Paris, 1945. As the editor says "It was significant for the fact that for the first time in the history of international labour, coloured Colonial workers--the most oppressed and exploited section of the world proletariat--were given the opportunity of voicing their grievances and of expressing their hopes and aspirations" ... He further calls attention to the fact that nearly all the colored delegates to this conference had suffered long terms of imprisonment for their Trade Union activities. Wallace-Johnson for instance, of Sierra Leone had been released from a five and half years imprisonment and exile in West Africa just a few weeks before his arrival in London.

36-7-62

The delegates presented a charter of labor for the colonies asking for: one, the abolition of color bar; two, the abolition of forced labor, child labor and all forms of slavery; three, the abolition of pass law legislation; four, equal pay for equal work; five, abolition of race restrictions against the admission of African and colored laborers into existing white trade unions; and six, legislation for colonial trades unions which should be abreast of that existing in Europe and America.

It was pointed out that progressive African papers regularly have been suppressed and that under present legislation an editor in Nigeria, British West Africa could be fined twelve hundred dollars or sentenced for three years imprisonment or both without trial! In discussing

the peace settlement it was proposed that the discussion stop after American, British, Russian and French delegates had spoken. This was challenged and as a result delegates representing Arabs, the people of Jamaica, and West Africa and the Jews had a chance to state their grievances.

When a message was proposed to send a telegram of greeting to President Roosevelt, Marshall Stalin, and Prime Minister Churchill, this was amended by the colonial so as to ask definitely for the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live. In the final declaration two significant paragraphs were inserted "This World Conference rejoices in the declared purpose of the Allied Governments to give effect to the principles of the Atlantic Charter, by recognising and defending the right of all peoples to choose the form of Government under which they will live."... "In the view of this World Conference, it is likewise necessary to bring to an end the system of colonies, dependencies and subject countries as spheres of economic exploitation, and to facilitate immediately the development of free Trade Unions in those countries. In the coming Peace, the foundations must be laid with all possible speed, and in accordance with Article 3 of the Atlantic Charter, of a world order in which non-self-governing communities and nations can attain the status of free nations that will enable them to govern themselves and to develop their own institutions of free citizenship." ... Beyond this there came the [redacted] effort by colored delegates to amend the declaration that it would declar in favor of setting by the colonial powers, of a definite time limit within which the colonies would attain nationhood. This however was lost.

Facts such as these are of great interest to the Negroes throughout the world and this report ought to have wide circulation. It can be ordered through the Chicago Defender [redacted].

14 October 1946

Winds of Time
by
W.E.B. Du Bois

PRODUCTIVE SCHOLARSHIP

I want to bring to the attention of my readers a specimen of productive scholarship such as we seldom see. I refer to a book called "A History of Free-Masonry among Negroes in America", by Harry E. Davis of Cleveland.

Usually we think of scholarly work only in connection with universities or by men devoted to letters. But we must remember that this is only because tradition, libraries and surroundings help the scholar usually in schools or in literary circle . Even in such case the work is often hurried, conventional and pedantic because the "scholar is looking on his work as a means not as the end. The real scholar is searching for truth because he really wants to know and he holds himself rigorously to his self-imposed task by the hard rules of honesty, industry and commonsense."

His subject is one long discussed. The existence of an order of Negro masons which is not recognied by the white masons of America.

THE NEGRO MASONS

Much of the past discussion on this subject has been more or less emotional or with only partial collection of facts. Here comes an author who is a busy lawyer; who has held high position in the legislature and the civil service of Ohio. He devotes years to a careful study of the situation. Together with some worthy predecessors in the field he collects an astonishing body of facts. These facts have already been so influential that there is already a movement among the white masons to recognize the

legitimacy of the blak lodges is as plainly proven as that of the white lodges.

PROOF

But it is not enough merely to say this. It is a matter of careful digging into documents; testimony of all sorts, books, comparison of dates and indeed all of that careful scholarship which is the basis of modern science. And there can be no doubt of the complete job which Harry Davis has done. Not that it satisfies him he knows as every scientific writer must know that with the best will, with long time and careful research, only part of a story is revealed. There is more, much more, which ought to be dug out. But he has fortunately taken the step of publishing for the world what he has accomplished. It is the bounden duty of every one interested in Negro organizations in the United States to read this book.

SEGREGATION

This does not mean that they should read the book simply because they are interested in Negro secret societies but because it is a way of studying a method of fighting segregation. When the black man is set aside and not allowed to cooperate with his white fellows in any work he can take two attitudes: he can refuse to do anything at all or he can organize his own group and do the work which has to be done. It may be done poorly; he may have to use aneducated and inexperienced men but if the work is of importance, it must be done no matter how it is done. If however, he goes further than this and like the Negro masons not only does the job but does a good job; sets up organizations who are performing their function just as well as the white organizations are; Then in the long run something is going to break. If the white men are just, and numbers of them are, they are going to come to the time when they say, "this segregation by race

36-7-65

is nonsense and got to be forgotten." and this is exactly what is beginning to happen among white masons. I do not mean to say that the final steps have been taken but the first step has and this shows the first proof of a wiping out of a segregation where people use their brains instead of their fists; who say a separate lodge, a separate school, a separate church based simply on facial characteristics is wrong but nevertheless we have got to have organizations, we have got to have churches, we have got to have education, and segregation or no segregation we are going to have the sort of lodge, school and church of which we can not only be proud but the whole world will join us. In the long run the world will come to us, even after they have in the beginning, kept us out.

30.7.66

21 October 1946

Winds of Time
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

MANNERS

I am worried because of the all too evident lack of manners among the young American Negroes. Partly of course this is imitation. This nation has never had good manners because manners are a matter of the education of the young; of the contact of the child with people of breeding and consideration. Founded, as our nation was by broken members of poorly educated people; by what in the main constituted the lower classes of all mankind, even the case of Negroes, it is natural that we should as a nation have before us no adequate example of what breeding and manners are.

Today particularly after the spiritual devastation of war, we have come to despise manners as broth and unimportant by-product of social living. They are much more than this; they are the basis of social living. I never walk along the street and find the crossways obstructed by people placidly standing in the way of a hundred different folk who want to move, without realizing how lack of social education has affected these people. It is impossible for people to live in groups without careful and thoughtful manners; those which they have themselves had achieved through thought and experience, and that far greater body which have been handed down more or less unconsciously from their fathers and their fathers' fathers.

AFRICAN COURTESY

The Negro especially in Africa is a person of the finest manners. You can see that even today after the rude and murderous way in which the culture of Africa has been uprooted by the whites. There was even more of it in the past. All of the great travellers have mentioned the ceremonious courtesies, the careful thoughtfulness of the Africans in their social life. Like all cultural heritages it was undoubtedly became conventional and

overdone, one used to wonder for instance in Japan, at the time it took for ordinary people to bow to each other two or three times; at the careful ceremony in the greeting of parents and superiors.

But in the long run all this, within reason is not wasted; and today the way the young white and even more the young Negroes flout the ordinary patterns of courtesy, makes one blood run colder if not cold.

HOODLUMS

A walk at night along the streets of the Southside in Chicago, of Lenox and Seventh Avenue in New York, of Decator Street in Atlanta, and of similar Negro thoroughfares throughout United States is not simply an adventure, it is a dangerous adventure. Often one is actually in danger of life and limb from heedless and uncouth hoodlums. One stops upon the street to greet even children with care: they may spit in your faces. Our demeanor upon the street cars and in trains makes a Negro ashamed. And there are certain schools in many parts of the nation where teachers go in daily fear and the parents are helpless. We are not all hoodlums and we need not pretend that we are.

This is a new development among American Negroes. The upper class Negroes of fifty years ago were well-bred gentlemen and ladies. Twenty-five years ago, school children learned to obey and that meant not simply dog-like following; it meant some regard to what the world has learned about decency.

A MAJOR PROBLEM

But today that has been unlearned or thrown away and it makes a major problem for our people in the world. As the United Nations comes to make its capital here, one of our tasks is to show them that Americans of Negro descent can be gentlemen and ladies.

It is not a mark of inferiorty to be courteous to the old; to ask pardon bumping into a pedestrian; to give a tired white woman a seat; to help a burdened black mother; to be good-natured, kindly, considerate and self-sacrificing. It is not a mark of superiority to yell and push; to show off in public; to be rude because others are rude; to voer-paint your face and wave your legs because white folks do. It still remains worth while to be dignified decent and well-bred.

28 October 1946

Winds of Time
by
W.E.B. Du Bois

IN 1909

Thirty-five years ago, I attended in New York City, a national convention which resulted in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which was incorporated the next year. It was a momentous and epoch-making occasion, but no more so than the convention which I just attended in Columbia, South Carolina of the Southern Negro Youth Congress. When we met in 1909 in New York, it took courage to talk straight even in a Northern state. If such a meeting had been held at that time in the capitol of South Carolina, it would have meant a riot. But in 1935, it was a deed of rare courage for one thousand young Negroes to look the ghost of John C. Calhoun straight in the face and say, in the very faces of the children' children of those who began the War to Preserve Slavery:

MANIFESTO OF THE SOUTHERN YOUTH LEGISLATURE

"We meet in solemn session, militant, courageous Negro Youth of the South. Youth which must and will be served. Youth dedicated to the struggle for freedom. Youth determined to achieve that freedom in its lifetime.

"We have as our program of action

(1) to make ourselves a full-fledged voting generation.

(2) to see that the poll-tax and all barriers to votes are removed.

(3) to realize the enactment of an F.E.P.C. law guaranteeing the right to work at all jobs.

(4) to fight for a federal anti-lynching legislation and genuine civil liberties.

(5) to insist upon adequate and equal housing, health and educationa facilities.

(6) to put an end to 'White Supremacy' customs and practices which violate our human dignity and rights.

"We meet to pledge ourselves to this program, to determine the course of action which must be taken, to fight for the full realization of these our hopes and asperations -- as citizens of the United States."

THE FIRING LINE

This was said, not safe in New York or Chicago; not by cautious, elderly and well-to-do "Leaders", with one eye on their jobs and the other on their new cars; but by young Negroes, with guts, who were not ashamed to be"Negroes" and to take their stand on the firing-line of race-relations in this land. They did not duck and quibble; they were not fighting vaguely for all people everywhere, but for black folk, right here in the South today. And I said to them, looking into their young, clear, eager faces:

"The future of the American Negro is in the South. Here three hundred and twenty-six years ago, they began to enter what is now the United States of America; here they have made their greatest contribution to American culture; and here they have suffered the damnation of slavery and the frustration of reconstruction and the lynching of emancipation. I trust then that an organization like yours is going to regard the South as the firing line of a great crusade. Here is the magnificient climate; here is the fruitful earth under the beauty of the Southern sun; and here is anywhere on earth, is the need of the thinker, the worker and the dreamer. This is the firing line not simply for the emancipation of the American Negro but for the emancipation of the African Negro and the Negroes of the West Indies; for the emancipation of the colored races; and for the emancipation of the white slaves of modern capitalistic monopoly."

A BOOK OF REMEMBRANCE

It was a great honor, which I deeply appreciated, to receive from these young people a crimson volume of recognition of some things I have attempted and done, and have this book signed with many hundreds of their signatures, and tokens of their belief. Nothing I have experienced in past years has touched me so deeply.

4 November 1946

Winds of Time
by
W.E.B. Du Bois

In my message to the Southern Negro Youth Congress last month, I made certain assertions which I want others to listen to. I said:

There are enormous opportunities here for a new nation, a new Economy, a new culture in a South really new and not a mere renewal of an old South of slavery, monopoly and race hate. There is a chance for a new cooperative agriculture on renewed land owned by the State with capital furnished by the State, mechanized and coordinated with city life. There is chance for strong, virile Trade Unions without race discriminations with high wage, closed shop and decent conditions of work, to beat back and hold in check the swarm of landlords, monopolists and profiteers who are today sucking the blood out of this land. There is chance for co-operative industry, built on the cheap power of T.V.A. and its future extensions. There is opportunity to organize and mechanize domestic service with decent hours, and high wage and dignified training.

There is a vast field for consumers cooperation, building business on public service and not on private profit as the main-spring of industry. There is chance for a broad, sunny, health home life, shorn of the fear of mobs and liquor, and rescued from lying, stealing polititions, who build their deviltry on race prejudice.

Here in this South is the gateway to the colored millions of the West Indies, Central and South America. Here is the straight path to Africa, the Indies, China and the South Seas. Here is the Path to the Greater, Freer truer World. It would be shame and cowardice to surrender this glorious land and its opportunities for civilization and humanity to the thugs and lynchers, the mobs and profiteers, the monopolists and gamblers who today choke its soul and steal its resources. The oil and sulphur: the coal and iron; the cotton and corn; the lumber and cattle

belong to you the workers, black and white, and not to the thieves who hold them and use them to enslave you. They can be rescued and restored to the people if you have the guts to strive for the real right to vote, the right to real education, the right to happiness and health and the total abolition of the father of these scourges of mankind, POVERTY.

"'Behold the beautiful land which the Lord thy God hath given thee.' Behold the land, the rich and resourceful land, from which for a hundred years its best elements have been running away, its youth and hope, black and white, scurrying North because they are afraid of each other, and dare not face a future of equal, independent, upstanding human beings, in a real and not a sham democracy..."

26-7-61

11 November 1946

Winds of Time
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

An important experiment in the publication of a daily newspaper has failed or partially failed in New York. A paper, widely known for its independence, its readable size and its accuracy, started some years ago to publish a daily without depending upon advertising, and asking its readers to pay the cost. The price was not high, only five cents a copy.

Of course everyone understands that there can be no free, independent press so long as the press depends mainly upon advertising. If this dependence is small, the influence of the advertiser upon the editorial policy and upon the suppression of news may be correspondently small. But if , as is the case with the great daily newspapers, and especially the magazines of wide circulation, the advertising income is so large that the income from readers is of no real account, then everyone can see that the policy of the periodical will be limited by the advertiser.

It may well be that the advertiser will not be interested one way or the other in many things that are published; but in certain vital matters income, wage, conditions of work, adulteration and checking expenditures, private and public they will be tremendously interested, and the policy of the paper will veer accordingly.

This New York newspaper tried its experiment for some five years. Of course, these were unfortunate abnormal war years. In only one year did it succeed in balancing its income and expenditure; in other years there was a deficit which was met by a philanthropist. Finally the philanthropist decided that he could no longer meet the deficit; and the paper now is going to receive advertising.

It affirms naturally that the advertising will be of a "high grade" and used mainly to meet a comparatively small deficit. Nevertheless

a great principle has failed and until the time comes in the United States when readers are willing to pay for the full cost of publishing the news, for the full cost of furnishing literature in periodicals, and books; until that time comes, it is idiotic to think that we are going to have free press; to think that the newspapers are going to tell the whole truth without bias or to think that the picture newspaper are going to present a fair and complete picture of what the world is doing. ¶ Here, of course, is the place for the greatest single reform that could occur to make this a world of reason and decency. Our own knowledge of what is going on is continually poisoned at the source. There are some communities like New York, London, and Paris, where a competitive press is able to put the news before the public if the public has time to read all. But if most readers of the United States are given their information from one biased source; if news is distorted and suppressed because Big Business wants it so, then there is no use of talking reform because the basic requirement for reform, knowledge of the truth, is missing. ¶ Something of the same thing happens with weekly and monthly press. There is a small independent weekly press but its circulation is ridiculous in size as compared with the population of the United States. On the other hand there are monthlies with circulations going up into the millions; but look at them to see what they mean: one has to prowl through page after page of advertisement; it is almost impossible to tell when the advertisements end and the information begins, or which is advertisement and which information. The income from advertisers in these periodicals reaches fanastic figures; which means that the periodical has one main object: to keep the advertisers satisfied by a guarranteed circulation and therefore the readers must be pleased, not necessarily informed, but entertained. Fabulous sums are spent on pictures, on fiction, on clever and artistic writing of all sorts; but there is no probability of such a periodical carefully, strenuously and continually seeking for its readers a complete and real picture of what is happening

18 November 1946

Winds of Time
by
W.E.B. Du Bois

CHRISTMAS

The Association for the Abolition of Christmas has not yet been established but I am waiting to become a charter member. Of course I love Christmass trees and Christmas carols; but what makes me furious, is the habit of people buying useless and silly presents, and distributing them among folk who do not want them. If there is something of use and value that you want to give a friend, why wait until Christmas? Or if you have waited until Christmas, there is one kind of gift that will be appreciated, that is, books. Books have not yet shared the terrible rise in prices. They are still to be had at reasonable cost.

ROBESON

First of all, buy and read and give Shirley Graham's "Paul Robeson, Citizen of the World". You will find it at all good book stores for it is selling widely. Of course, you know of Shirley Graham. She burst on the world a few years ago in that opera "Tom Tom", sponsored by the city of Cleveland. She wrote the words and music and arranged ~~and conducted~~ the opera. Ernst Lert of the Metropolitan Opera conducted. It was an extraordinary accomplishment.

Then when the federal theatre project was on, she went to Chicago and took charge of the tottering Negro theatre. She put it on its feet, stealed the "Swing Mikado" which had a long run in Chicago and a frank imitation a longer run in New York. Then Miss Graham turned to writing books for children: first that clever life of Carver, and then this book on Paul Robeson; and in a few weeks the world will hear of another extraordinary biography which she has written.

CHILDREN

I recommend Paul Robeson especially for colored children.

We have a great deal of defeatist literature among us; our books and newspapers are full of stories of discrimination and complaint. We ought therefore to have in our homes something which tells of encouragement and triumph. And this is what the life of Paul Robeson does. It is extraordinary how this black boy of New Jersey has walked upward from triumph to triumph. Carl Van Doren writes the preface and says "I shall never forget the first time I heard Paul Robeson sing 'Water Boy', at a party in New York... This was not merely a throat singing. It was a great body living a song. Was it only my fancy that I heard a race remembering? They had come down through time gathering power until they flooded America. The best American music had sprung from them." No where has Robeson's march of accomplishment been recorded as in Shirley Graham's book.

36-7-57

TWO MORE BOOKS

But the writing of the Graham family does not end here; there is a brother Lorenz who has just had published two books almost simultaneously. Lorenz, one of the five Graham children, spent several years in West Africa and brings to us: "Tales of Momolu" with striking illustrations by Letterio Calapai. These tales are for children and will make a lovely Christmas present for young ones of eight and up. Beside this Mr. Graham has published a series of folk tales "How God Fix Jonah". These are told in verse in the peculiar idion of the West African native which is forcible and expressive. My preface says: "This is the stuff of which literature is made; and in the lore of the world, the literature of Africa has its place although it is often forgotten."

Therefore buy and give books and help take the muss out of Christmas.

25 November 1946

Winds of Time

By W. E. B. Du Bois

I remember rather vividly the thrill of apprehension that went through the mass of American Negroes when Grover Cleveland was elected president in 1885. I had just entered the sophomore class at Fisk University and was seeing the South for the first time. Here came a president who represented the first triumph of the pro-slavery Democract party since 1856; and Negroes hardly knew what to expect.

Cleveland lost in 1889 but was elected in 1893. He was a New York man and although he tried hard to be friendly with the South, he was at the same time eminently fair toward Negroes. Nevertheless in the election of 1889, 1893, and 1897 Negroes were not voting on the pressing questions of the day; they were voting on the matter of their fundamental human rights. Disfranchised in the South they could not to any great extent take much part in the Populist movement. They did not see Free Silver as any part of their problem, and they were estranged from the growing labor movement by the attitude of most of the unions toward Negro membership.

Nevertheless I remember being among a small group of Negroes who approached William Jennings Bryant. He was pleasant to us but he avoided then and afterwards, the Negro problem. The economic problem which was underneath the race problem and intertwined with it, did not changed our attitude toward him.

We were very pleased when McKinley was elected. Yet the presidency was bought for McKinley by the contributions of the rich and he represented reaction and the rule of wealth. He deliberately and unnecessarily put us into war with Spain.

The country was saved by Theodore Roosevelt. The first Roosevelt was a hero among Negroes. He appointed Negro officials in the South and stood by them, but finally he was unfair to Negro soldiers. During his presidency Booker Washington became the mouthpiece of the Negro and for that

reason the revolt among younger Negroes began and in 1906 the Niagara Movement was founded, which 1910 became the N.A.A.C.P. Taft in his Negro attitude went over to the South bag and baggage and it was for that reason that Negroes led by the late Bishop Walters supported Wilson in his first election. This support was not large numerically but it had a large psychological effect. For the first time Negroes listened to leaders who advocated the election of a democract. The result was disastprous for the South got squarely in the saddle.

In the election of 1912 the Negroes thought they saw a chance in the third party led by Roosevelt. I wrote a plank for the progressive party at its Chicago meeting. It was carried there by Joel Spingarn and was supported by Jane Addams and others; but it was defeated and Theodore Roosevelt tried to break the Solid South by having a Louisiana politician named as his running mate. The result was the election of Woodrow Wilson for a second term and soon came the first World War.

36-7-55

The discrimination and turmoil of the war turned Negro voters from the Democratic Party and we hoped to gain with Harding not simply a friend but a blood brother. He helped us in Haiti but that was about all. Coolidge was even cooler to us than to most worthy objects. Hoover was an enemy of the black man. Then came Franklin D. Roosevelt and with his second election for the first time a majority of Negroes supported the Democratic Party.

2 December 1946

Winds of Time

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

The reign of Roosevelt has had extraordinary repercussions within the Negro race. To some people, and especially critics of the Negro, it has been charged the large Negro following which Franklin D. Roosevelt sedured was based on his relief program; that practically he bought the Negro race by giving them bread. This is an exaggeration and yet even in so far as it is true, it is no discredit to the American Negro. The basic difficulty of the Negro during and since the slavery has been his abject poverty. Any social program that improves and increases his income or increase his opportunity to secure income should and does appeal to him. He suffered most in the terrible depression of the thirties and he was attracted most by a social program which gave him food and clothes when he needed them.

But this was not the full extent of the impact of Roosevelt's ideas upon the Negro. Roosevelt and his New Deal was a partially successful attempt to organize industry and to build a floor for wages. The Negro both politican and layman began to have a new idea as to what politics could accomplish. They began to realize that business was not and ought not to be out of politics. That one of the duties of government was to see that poverty was reduced and through the reduction of poverty to attack disease and ignorance.

He realized that a man can get for his vote not simply the largess of the ward politican but laws which will make schools for his children; which will give him hospitalization; which will give him protection in old age and above all give all a chance to work at decent wages.

This new synthesis of political activity and social uplift was hammered into the mind of the American Negro by Franklin D. Roosevelt. It was a great and significant forward step.

Under Truman this program has become as nothing and Negroes must realize it. Without any stable ideals; without any real fight he gave up the control of prices and left us to almost unlimited inflation. He has joined the movement to stop strikes mistaking the phenomenon for the cause. It is not labor unrest that we must attack; it is the basic cause of that unrest, low wages and high prices.

Now as we face the election of 1948, we like other Americans are going to find ourselves in the unfortunate position of not being able to choose as we want to choose, between the advocate of social uplift by government action, and the advocate of anarchy in business with the devil taking the hindmost. While we will have no such choice on the presidential ticket we can approach a choice of that sort in the election of members of Congress. We must therefore concentrate our attention more upon the local than upon the national candidate; that is the lesson of 1946.

December 1946

Winds of Time

By

W. E. B. Du Bois

A YOUTH CREED

I recommend the following creed for Negro youth:

First, we recognize the basic difficulties of our group in America: P.I.D. that is Poverty, Ignorance, and Disease; we want to fight these handicaps with all our strength: Poverty is the first, because it is the fundamental cause of the others; ignorance prevents our ability to function in a democracy; and disease is premature death of ability, happiness and life itself.

Secondly, and consequently, we want the chance to work at tasks for which we are fitted, which will employ our ability and gift to the utmost and which will return us not wealth and display, but sufficient for a decent modern life.

EDUCATION

Thirdly, we want education for ourselves and our folk; adquate, expertly taught, and continuing through the elementary grades through high school and as far beyond that as proven gift and desert show is clearly for human welfare, no matter what the race, sex, or religion of the recipient. This education is a public duty and should be at public expense. It should continue beyond school years, and in the form of adult education for all.

36-7-50

Fourthly, we want immediate, continuous and scientific effort to fight disease, regardless of poverty or race and without limitation of necessary expenditure. No cure can be half as expenseive as disease. We need physicians, nurses, hospitals and medical research for every citizen.

AGE AND YOUTH

We do not regard the separation of an organization into adult and youth departments as fundamental or even useful, unless its one possible advantage is strictly adhered to: namely, that fully grown and developed persons have the experience of life and the accumulated wisdom that all need; at the same time bitter experience may makesthem timid, hesitating and ready to compromise with Truth and Right. Unbowed youth has courage, strength, enthusiasm and the vision to see stars through clouds, even though their boundless faith may often mistake the distance of those stars.

36-7-51

We assert that the object of life is happiness and that the only fair limitation on my pursuit of happiness is interference in any real way with your happiness. Then and only then does sacrifice become duty. We demand then facilities for pleasure and enjoyment, by public appropriation and private initiative. We demand marriage by careful plan, children limited by thoughtful foresight, and in all life equality of sexes.

16 December 1946

Winds of Time

By

W. E. B. Du Bois

The courageous action of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in unfrocking two bishops in a specially convened General Conference, merits the attention and the applause of the American Negro world and indeed of all men.

The A.M.E. Church is probably the most powerful Negro organization on earth. And when we add to that the fact that it has existed now for over one hundred and fifty years, its influence and accomplishment can be appreciated. In spite of the fact that it was organized among unlettered slaves and freedmen, and that during the first hundred years of its life, the majority of its members could not read or write, it has nevertheless maintained its organization and defended, amid all sorts of difficulties, its religious and spiritual ideals. Above all, it has achieved a popular democracy unparalelled in any other Negro organization.

To be sure great power is concentrated in the hands of the bishops and to some extent their arbitrary will can be enforced but back of the bishpps has stood the power of the local preachers; and back of the preachers, the power of the membership which is real, and is continually brought to bear upon the policies of the churchs. Today as we have seen it has compelled the unfrocking of two bishops.

My first work as a young teacher at the age of twenty-six was in the leading educational institution of this church. Then and since then, I have often criticised this church and its methods, but I have never failed to hold its struggles and accomplishments in the deepest respect, and for many of its great leaders like Payne and Lee I have felt veneration. Particularly have I seen in this institution a social center of astonishing

efficiency where the poor and ostracised met in human sympathy, mutual charity and encouragement, to fight the battle of life. I have therefore watched with apprehension certain recent developments. At the General Conference a few years ago, there came a candidate for the bishopric from a great city with several thousand dollars in his pocket, openly designed to bribe the members of the Conference and buy his way into high office. We may criticize these delegates, Lay and Clerical, for the way in which they have succumbed in recent years to contribution by candidates toward their "expenses". But we cannot forget the miserable and irregular pittance upon which large numbers of them must live.

36-7-49

In the case of which I have spoken the bribery reached a climax and was a national scandal. The Church knew it and was aghast; but how it could bring the power of the hierachy and especially the public opinion of the membership, to bear upon this situation, was a difficult problem.

Finally however, as other irregularities and usurpations of power arose, the church girded up its loins. It resolved to clean house and to stop certain outrageous infractions of its moral code and its spiritual authority. This was finally expressed in a special meeting of the General Conference where a thousand delegates voted almost unanimously to unfrock two bishops. They did not in this action clear all of the unfortunate elements out of the church body, but they did attack two and they gave firm notice to other that this Church was going to express its authority and it was going to stand for decent leadership.

The Negro people of the United States have reason to be proud of this exhibition of unity and democratic power.

25 December 1946

Winds of Time

By

W.E.B. Du Bois

Not long ago I attended at the Hotel Astor the sixth annual dinner of the Nobel Anniversary Committee, commemorating the fifthieth year of the death of the Swede who invented dynamite. Alfred Nobel left his great wealth mainly to establish a prize fund for advancement in physical sciences, discoveries in chemistry, and in physiology and medicine; for ideal literary work, and for the person who did most or labored best for the cause of peace.

These Nobel prizes are awarded once every five years. This year the peace prize was divided between Emily Balch, who did so much for freeing Haiti, and then was dismissed from Wellsley because of her radicalism; and John R. Mott, the Y.M.C.A. leader. The chairman of the dinner, Pearl S. Buck who has done so much to make us understand China and herself received a Nobel prize in 1938. The guests were banked in two rows. Sixteen speakers and distinguished persons at the first table; fourteen guests of honor at the raised table behind them.

Many distinguished persons were there: Benjamin Cohen, Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations, Fanny Hurst the novelist, Lin Utang the Chinese author, Jo Davidson the sculptor, the Norwegian Ambassador and the Danish Consul General. A nephew of Alfred Nobel was among the speakers and strong words were said for peace.

One word seemed to be lacking and I was glad when the chairman asked me to say the final word. This is what I said:

"We have heard tonight an interesting summary of the vital interest in world peace which is shared by radio and cinema,

science and the press, statesmen and teacher, woman and soldier, and students of society. Will you for one minute let me add a last word: the black folk of the world have small recognized place in any of these nine categories. Yet at the triumphant end of this program, may I remind you that these two hundred millions of men and other millions of their fathers, through slavery and degradation from 1441 to 1863 and decades thereafter, gave the modern world the foundation of its wealth and power. Victims of war in the midst of a century's crusade for peace, they still stand as the greatest single temptation to further war.

36-7-47

"There can be no certain peace in this world so long as cheap labor in Africa can furnish diamonds and gold, oil and cocoa, copper and a hundred other materials over which Europe and America stand ever willing to fight. The emancipation of the black masses of the world is one guarantee of a firm foundation for world peace."

30 December 1946

Winds of Time

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

Every Negro organization in the United States ought to send an official note of thanks to Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, member of the Indian delegation of the United Nations, who may be addressed at the Department of External Affairs, New Delhi, India.

Madame Pandit is a sister of Jawaharlal Nehru, great leader of India freedom. But she should be known to all persons of African descent, as the leader of the successful assault upon the color line in the United Nations Assembly. Her repeated and impassioned attacks upon that Great Hypocrite, Jan Smuts, were successful in putting through the Assembly, by two-thirds vote, a declaration against the color line in South Africa as applied to Indians.

26-7-44

But Mrs. Pandit did not confine her attack upon this most backward of so-called civilized nations, to the Indian problem. She repeatedly spoke of the situation of the Natives and the disabilities under which they labor. We should thank her wholeheartedly for her unselfish and courageous attitude. The directors of the N.A.A.C.P. have ordered such a resolution sent to her.

Many American Negroes will ask how it happened that the Negroes of the world had to be defended by an Indian, while the rest of the colored world was apparently silent, with the notable exception of General Romulo of the Philippines. The answer is clear. Negroes in the United States could have no voice in the United Nations except through the American delegates. The spokesmen of that delegation, John Foster Dulles, representing particularly the Christian Church, was throughout the debate, silent or reactionary, and no pressure put upon him was availing.

In the case of Liberia, Haiti and Ethiopia, the situation was

difficult. Dr. Cassels, of Liberia, made one widely commended speech but it was cast in general terms. A Haitian delegate spoke well, But in both these cases, the hands of the countries were tied; Liberia is part of American imperialism, through the investment of the Firestone Company, and through the naval and airplane bases in her territory. While still nominally independent, she is in no position to oppose or challenge American policy outside her own affairs, so long as her home economy and defense are tied to America.

The development of Haiti, in the same way, like that of the whole West Indian region, is subordinated to American policy and naval might. Haiti can only export the best of her valuable products to the United States with permission and such permission to export depends upon the American attitude toward Haiti. She still owes the United States nearly ten million dollars. She does not feel free then to incur unnecessary enemity.

36-7-45

In the same way Ethiopia is tied to the British orbit. It was Britain who finally helped free Ethiopia from Italy; but Britain still has troops in Ethiopia, is holding one of her richest provinces, and is spparently opposing her access to the sea, in the ancient Ethiopian province of Eritrea. Ethiopia is in no position to challenge British imperialism outside her own territories.

Of course we all could wish that despite these obvious reasons, these three countries had joined clearly and courageously with Madame Pandit and General Romulo in the defense of the darker peoples, especially in Africa. But our strongest line of action is political pressure on our delegation to the United Nations. At any rate, our thanks are due to Madame Pandit and should be sent immediately in the most gracious terms.

6 January 1947

Winds of Time

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

The death of the wife of one of my dearest friends and illness in my own family leads me to reflect upon the heavy burden which lies upon the women of the Negro middle-class. Relatively they work harder and bear a more intensive burden than persons of most any other group. The poorest of our women, black and white, have a hard time: difficult labor and small return; but after their work is done, they are through; they have no burden of responsibility for their group, for the surrounding world. They do no have the feeling that the burden of proof covering their whole race rests upon their shoulders.

35-230

When however, a Negro belongs to the professional classes, like teachers, lawyers or physicians; or to the mercantile class: as small retailers; or employees in the white collar class, he usually marries a young woman who has been brought up in a sheltered life; who has had a fair and perhaps good education and is interested in the world about; but usually she is not by training a housekeeper as her mother and more particularly, her grandmother was. She takes on, however, the burden of housekeeping because she must. The family income is seldom large enough to pay the high wage which domestic servant today demands and certainly deserves.

This means however that the young wife of a professional Negro or white collar worker has extraordinary burden put upon her. She must carry on a household; cook and serve the meals; and in addition to that, take care of one or two children. The hazards of housekeeping are tremendous simply in the matter of accidents. The hard physical labor is exhausting. The result is that the woman at the end of a day is tired

almost to death, but her work is not done. She must keep up appearances. She must have a neat and pleasant home. She must be ready, at least now and then, to welcome guests and cater to them. She must put up an appearance which will make her husband proud of her and ready to taken her out, now and then, and in a sense put her on exhibition. Even though she may be so tired that she can scarcely stand.

In addition to this, she may even try to keep up her intellectural interests: to read papers and books, to attend lectures; to remember in some degree that she is an educated woman.

Large numbers of women simply fall by the wayside; they either neglect their homes or their children, or much more readily they neglect their intellectual life. They may become slovenly so that the husband complains of his home and of his wife's appearance. All of this may strain if it does not disrupt the household. At any rate, it means that at forty if the woman remains a housekeeper, she begins to grow old; she is continually tired; she becomes early a prey to disease. She dies long before her time or if she does not die loses her comeliness and her interest in life.

35-1-231

Something of course must be done about this. In numbers of cases the wife gets a job and the home becomes a lodging. If this does not happen, the housework must be lessened, this is the reason that instead of having single homes like the former generation, we are crowding into apartments and flats because it lessens the work. This is the reason that we are eating in restuarants. No one who is not used to cooking a good meal knows what it takes out of a person. It is tremendous relief to go and sit down and be waited on even if the food is only fair. But more in this line must be done. Husbands must share housework, if they want a home. Some do, but shamefacedly. Community kitchens cooperative service, and of course, already baking and washing have largely gone out of the home and ought to entirely. ~~Here is a matter that deserves attention and conference;~~

13 January 1947

Winds of Time

by

W.E.B. Du Bois

There is distinct encouragement for the American Negro and American democracy in the Bilbo case. Whether he is eventually denied his seat in the United States Senate or not, these things are clear: first, the Republican party feels compelled to make bid for the Negro vote; secondly, the well-known denial of democracy in the southern South has been publicized to an unusual extent; third, it was made clear that (the) influence of money upon elections in the United States is wide-spread and effective and the Senate was careful not to have the matter explored very far.

The situation that now confronts us, is whether the bid of Republicans and Democrats for the Negro vote is high enough. What we ought to demand of either or both parties is the enforcement of democratic methods in the South. We ought to impress upon the people of the United States that this is not merely a Negro question: it is a question of effective democracy.

There can be no third party movement in the United States until the Southern oligarchy and rotten borough system is put out of business. I have been hammering at this truth since 1924 when I published a map and figures in the Crisis to show how the South was dominating the nation and making democratic methods impossible. It is exceedingly interesting to find in a recent editorial in the New York Times, the exact argument which I used twenty-one years ago, to show the present situation which has persisted for three quarters of a century.

For sixteen years now the Republican party has been kept out of power because of the political domination which the disfranchisement of both white and black voters in the South has given to a handful of

Southerners who have not only used the political power of the disfranchised but also influenced legislation through their chairmanships of the most important committees in Senate and House.

Something ought to be done and done now. And yet no steps are apparently being taken. The reason is that, as Mr. Taft craftily indicated in his recent southern trip, the financial investment of the North in the South gives the Republican party still the hope that this southern political power can eventually come into their hands without facing the Negro problem. We should make it clear that this is not only impossible, but improbable; and that we know exactly what is taking place.

35-1-233

On the other hand, so far as the Democrats are concerned, Mr. Truman's message was good; but we know from bitter experience that Mr. Truman does not stand back of his own words and his own convictions. We must, therefore, work upon the liberal wing of the Democratic party and impress upon them the fact that the reactionary remnant of their party in the South has got to be displaced and they can eventually depend upon Negro votes to do this.

Anti-lynching and poll-tax legislation is important but we can expect little from them until our political power is increased; and on the other hand, beneath and beyond political power, is a chance to make a living; a chance to get an income which will make us independent of the coercion of monopoly.

Jan. 20, 1947

Winds of Time

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

There has begun again in the United States a period of witch-hunting and Red-baiting which is simply an effort to distract the thought of the people of the United States from the main issues which confront them and the world.

At this crisis in world history, there are certain matters of primary importance, which ought to be considered and acted upon. They are, to list them in three categories: first, poverty, and the distribution of wealth, and the relation of private property, monopoly and privilege to this set of problems. Secondly, education and democracy and the ethical problems of carrying out popular government. Third, the role of the state and private enterprise in the planning of industry.

There are, as we all know, powerful and influential groups of people who do no want these subjects even discussed; they do not believe that poverty can be abolished or that it ought to be abolished. They are satisfied with the present distribution of wealth; they do not think that industry can be carried on without the predominant motive of private profit; and they are willing to condone monopoly and privilege in order to keep the status quo.

This is a serious situation. The poverty of the mass of people in the world is the main cause of crime, disease and ignorance. It must be abolished or the world cannot go forward to civilization. The road toward the abolition of poverty is intelligent public discussion among men of education and character. This is being impeded today by every devise of power and propaganda. Again the number of people who do not believe in democracy today is far larger than folk assume. They emphasize the stupidity of the majority of men, and at the same time,

make little effort to see that they are educated. The success of Russia in practically wiping out illiteracy in a generation has not encouraged the world nearly as much as it has alarmed the enemies of democratic government. Here again there must be wide and careful discussion of our methods of education, of the amount of money that must be appropriate to further education, and the safeguards which can be built up and enforced to make the democratic methods workable.

Thirdly, there is every effort being made today to render it impossible for people even to discuss planned economy. We talk as though private unregulated enterprise is the only natural method of industrial organization and that the state must be reduced to the smallest possible role. This is in contradiction of the best thought of the world and to the increasing practice of the world.

To stop intelligent discussion of poverty, education, democracy and the role of the state in industry, we are being diverted toward a concerted attack upon socialism in England, Communism in Russia, and state planning anywhere. Every liberal movement and the main trade union movements are taking up most of their time and putting most of their emphasis upon fighting Communism.

Why? Because the Communist has a plan for abolishing poverty, for educating the masses and for state control of industry. It is idiotic for reasonable human beings to attack any set of arguments or any political system in so far as that thought and system is aimed toward accomplishing exactly what every thoughtful human being wants today. As Nehru, of India recently said: "With most of the objects of Communism I am in complete accord." If there are other objects which are not desirable or defensible; if some people do not like Russia and Russian methods; that has nothing to do with trying to find a way of attacking the mistakes of private enterprise.

Stop witch-hunting and Red-baiting by postive effort to attack poverty, ignorance and private monopoly.

27 January 1947

Winds of Times

by

W.E.B.Du Bois

The proposed budget submitted to the Congress by the President of the United States was an extraordinarily interesting document. We find that according to his proposal, over half of the fantastic sum of money which must be araised by public taxation will go for preparation for war or as the result of recent wars. This is the price which we are going to pay for organized murder during the next two or three generations.

The other side of this picture is this. For social welfare, health and security, only 4% of our national income will go. For agricultural and agricultural resources only 3½%. For education and research only 2½%.

We complain in modern countries and especially in the United States that democracy does not work. We know that education in itself will not make a country democratic; but we also know that the first step toward implementing democracy, is to have an intelligent class of voters. We cannot have intelligent voters unless we spend money for education. Private income is not sufficient and should not be used for education. Education is a public duty which should be carried on by public taxation and should compulsory and free to the people. Despite this we are starving our teachers; we are not providing schools or facilities for our children to anywhere to the extent to which these things are needed. We spend twice as much for liquor as for education. And the reason we are not doing this is because we raise for federal usage alone forty-five billion dollars in taxes and God knows how much by local taxation, and yet are devoting less than 2% of the federal income for education.

This is the reason that democracy fails; this is the reason that instead of appealing to the sense of right, inherent in normally educated human beings we are resorting to bribery in elections; to undue influence in political office; to intimidation and beating, in order to carry on

what we call democratic government.

Instead of so arranging our expenditures that we take out necessary and harmful sum that organized war demands, we should first take out money for security, education, health and science. Then we could build a nation to which everybody would be proud to belong.

35-1-4 237

3 February 1947

Winds of Time

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

I went out of the business of prophecy at the time of the First World War; but today somehow I am tempted to try again. There seems to be little doubt but what money is going to be used in large quantities in the presidential election of 1948.

The Republican party and its supporters like the powerful industrial combines are going to put into this election just as much money as is needed to carry it. Those of us therefore who are interested in the future of this land and of American Negroes, will begin to notice pretty soon that certain newspapers, periodicals and vehicles of opinion will be seeing new light and will be especially impressed by Republican arguments: arguments written down on paper and arguments even more powerful which are not written down. There will also be a number of bold wheel-horses, "leaders of their people", who will become increasingly eloquent in the matter of the Negro voting Republican in 1948.

I should be the last to say that a change of political belief from the leftist parties to the right was necessarily an indication of bribery or undue influence; but I would call it to the attention of my readers that when such changes occur, the reasons for them must be plain and convincing. If for instance the Republican party does changes its stripes in this next election; if it stands for a Fair Employment Practice Commission; if it works against the poll-tax; if it really unseats Bilbo and attacks the forces of Bilbosim and of his fellow traveller, Rankin; if it does not attempt to destroy or cripple trade unions; if it passes a anti-lynching bill; if it does all of these things or any reasonable part of them, then the American Negro has a right to say that his allegiance should be changed from the fallen democracy of Roosevelt to the new Republican party for it will indeed be new.

On the other hand, if under reactionaries like Taft and Bricker; or opportunists like Dewey; the Republican party gives lip service to the Negro, and proceeds to do in the future exactly what it has done in the past, then we who look on, will be convinced that if our leaders and newspapers change their position, it will not be because of rational argument

35-1-39

Or looking toward the Democrats, there is no question but what the Democratic party under Roosevelt did more for the American Negro than any party in the last twenty-five years. The fact that it accomplished these things, in spite of a southern reaction and prejudice is all to its credit. It is quite possible that a saving liberal wings of the Democrats will still hold their reactionaries in check and will proceed along the program of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. In that case there will be no call for change of political allegiance among American Negroes. But if, as unfortunately seems likely today, the Democratic party is going to be divided into two parts: one composed of Southern reactionaries and the other composed of Northern Progressives chiefly interested in fighting Communism and only luke-warm to the rights of Negroes, labor and other minorities; then again we might turn our allegiance to the unsatisfactory Republicans or to some third party. But remember, that the basis of our political thought in the campaign of 1948 should be political action and not the amount of money which certain persons and organizations are on the brink of spending. One thing we should bring to their attention: it may be that the carefully laid plans of Republicans and Democrats may run into a depression which will knock their conspiracies sky high. If you do not believe that, ask Mr. Hoover.

10 February 1947

Winds of Time

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

The organization known as the Progressive Citizens of America has laid down a platform which, as it seems to me, is of prime importance to American Negroes. It warns that an era of danger and promise has begun. That war has been "hideous and costly"; that economic depression has been "hideous and costly"; that the repression of men's freedom has been "needless and criminal".

But this organization believes that we can make a fight for life and win it, although it admits that the struggle will be bitter.

It takes a stand against the new isolationism which views the world not as a brotherhood of people but as "an economic pie to be divided among cartels." This is international anarchy. The organization seeks therefore unity among progressives and wishes to begin with state and community committees. It know that the Republican party is not a liberal party; and while under Roosevelt the Democratic party served a progressive cause, it knows that it has now abandoned this program and these opinions. for "Jim-Crowism" and sheer greed.

It calls for, therefore, for action: <u>one</u>, a stand for the rights of labor against injunctions or change in the Wagner National Labor Relations Acts for repeal of the Smith-Connally Act, and defeat of all measures designed to curtail the rights and its economic security. It stands for help to agriculture, that is, of the family-owned and operated farm; it stands for business enterprise free from monopoly control and free to provide a higher standard of living for all people. It wants strict enforcement of anti-trust legislation; it calls for adequate educational opportunities for all Americans; federal aid to education and the abolition of unequal and segregrated facilities for Negroes and other groups. It wants help for health and better homes. It wants civil and political rights. A federal Civil

Rights Act; a federal anti-lynching bill; elimination of the so-called "Committee on un-American Activities"; and the enfranchisement of the residents of the District of Columbia. It wants Theodore Bilbo kept out of the Senate and abolition of the poll-tax; it calls for the fulfillment of our obligations to veterans and for opposition to militarism and imperialism, action against Spain and Argentina and the admission of refugees to the United States.

35-1-241

It insists upon reciprocal trade agreements, the lowering of tariff walls, loans to devastated nations and international relief. It wants unification of China without outside pressure; the stoppage of the manufacture of atomic bombs; the elimination of the stock piles of those bombs and the just and lasting peace.

To my mind this is an excellent program and I endorse it fully. And yet it is most discouraging to find a parallel movement or progressives placing its first emphasis upon fighting communism, and classing Russian Communism which saved civilization from Hitler as one with Fascism.

27 February 1947

Winds of Time

by

W.E.B. Du Bois

I am a pacifist. I mean by that I am one of those persons who strongly opposes war. I will not say that I think war is never justifiable. When Poland was attacked by Hitler I suppose there was nothing else to do but to try to fight back. I am fairly certain that Touissant and Christopher of Haiti were right in fighting against France, Spain and England. And yet I believe that in nine cases out of ten even defensive warfare is not only ineffective but definitely wrong; and the sign of a great new leadership which Asia is assuming over the whole civilized world is shown in the extraordinary steps which India is taken toward freedom and democracy, without war. Not without disorder and even murder; but not with organized war.

Alone among the great states of the world, India is slowly but surely accomplishing her freedom without war. She is following the pacifism of Gandhi and the restraint of Nehru; and she has already succeeded to an astonishing extent. If and when she does succeed; it will be tremendous proof that war is unnecessary even in extreme cases of self-defense.

On the other hand there is growing up in the United States a distinct and mischievous propaganda in favor of war and against pacifism. It was once the honorable duty of an American to place himself among the pacifists of the world. Today it is almost shameful. Today not only our religion, but out science and our politics, are being based upon militarism. We are on the verge of legalising universal conscription and training of all youth as soldiers and sailors. We have a general guiding our foreign relations, generals and admirals ruling our conquered territories and military men in our chief embassies.

It is to the shame of the United States that this has happened. It is a retrogression in human progress and denial of the principles of the Prince of Peace. American Negroes especially should not be tempted by this universal propaganda. War is wrong and futile.

35-1-243

What then are the intelligent to do and the men of good-will in order to fight against militarism? The fight may be difficult and for a time almost in vain. Imagine today the grip which the Army and Navy have upon truth-seeking in the great universities of the United States. Imagine the State Department being headed by a general; and our whole policy toward Europe and the defeated nations of the world being carried out by military men. Conceive the kind of education which a military man receives today, when the leadership today should be anti-military, pro-pacifist, and based on the great thought of peace on earth, good will toward men. It shows the contradiction of our current philosophy to realize that we have taken over the false doctrine that those who seek peace should be prepared for war. We who know that Peace is Civilization and War, barbarism, should inveigh against War. Show its cost and cruelty; its tragedy and futility. We should let the flag stand for Peace not war and convince men that Victory is always defeat if it is bought by murder.

24 February 1947

Winds of Time

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

Certain recent happenings remind us how tremendously the world has turned to gambling in these post-war years and this fact impels me to revert to this subject. Without doubt today gambling is the greatest industy on earth and the meaning of this is sinister. It means that turning from Faith and Science, we have to an extraordinary degree dedicated ourselves to Chance. We believe in luck and good fortune. We lack correspondingly faith in human effort and good will. Our only effective restraint on gambling today is effort to see that the gambling is as we say, fair: that is that human effort does not come in to determine results.

Recent happenings illustrate all this: in New York City a broker was called up for jury duty and was asked if he could judge a gambling charge fairly; "Oh, yes" he said, "You see, I am a gambler myself." The firm that employed him was outraged at this answer and dismissed him. But what he said was perfectly true. The Stock Market is mainly a vast and complicated and gambling operation. The persons who run it, for the most part invest in stocks, not because they want to have part in the organization of industry but because they want to make money on changes in price.

Or again recently a young man was arrested in New York for trying to "fix" a football game. The accusation made a tremendous sensation; it was on the front pages of the newspapers; it was discussed all over town and throughout the nation. Yet what was the fact? The fact was that the offense of this young man was in trying to interfere in gambling.

What we call "Sport" today both amateur and professional, is not mainly a matter of exercise and healthful competition. It is a carefully organized business for the sake of the betting which takes place on the results. Colleges have long recognized this but they have been

able to do little about it. Our gambling instinct is too ingrained in what we call our civilization. The main counteracting effort to see that those who seek to "queer" the gambling game are punished. But in other efforts, like policy and the numbers little is really done because they victimize poor and impotent people.

Whatever is the result, whatever the effort may be, we face the situation where to any increasing degree human life and industrial income depend upon chance and less and less upon organized effort. This is perhaps the most dangerous thing that could happen to a civilization. It means loss of faith in what human beings can do; it mean of course absolute loss of faith in any power above us guiding us for good.

35-1-245

Perhaps we adults of this generation are so caught in the gambling organization that we can do little for ourselves but we certainly can do something for our children. It should be the business of every honest parent to warn children against games of chance; against betting on their high school team, against betting on cards and billiards; against playing slot machines. If you want your child to be a honest worker with faith in the efficiency of human effort, for God's sake guard him against gambling.

10 March 1947

Winds of Time

By W.E.B. Du Bois

MY FRIEND

My friend was sleek and well-dressed. He was pleased with himself and I was glad to see him after some years.

"Well", I asked, "How's the world using you?"

"I've had rotten luck" he answered, grinning. "Do you know, I came to New York last Summer and lost $1500 at poker!"

35-1-242

I sat up. I'm no prude nor spoil-sport. I am quite aware of living in a world of folk who gamble, drink, and raise merry hell in various ways. I would not choose a world of New England Puritans nor yet the days of the second Charles for an ideal existance. But one seldom gets indulgence and excess expressed in figures. Now to me $1500 is a very considerable sum of money. From 1897 to 1910, thirteen years, my whole year's salary was only $1200, after I had earned three degrees at Harvard and sat at the feet of the world's masters at the Friedrich-Wilhelm's University in Berlin. On this salary, I raised and supported a family, kept out of debt and summered with the family in Boston, Ann Arbor and at the St. Louis world fair. I freely admit that money could buy more then than now; but,-

FIFTEEN HUNDRED

"Fifteen hundred dollars", I gasped. "Why, in 1936, I went round the world on little more than that. I saw London and Paris; I saw Berlin and Moscow; I walked in Peiping, Shanghai and Tokio. I rode the Lakes of Hanghow, swept over the Pacific and felt the molten gold of Hawaii-- and you at your salary, lost --"

He stirred a bit uneasily but explained to me, as to a child, certain vast changes in the world, of which, I was apparently quite unaware, and consequently, hardly fit to procede without guidance.

"You see," he said, "People don't play bridge any more, they play

poker, one must gamble. We used to begin Saturday night and play right through until Monday morning. There were usually --" And he named a fair strip of the Harlem Social Register -- friends, acquaintances, officials,---

"Listen" I interrupted, patiently, "You mean to tell me that -- er-- well, X, Y, and Z, actually used to take thirty-six hours of good, solid, pulsing life, to flip some small pieces of paste-board on six square feet of oil-cloth, for the privilege of tossing away more money than ten million American Negroes ever see in a year in return for four thousand hours of hard work?"

35-1-249

"But" he explained, "somebody won you see; and I made the mistake of keeping on playing when I was having a streak of Bad Luck."

BAD LUCK

"My dear fellow," I returned, "That wasn't bad luck; it was just utter lack of brains; of course somebody won; somebody always wins among idiots. But the point that puzzles me, is how you ever expected to win even with a succession of straight flushes. You were bound to lose your health, your habit of sleep which guards your sanity, your balance of the values of life. You --

But he brushed me aside. "Listen", he said, "Don't preach! I tell you what I'm going to do hereafter: instead of taking one or two hundred dollars into the game, I'm only going to take $25. If I lose that, I'll stop for the night and wait until the next session."

"I've got a better idea," I retorted. "Take fifteen cents to the next seance. Take your seat with your back to that fourteenth story window where you play and open the window. Take no heed of the protests against fresh air -- they'll need it. Play until you lose that fifteen cents, it won't take long. Then step quickly back to the window and drop out head-first. Be sure to make it head-first, and drop as near the building as possible so as to avoid too much mess."

-29mar 29 March

March 17, 1947

Winds of Time

By W.E.B. Du Bois

A JOURNEY

I have been travelling again in the South, zigzagging some 2255 miles from New York to Louisiana. Every year or two I visit the South: first because I like it; secondly, because to talk of the Negro Problem and not know the South is stupid. Many colored people avoid the South, or have never seen it. They simply cannot endure its insult and suppression. I deeply sympathize with such persons. I never cross Mason and Dixon's line without the same feeling as that when one plunges into a cold bath. But the physician who dislikes blood and pain should never have studied medicine; and the Negro without the courage to face the South and its problems has no right to discuss the future of the Negro.

THE BEAUTY OF THE SOUTH

Moreover the South is nd all discrimination, ignorance and murder. First of all there is its climate: the flood of clear sunshine, the warm rain, the trees and flowers. There is the food: have you ever by any chance tasted chicken fried creole, Of course you know biscuits and corn-bread, gumbo and black-eyed peas. Not all the food is good; the coffee is usually atrocious and no one there can cook white potatoes. Winter in the real South is not a season -- it is an interlude. The world is built for warmth, out-doors, light clothing and song. The colored folk, outside the impossible fringe, are warm-hearted, eager, and always persistently going somewhere; on, oh, up, forward; and they want your help and advice; news, news, what of the Night?

WHITE FOLK

Southern whites I always studiously avoid; not that I "hate" them -- some whom I know, I like very much. But in the South one never knows whether a particular white is a gentleman or a jackass, in his attitude toward Negroes. I therefore carefully avoid them; and it is remarkable how completely one can do this: in most stores you meet them and since you have money they are usually polite and sometimes obsequious. But you seldom need to visit stores on a trip. It is in public relations you need to steel yourself for grim endurance. Often this is unnecessary: the ticket agent may be decent

or even polite; the policeman may be courteous, although usually not. The point is to expect insult and then in many cases be surprised pleasantly.

JIM-CROW

The worst thing about a southern trip for a Negro is the "Jim-Crow" railway and street-car, and the separate waiting rooms and public facilities. There is no fast rule for guidance. On this trip of over two thousand miles, I have ridden only 150 miles in a separate coach. I am not sure that in this case I might not have gotten a pullman seat; but the coach was clean, not crowded, with the same reclining seats as in the white coach. Of course this avoidance of "Jim-Crow" travel called for trouble and money. My Pullman ticket was usually secured by a local friend, but always by a colored man and for a colored passenger. When a college president who uses a certain railroad for a thousand students each year asks for a pullman ticket, he usually gets it. Without such local intervention, applicant at the city ticket office often yields unhesitating compliance, when a similar request at the depot would meet brusque refusal. On side lines, in small towns and country districts submission to separation is inevitable, except -- and this is a big exception -- your friends have automobiles, and they usually have. In this way you can and should avoid street-cars and busses, where the chance of insult is great.

35-1-251

RAIL-WAY STATIONS

Railways stations afford, even in most large Southern cities, miserable ac accommodations. The Terminal station in Atlanta has a dirty, dark room for Negroes; in Durham and Raleigh, the colored rooms are clean and large; but the eating facilities are bad. Jacksonville has needlessly disgusting facilities: no decent restaurant; a booth marked "Information--for Colored only"; telegrams--"for colored only". The point here is that the colored man avoids use of the station as much as possible. Often I have passed through a city, stopped and resumed my journey without seeing the "colored" waiting room. The return of the auto is a god-send for Negro travellers; 225 miles of my trip have been made in the autos of kind friends.

5 April

3 March 1947

Winds of Time

By W.E.B. Du Bois

A LIBRARY

It was in Raleigh, North Carolina. The library was in a room formerly a store front with big show windows, extending back in long, square space, perhaps twenty-five by a hundred feet. I sat toward the rear and watched a little black girl at a large table. On it was a dictionary. It was full half the size of the tot; but she was busily thumbing its pages. Now and then she would pause, and gravely scan something on a page. Perhaps it was one of the small illustrations; perhaps it was a word. But what pleased me infinitely, was that no one disturbed her, no one asked her what she was doing nor why; she was a privileged user of the Richard B. Harrison Public Library, just as privileged, just as important as the serious adult reader sitting over there, and equally served by the assistant librarian at the desk.

35-1-246

THE LIBRARIAN

I had known of this little library for several years; twice I had visited it briefly. But this time it loomed somehow in importance. I met the librarian at a conference in Atlanta in 1940. She talked of her library as though it was a living entity of vast importance. At my first sight of it, I saw that it was not just a place to store books, but a mart to display them attractively and alluringly. The books too were new and recent and not, as in the Negro library at Atlanta, largely the cast-off leavings of the white library. The Librarian believed in her Library passionately. She might have lived in her attractive home 23 miles away and kept house for her husband and little son. But the husband was wise, and realized her vision. So for a pittance she has worked ten years and more to build in a Southern city, a place where black folk can be led to the world's literature; and made to like it and even yearn for more.

THE STATE

This was not the end of this woman's vision; she wanted to plant

libraries for black folk in the state--in the South. The day before I made this visit, she had driven alone to World's End: to low, drear Elizabeth City, out by the sad and sullen sea, carrying books and words and inspiration, to make poor, ignorant colored people want libraries and start them and keep them. It was a hard, weary drive, done by car to escape the dirt and insult of the Jim-Crow car; and homing in the darkness so as to gather an audience for my brief talk next day.

All this has to be wheedled out of a stingy white State. What do "niggers" want of libraries? Why does this woman persist so tirelessly? She could easily get a better paying job -- indeed hardly a worse-paying one, would be offered her. She nags and persists. "Of course" say the white folks, uneasily, "we want to do, but you know how the South is! We can't ask public moneys for ~~Negroes~~ nigras. We ought to build a library building for this branch, which is easily the best in the city. We ought to carry on a real library campaign in the State for all folk, but -- well, you know!" We do. These people have neither vision nor guts. They are content to preen themselves on being better than South Carolina or Mississippi -- as though that was anything to boast of.

35-1-247

THE VISION

Still Mollie Huston Lee works on, holds "we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better" and puts her life into unflinching determination to build libraries for Negroes in North Carolina. We read of this sort of thing in novels. We get it smugly tossed into our faces in Sunday Schools and sermons. We are given to understand that young Negroes today are working to uplift their race! But where do we see them doing it? Who's sacrificing anything for anybody -- black or white? And when we burst out into paeans of praise for success, whom do we worship save money-grubbers, gamblers, or well-dressed fools?

Yet they are down there, struggling in the depths; as beautiful and well-dressed; as literate and articulate as the ruck of the multitude; but in addition, strong, brave, clear-sighted and untiring.

In April 24 March 1947

Winds of Time

By W.E.B. Du Bois

MORE JIM-CROW

The chief difficulty of race separation is the South is its uncertainty. A Negro goes South prepared to obey the law. But what is the Law? It changes in administration from place to place and from time to time. I have seen it in the last twenty-five years become less rigorous and often is completely ignored. In Louisiana especially, it cuts curious capers. For instance arriving in New Orleans three hours late on a comfortable Louisville and Nashville sleeper, I determined, in a moment of weakness, to take a Greyhound bus, -- may God forgive me! I entered, walked to the back and took the last reclining chair toward the window. The back cross-seat was filled with Negroes. The bus filled until there was only the one empty seat beside me. A white woman entered, but hesitated. Several Negroes entered and stood. The driver came back and asked me politely "Are you in the right seat," I answered "Yes". He returned to his seat and the woman sat down beside me. I did not bite her. Later she moved to the front. The Negroes continued to stand. Then a white man moved over and sat beside me, leaving two vacant seats; two colored girls moved into this seat and let down in front of them, a notice which had been concealed somewhere, saying "For Negroes". Then I awoke: the driver had asked me, as brown and curley as I am, if I was colored, and in my innocence I said in effect "I am white". Which taught me that in Louisiana you may often be what you say you are, regardless of color or race.

35-1-252

THE GREAT COLLEGES

But forgetting all this irritating but often laughable mess, the astonishing thing about the post-war South are the new Negro colleges; I do not refer to the better known private schools like Fisk, Atlanta, Talledega, and others. But to the great and little known State schools: West Virginia State, with its vast campus and 1200 college students. I can remember when it had two buildings and no library. North Carolina College at Durham, I knew when it was literally a hole in the ground. It has a thousand college students, large brick dormitories, gymnasium and library, laboratories

and a splendid auditorium. Florida State was given in the last 12 months over three million dollars for a set of new buildings and more than three hundred thousand dollars for annual maintenance. Southern University at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, spends a larger annual appropriation than Howard or Fisk or Atlanta and has 1800 college students.

These are the things I go South to see.

35-1-253

CHARLESTON

The great Southern cities are more than the conventional places mentioned in geographies and guide-books. Within the city which calls itself "white", is a second city of darker people; with a history more poignant, more fatal for the future than the other. I come back to Charleston repeatedly as to an old friend. I know something of its history and traditions -- of the cultural patterns of the Charlestonians of Negro descent. I know both St. Marks and St. Michaels, and the proud old families of free Negroes who can lie dead and yet talk like Congressman Tom Miller

"Not that I liked the white people less, but the Negroes needed me more"

His grandfather signed the Constitution of the United States for the State of South Carolina, while his grandson became Negro leader of the Negroes. The fighting spirit still survives: still Avery Institute survives as a high school; Susie Dart has establish her library and library service for the state; the Custom House is still run by a Negro, although he is rated as Deputy-Collector and not as Collector like Crum. And I sat by a wholesale fish market established in 1876 and run by the grandchildren of its founder.

I stood on the Battery and looked on Fort Sumter, which freed a nation, and on Fort Wayne lying low beside it where they buried Shaw "under his niggers".

1 April 1947

Winds of Time
by
W.E.B. Du Bois

President Truman's plea to arm Greece against Russia, is to my mind the most stupid and dangerous proposal ever made by the leader of a great modern nation. I am willing to continue to be taxed at the present excessive rate indefinitely, to feed the starving people of Europe. But I am not willing to spend a single cent to promote civil war in Greece, for the benefit of British Imperialism, or for the profit of the American oil millionaires. The charge that this step is to fight Communism and that Communism threatens civilization is false.

Of the basic things for which Communism fights, the majority are as Nehru has said exactly what every intelligent, broad-minded and unselfish thinker of the last century has demanded. They are

1. The abolition of Poverty
2. The wiping out of illiteracy
3. The carrying on of industry primarily for the benefit of consumers and not for private profit
4. Social control through the State of the great gifts of nature, instead of allowing them to be monopolized by private interests
5. The total abolition of unemployment.

"Yes", answer many persons, "we too want these things, but we can't get them!" Some declare, "the Poor will be always with you"; others say that "poverty may disappear but that it will take a thousand years". In addition to this, a tremendous propaganda is carried on in our monopolized press and news services, and by our bribed and bought columnists and broadcasters and even by paid college professors to prove that every attempt of the State to conduct industry is a miserable and dangerous failure; and this in the face of our postal service, our parcel posts, our Federal Banks and postal savings; our irrigation and flood control; our relief measures and fight against unemployment.

But this is not all: we now see an attempt to prove that any thought or effort to abolish poverty or break monopoly, or make unemployment impossible

or permit the State to conduct industry, is not only futile but part of a nasty criminal conspiracy: an "Attack on Civilization!" Not only do we fight introduction of such measures in America we are furious if any other country attempts them.

The same thing happened in the Abolition movement. Just as soon as a number of honest persons began to fight human slavery, than the bought press and the respectable leaders of society began to howl: the Abolitionists were liars and hypocrites; they wanted to arouse black beasts to murder white women and children; they believed in free love and miscegenation; they were atheists and enemies of religion. (If you doubt this, read Shirley Graham's magnificently written and fascinating story of Frederick Douglass "There was once a slave") Immediately all the respectable people rushed to deny any sympathy with these anarchists; rushed to prove that all slaves were contented and all free Negroes, lazy beasts. The Church abjured Abolition and proceeded to "Preach Christ Crucified". Abolitionists were denied places of power, driven out of good society, and Negroes were seized and sold into slavery without trial or jury.

35-7-255

So today: the leading minds of the world have advocated some form of Socialism for a century. Finally in the twentieth century when "Free enterprise" has well-nigh ruined civilization, Russia proposes a remedy and tries it on herself. You do not like it? Very well; then You try something better than a second and a third world war.

What does America now propose to abolish poverty and save the world from Communism? Nothing but four hundred million dollars to start another war.

If you don't like Communism, don't follow it; if Communists or Republicans or Presbyterians break our laws, punishment them; but punish them for law-breaking but not for thinking. Do not try to stop men from wanting a better world. And don't in God's name, get it into your fool head, that a man is necessarily a scoundrel, just because he sympathizes with Russia's effort for a new world, whether she fails or not.

April 8, 1947

WINDS OF TIME

All right, Mr. Rich White Man, you like this world. Improvements? Yes, but on the whole, you regard it as the best possible world. You like your luxurious home with all its gdgets; your servants want too much pay, but they are trained and deft; your neighborhood is the most aristocratic, provided you can keep out the Jews;the city services-- sewage, garbage collection, water, gas, electricity-- all are satisfactory; they better be or some one will lose their job. Your income is not bad: ten thousand, twenty-five thousand will get you by -- with food, clothes, luxuries, night-clubs, two new cars, a chauffeur, Palm Beach, orchester sears. Yes, you like this world and no Damn Communist is going to change it if you see him first.

35-1-25b

It is a world which you built , Mr. Rich Man and have ruled absolutely for two centuries. Recently it has cracked and sagged about your ears. But that is but temporary. Prosperity -- your Prosperity is just around the corner. You'll soon have things in hand again: cheap labor, unions smashed or at least curbed; servants cheap and cringing; Socialists in jail; Russian Communists-- God-damned Russian Communists, dead and in Hell.

No, Russians and Communists and Socialists and Niggers didnot cause this recent collapse of Civilization; you were in control-- complete control when two World Wars, a World depression, armies of insane, cripples and starved offended your fastidious taste. But you are going to chamge all that. You are preparing for bigger and better wars; you are making atomic bombs by the hundreds; you've got the biggest navy on earth and you'll have the biggest army as soon as you can sneak the legislation through Congress. Ask Taft. a stupid

You are going to have Democracy, by God, no matter what it costs: $400,000,000 worth of Democracy in Poland and Greece and Turkey; but not one cent's worth in Mississippi and Georgia. That's the ticket; let the Great Truman tell 'em! Down with Stalin. Up with Bilbo and Rankin. $400,000,000 for new wars and not one cent for education. Didn't the dirty Russians wipe out illiteracy in 30 years? Isn't that just like their underhanded duplicity? We've been pretending to educate Negroes for seventy-five years and a third of them still cant read and write. That's the way to keep the world in control.What's the need of reading anyway? What the rich want is better cooks; better and cheaper plumbers, carpenters like those of the good old days, when good mechanics worked ten hours a day for ten cents an hour.

Freedom, that's what we want; if this pauper wants towork for a scab's wge so as to bring other workers down to his starvation level and increase the income of the rich -- let him be free to do it; out with the closed shop. Let the closed shop only apply to banking, oil-refining, aluminninum pans(?), railroads, telephones, and other things which the rich we rightly control because they've got the guns, the police, the jails and the Press. Thank God, for our Free Press: free to lie, free to misrepresent, free to suppress the truth, free to kick the stupid world into war any time "we" want it.

Look at Russia? Has she got a Free Press? No, Sir! Her press is gagged with the silly idea of abolishing Poverty, curbing the rich-- curbing Me! Imagine that? Why in this free land, I can do anything I damn well please. I can buy a President. I'm going to in 1948. Watch me. Who am I? Why Iam a free white American with an income in five figures; if I'm not that, what the hell am I doing on earth anyhow?

35-1-257

1

25
8 April 1947

Winds of Time
by
W.E.B. Du Bois

All right, Mr. Rich White Man, you like this world. Improvements? Yes, but on the whole, you regard it as the best possible world. You like your luxurious home with all its gadgets; your servants want too much pay, but they are trained and deft; your neighborhood is the most aristocratic, provided you can keep out the Jews; the city services -- sewage, garbage collection, water, gas, electricity -- all are satisfactory; they better be or someone will lose their job. Your income is not bad: ten thousand, twenty-five thousand will get you by -- with food, clothes, luxuries, night-clubs, two new cars, a chauffeur, Palm Beach, orchestra seats. Yes, you like this world and no Damn Communist is going to change it if you see him first.

35-1-258

It is a world which you built, Mr. Rich Man and have ruled absolutely for two centuries. Recently it has cracked and sagged about your ears. But that is but temporary. Prosperity--your Prosperity is just around the corner. You'll soon have things in hand again: cheap labor, unions smashed or at least curbed; servants cheap and cringing; Socialists in jail; Russian Communists--God-damned Russian Communists, dead and in Hell.

No, Russians and Communists and Socialists and Niggers did not cause this recent collapse of Civilization; you were in control--complete control when two World Wars, a World depression, armies of insane, cripples and starved offended your fastidious taste. But you are going to change all that. You are preparing for bigger and better wars; you are making atomic bombs by the hundreds; you've got the biggest navy on earth and you'll have the biggest army as soon as you can sneak the legislation through a stupid Congress. Ask Taft.

You are going to have Democracy, by God, no matter what it costs: $400,000,000 worth of Democracy in Poland and Greece and Turkey; but not one cent's worth in Mississippi and Georgia. That's the ticket; let the

Great Truman tell 'em! Down with Stalin. Up with Bilbo and Rankin. $400,000,000 for new wars and not cent for education. Didn't the dirty Russians wipe out illiteracy in thirty years? Isn't that just like their underhanded duplicity? We've been pretending to educate Negroes for seventy-five years and a third of them still can't read and write. That's the way to keep the world in control. What's the need of reading anyway? What the rich want is better cooks; better and cheaper plumbers, carpenters like those of the good old days, when good mechanics worked ten hours a day for ten cents an hour. Freedom, that's what we want; if this pauper wants to work for a scab's wage so as to bring other workers down to his starvation equal and increase the income of the rich -- let him be free to do it; out with the closed shop. Let the closed shop only apply to banking, oil-refining, aluminum pans, railroads, telephones, and other things which the rich rightly control because they've got the guns, the police, the jails and the Press. Thank God, for our Free Press: free to lie, free to misrepresent, free to suppress the truth, free to kick the stupid world into war any time "we" want it.

35-1-259

Look at Russia? Has she got a Free Press? No, Sir! Her press is gagged with the silly idea of abolishing Poverty, curbing the rich -- curbing Me! Imagine that? Why in this free land, I can do anything I damn well pleace. I can buy a President. I'm going to in 1948. Watch me. Who am I? I am a free white American with an income in five figures; if I'm not that, what the hell am I doing on earth anyhow?

sent 24 April 1947

WINDS OF TIME

by
W. E. B. Du Bois

ROOSEVELT

The late President Roosevelt wrote April 18, 1925 from Warm Springs, Georgia as follows: "I suppose some of my Republican friends would call me a Socialist for asserting that the owner of land owes it to the community, and to that state, and to the nation, to use that land in the best possible way for humanity. It is fine talk and very soothing to think of the individual as complete master in his own home, at perfect liberty to do any old thing he wants with his own property. A man has the legal right to go to his bank, draw out his balance in paper money, go home and put it in the stove. If he does it, however, he is apt to land in the lunatic asylum. We have not yet reached the common-sense age which will, in like manner, send the farmer who burns off his wood lot to the home for incurables."

35-1-200

This is the line of thinking which every man with common sense has got to follow and this, too, in spite of the hue and cry and actual violence which assails anyone today who dares to oppose common American methods of business.

During the nineteenth century, we said that a man's property was his own; that he could run his business as he pleased and that the profits made from his business belonged to him; and that he had the right to spend that income in any way he wished.

Change

There are a good many people today who think that that is still gospel truth. They are wrong. They were wrong if they believed it in the nineteenth century because even then there were plenty of wise men who insisted that property is an invention of the state for the good of the individual; that the individual has the right to use it only as the community permits him; that with modern methods of work no one man alone does anything. Every piece of property, every piece of material that is grown or article that is manufactured is the result not simply of one man's work or thought or sacrifice, but of the combined efforts of large numbers of men, some of whom are already dead.

We have come, therefore, into a era where all over the world Socialism is prevailing; where the great mass of thinking people have come to realize that the control of work, property, profits and the income for the good of all the inhabitants of the state is a primary truth which no one can forget.

DISASTER

The disaster that has overtaken the world today is because we have tried to forget this; is because we have said that private initiative in business should be uncontrolled; that the government has no place in business; that "freedom" means freedom to use whatever a person has seized as his property, no matter what means he used to get it or what the basis of his claim to that property is. This has led to fantastic results. Who made the oil which is the center of the greatest monopoly in the United States? Who manufactured the coal which lies at the basis of American prosperity? Who grew the trees which we are wasting and devouring with senseless appetite? What right has the great telephone monopoly to exploit endlessly the genius of Alexander Graham Bell?

10 May 1947

Winds of Time

by

W.E.B. Du Bois

John Howard

Topping even Jackie Robinson in baseball, is John Howard of New York, the first Negro college graduate of Princeton University. A century ago there were one or two Negroes who got degrees from the Princeton Theological Seminary, but no Negro was ever graduated from the college.

35-1-264

I remember in course of an investigation which I made into the graduates of northern colleges in December, 1900, receiving the following reply from Princeton University:

"The question of the admission of Negro students to Princeton University has never assumed the aspect of a practical problem with us. We have never had any colored students here, though there is nothing in the University statutes to prevent their admission. It is possible, however, in view of our proximity to the South and the large number of southern students here, that Negro students would find Princeton less comfortable than some other institutions. But I may be wrong in this, as the trial has never been made. There is, as I say, nothing in the laws of the college to prevent their admission."

Princeton

The years later in 1910 I repeated my query and received an answer which was more terse: "Princeton University has never had graduates of Negro descent". Later in the forties, the question of Negroes in Princeton came to me again by the way of a private letter from a friend who had gone to live in the village of Princeton. He was a white man of prominence, and evidently there was talk at the time concerning the admission of Negroes. It was, of course, a bit awkward to have a great institution of learning with Einstein and Aydelotte, where a person could

not be admitted because of the color of ~~their~~ his face.

Then nothing more was heard until recently there came the news ~~that~~ of one or two freshmen of Negro descent being admitted to the college department of Princeton and now John Howard, a veteran of World War II, assigned to Princeton by the Navy as B-12 student, is getting his Bachelor's degree. Thus a saga ends.

In the days before the Civil War, Princeton was a mecca for Southern students. They shied away from Harvard, not because Harvard had so many colored students, but because of the New England atmosphere both there and at Yale. But at Princeton in New Jersey they were supreme.

35-1-265

The Civil War dealt it a crushing blow because it was practically a Southern university. Then for twenty years from 1868-88 came President James McCosh and from then on it developed under Patton and Woodrow Wilson, to be one of the leading American universities.

Northern universities

At first not only were Negroes practically refused admission to most American universities but there was astonishment when the abolitionists after the Civil War wanted colleges for Negroes in order to train teachers. When these colleges proved successful, Americans were astonished that Negroes went from southern colleges to northern institutions either as under-graduates or as graduate students. They are about to attack this now by instituting low-grade graduate departments in Negro colleges. But the result of this is going to be that these graduate departments gradually will become as good or better than the graduate schools of the white southern colleges and still Negroes will pour into Northern institutions. It is in their blood.

14 May 1947

Winds of Time

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

A SCIENTIST

In 1939, I published in the American Scholar an article on "The Negro scientist", criticising the color line in science and giving names and dates. A recent occurence brings me to repeat a part of that message:

35-1-266

In 1938, I was on a dining car when a little brown boy and his mother stopped at my table. She said that she wanted him to meet a man who had known his grandfather. This little boy in an intelligence test in Cincinnati, had scored an I.Q. of 170, one of the highest in the city. His grandfather was Charles H. Turner.

Turner married a daughter of a well-known colored Troy family of Ohio and Darwin Turner was their son. Darwin Turner, Jr., a grandson was the little boy whom I met. I recall his grandfather, because Charles Turner represented to me a tragedy in science. He was a born student; his face brown, with close-curled hair, excessively shy and ill-dressed.

CHARLES TURNER

He graduated from the University of Cincinnati in 1891 and became assistant in the department of biology. There he began his study of insects. His chief was called to the new University of Chicago, when it was organized in 1892, and invited Turner to be his assistant. Then the chief suddenly died. No one at Cincinnati or Chicago wanted a colored assistant.

Turner became teacher in a small Methodist school, Clark University in South Atlanta, where I met and knew him. He received inadequate pay, a heavy teaching load, no laboratories and few books, and poorly trained college students. Nevertheless between 1908-1933, he published nine studies of insect behavior which brought him notice and attention among

scientists both in America and in Europe.

He then went to the Sumner High School in Saint Louis. There he died of overwork, without any chance further to pursue his great scientific work.

A YOUNG GRADUATE

I forgot about him until I met this grandson, and then forgot again until recently when the Negro papers hailed the fact that Darwin Turner of Cincinnati at the age of fifteen had been made a member of Phi Beta Kappa at the University of Cincinnati and graduated with highest honors. Perhaps this illustrates the aphorism that "a day unto the Lord is as a thousand years and a thousand years as yesterday". Here is the fourth generation of an Ohio family; the father was a pharmacist, the mother a school-teacher. One uncle was a member of the Niagara Movement and helped the fight in days past.

35-1-267

GENIUS AND ABILITY

Of course the story is not closed. Graduation from college even with a brillant record does not settle anything. But it does show what presistence can accomplish and what ability the American Negro is losing, just because there are so many more poor people among us than rich. There must be among the poor larger numbers of children of talent and even genius than among the well-to-do but they are lost. They are either unrecognized or the teacher who finds them in school passes them by. What is the use? Think how much it would cost to educate a child of that sort. His parents can do nothing for him, why should we try?

PHILANTHROPY

I remember one time that we had at Atlanta University a phenomenal soprano voice. When a northern philanthropist asked me what he could do for the Negro race, I asked him to educate that voice. He took it under consideration and consulted friends. I know what they told him; that was before Marian Anderson ar Dorothy Mayner. The result was he thought that

he would better help carpenters and cooks. That magnificient voice was lost. This kind of thing has been repeated time after time, we ought to have among us an organization which instead of parading around our cities in red uniforms, would go through the colored schools of the United States and pick out children who deserve higher education.

35-1-268

Sent 21 Jan 1947

Winds of Time

by

W.E.B. Du Bois

LYING TO REMEMBER

I used to know Bishop Henry M. Turner and liked his bluff and hearty ways. There is a legend that when a perfect stranger would greet the Bishop with "Do you remember me, Bishop?" the Bishop would growl "Of course I remember you -- what's your name?" He was so convincing that the man would rush home crying, "Bishop remembered me!" One had to admire such convincing histrionics but it has always been useless for me to attempt to imitate. That awful New England penchant for blurting out the truth, especially when it was unpalatable, always rushes to my tongue and in a perfect agony of apprehension I find myself time after time looking blankly into some eager face and saying miserably but honestly "No, I do not remember you!" And then I stand and take my punishment, which believe me is usually ruthless.

35-1-261

AFTER 45 YEARS

I went a-lecturing not long since to a medium sized city. Once nearly a half-century ago I had lived there; but for decades my visits there have been short and rare and many good friends are there whom I have not met to know in long years. I was sitting quietly in the lecture room passing that purgatorial fifteen minutes which precedes a lecture. To add to my discomfort it was raining cats and dogs outside, just as the audience was due to arrive; and to put the final capstone on, all the electric lights in that part of the city chose this minute to go out. At this moment in dim candle-light when I was feeling exactly like a very wet rag -- lo!. IT came again; a pleasant voice said liltingly: "How do you do, Dr. Du Bois, do you know me?" I felt myself shrinking inside with apprehension. I knew what I ought to say to keep the peace. But if I lied nobly and said "Yes, of course", then what in God's name should I say next? For honestly the woman looked like no one I had ever seen on this earth or better

she looked exactly like a thousand other women. I might have stalled, I suppose with "Why, er-- you look familiar" etc., etc. But I did nothing of the sort. I just couldn't. I knew I was putting my foot straight into it, but I heard myself saying as usual with all that damned bluntness: "No, I don't", which was God's truth.

CHEERFUL PERSISTANCE

Any human being with bowels of mercy would have sensed my evident embarassment, flown to my rescue in sympathizing pity, and said gayly "Why I'm Mary Smith" or "Sarah Jones", and I am sure I would have answered with vast relief "O YES!", unless, heaven help, I had forgotten all Smiths and Joneses, and felt compelled to say so. Not even that possible escape was vouchsafed me. The lady was firm and raised her voice to the great interest of all auditors who were quite unengaged at the moment; "Look at me" she said "Of course you know me". Wooden without, I literally squirmed inside. I would have surrendered my poor purse to have said triumphantly "Clementine!" or something equally convincing. But at the moment and under the circumstances I doubt if I would have recognized my own grandmother and I heard myself murmuring, "I'm sorry, but--

"But you are not looking -- look at me --" Then I began to lose my none too even temper:"Don't be silly" I snapped and she yelled back "Why I am" etc., etc. "But, Good Lord" I gasped I haven't seen you in forty years!" "You have too, you saw me five years ago" she retorted witheringly and flew. Of course it would turn out that I had known this woman of seventy while she was in her twenties; had greatly admired her family which had rendered unforgettable service to my people. Why should she think I would deliberately ignore this to stage a cheap stunt of false forgetting? Time had taken toll of her as of me; but my name was on the programme.

AN HUMBLE PRAYER

Why, why, in heaven's name, when you meet a man who in the last three months has travelled ten thousand miles and greeted at least an equal number of people; and has been doing something like that for a half century,

can't you have the sheer mercy to say "I'm John Frog from Hell" and I will be so desperately thankful that even if I again forget your name, I'll never forget you kindness, nor your native city.

35-1-263

Winds of Time 28 May 1947

by

W.E.B. Du Bois

35-1-269

WILBERFORCE COLLEGE

A report of the Board of Examiners of the North Central Association of Colleges on the condition of Wilberforce University is illuminating. It points out that there are two governing boards of Wilberforce University: the college of liberal arts controlled by the trustees of Wilberforce University and the college of education and industrial arts controlled by a State of Ohio board of trustees.

Of the first board the report says that because of the short term of Board members, the lack of overlapping of membership, the lack of occupational spread in membership (twenty out of twenty-two are ministers), the fact that at least one board member is on the salaried staff and another receives regular pay for "entertainment", and the lack of clearcut allocation of power and responsibility by the board to the President of the University, the institution ranks close to zero under the heading of "General Control".

WILBERFORCE STATE

The second board consist of nine trustees, six appointed by the Governor and three chosen by the University Board of Trustees. This Board rates decidedly higher than the Board of Trustees of Wilberforce. However, since the institution must be scored as a unit it was placed in the lowest ten per cent of colleges and universities in the North Central Association.

BOTH BOARDS

The Examiners complained of the overlapping of function in the two boards, of by-passing the power of the president in the appointing of certain offices and of general confusion in control. They especially condemn the waste of money involved in the maintenance of two separate and distinct business departments, with different fiscal years and different systems of auditing. The examiners estimate that "the annual

waste is more than the salary of the President of the University and that of a highly capable superintendent of buildings and grounds."

SUPPORT

Leaving aside student fees it appears that the A.M.E. Church is contributing less than one-eighth of the total amount available for current expenses of the University. The other seven-eighths and more comes from funds furnished by the State of Ohio. The expenditure of 56.4 per cent of current funds for administration and plant operation and maintenance raises serious questions. The allocation of only 44.6 per cent of all educational and general expenditures to instructional purposes represents far too little emphasis on the main purpose of a University.

35-1-270

THE FUTURE

Wilberforce as a result of this report has lost her accredition as a college. A bill before the legislature of Ohio is aimed to correct some of these difficulties. It gives the Governor the right to appoint eight of the nine members of the State Trustees. It refuses professorships or positions in the college to relatives of trustees by blood or marriage and gives to this board exclusive authority or control over the operation of the state college. It makes the president elective by this board, the chief executive officer of the college and fixes his compensation together with the right of removal.

4 June 1947

Winds of Time

by

W.E.B. Du Bois

DOWN SOUTH

I have been South again. This time to Arkansas speaking at the Dunbar Junior College in Little Rock and at the State Normal and Mechanical College at Pine Bluff. I am impressed always with the ~~eager~~ number of eager children in our schools; with the crowding of the schools; with the necessity of more funds and more individual attention. But perhaps more than ever before I seem to have felt in this visit the internal striving and upheaval of the South among both black and white. It is so easy to prejudge the whole thing and come to swift, and therefore inaccurate, conclusions. There are so many things happening: the release of those twenty-eight lynchers in South Carolina and the escape of an intended victim and arrest of the kidnappers in North Carolina. One sees the two sides, ~~of that~~. Never before have we had so elaborate and determined attempt to punish lynchers. A judge who really tried to do justice and then the very fact of the acquittal showed the lagging civilization of the South. Twelve men "good and true" knew that they were releasing murderers.

LITTLE ROCK

To turn back to Little Rock where I recently was. There is the story of the teachers fighting for equal wage. They got it eventually after long fighting. But they got it because one man, a principal, after he had testified carefully and temperately was so incensed at the continued insistence of the school officials that the Negro teachers were not as good and as well-prepared as the white teachers, that he asked to go back on the stand. And they say that he told those white members of the Board of Education facts which they have never forgotten. What happened? The wages were equalized, but he lost his job. He is teaching now on meagre salary in the North.

Or in the case of policemen: they tried as in so many Southern cities to keep Negroes off the police force until a large number of black soldiers came to the city. The army compelled Little Rock to appoint eight Negro policemen. They have kept them since but with singular Southern prejudice, these members of the police force are not members of the regular police civil service.

35-1-272

EDUCATION

I rode with a young man who is assistant superintendent of schools in Arkansas in charge of colored schools. He sees the difficulties of the country school. It was his white superior officer who pointed out that in notorious Crittenden County, white children received over a hundred dollars a year for the expenses of their schooling and the Negro children, forming the majority of children in the county, received a average of six dollars. But this young superintendent instead of ignoring the fact, told the people of Crittenden to their faces what was happening, and what must be done. It hasn't been done yet, but the facts are no longer hidden.

Especially was I aroused by stories of handicapped children. Here was a boy totally deaf; here was a bright girl with spinal injury; [redacted] others were retarded children. There is no place in Arkansas to send such handicapped children. They can only be put in public schools, to be a burden upon the teachers and a difficulty for their fellows; and yet the school carries them and does what it can. The state has as yet done nothing.

All this is complicated and contradictory and uncivilized and yet the forces of civilization are trying. They do know the things that ought to be done; they do try to do something about it.

Winds of Time 12 June 1947

by

W.E.B. Du Bois

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

I have just been in Washington where a prominent government official talked to representatives of important public opinion in the United States concerning Czechoslovakia. He said among other things that this state could easily restore its economy if it would begin again to manufacture crystal glass, fine te tiles and high class shoes. It has the skills for producing these things. But he said, instead of doing this, they were in the orbit of Russian influence and are producing ordinary glass tumblers for eastern Europe.

A woman asked rather timidly,"but the Russians can pay for the glass, can't they?" "Oh yes," said the official, "but the Czechs could make a great deal more money if they manufactured for the luxury demand of western Europe and America." No one else said anything and the subject was dropped.

ECONOMIC ILLITERACY

I cannot conceive a more vivid example of either economic illiteracy or deliberate misleading of public opinion. What this official really said was: "It makes no difference to the world what kind of work is done or what human needs are satisfied, so long as the work is profitable to somebody." It is this myth that is ruining the economic structure of the world. It makes all the difference on earth what men work for and whose wants are satisfied. That the starving and sick Negroes of Africa should work for diamonds and gold to decorate the ears and limbs of the idle rich and furnish luxury articles for those who imitate them, spells ~~the~~ damnation to the black race in the modern world. If those millions of men were working to satisfy their own basic needs, for food and shelter and education; if the people of Czechoslovakia work not to deck the tables and backs and feet of well-to-do,

but to supply the basic needs of the poverty-stricken Balkan countries, that would spell the difference between human progress and human degradation.

MASS PRODUCTION

One of the great things which America has discovered in economic organization is Mass production. That is, production on a large scale to satisfy the needs of the majority of people. Because of the number of articles produced, they can be made cheaper by new processes of manufacture; new application of natural forces. And because of the wide market for the product, they can be sold at small profit per unit to almost limitless number of men. It was the ruin of eighteenth century France that she produced exquisite articles for the aristocracy and the rich, and almost nothing for the peasantry.

35-274

In the case of America, the only hindrance to complete and lasting prosperity is payment of sufficient wages to the people who wish them and want to buy goods. This will come with a re-distribution of economic power. It is this thing that eastern Europe is trying to do; and Czechoslovakia is turning her economy from luxury goods to goods which the masses need. It is one of the finest outcomes of the war; yet here is official Washington guiding public opinion to believe that Czechoslovakia and the world is going to lose because she does not return to her luxury manufacture and luxury trade.

WHY WEALTH

What most people do not understand is why it is that some people apparently have so much money that they can easily supply their own necessities and then have enough left to supply themselves with luxuries, with ornaments, with whimiscal gew-gaws. While other people and indeed most people have to work their fingers to the bone in order to get necessary food; pay the rent; buy clothes that cover their nakedness and give their children the beginnings of education. The world has long assumed that this difference in power between the rich and the poor measures the difference in service to the public good; difference in accomplishment; in ability and in desert. And we have only to look around us to see that this wretchedly untrue.

The real difficulty comes in that the distribution of the result of the work of the world, is carried out today by chance, power and legal fiction, and not by rational thought and real desert. Herein lies the basis and beginning of all true reform.

18 June 1947

Wings of Time

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

Intelligence

The American people have a reputation for having unusual intelligence. Many of the inhabitants of the world look toward America with a sort of envy, hearing of her schools and colleges and her general knowledge and wisdom. But we who live in the United States know that the people here, in some respects, are among the most stupid in the world.

Floods

Nothing illustrates this better than the flood situation which is again calling the attention of the whole nation and of the world. Have you ever seen the Mississippi, the Missouri and Ohio? Great sprawling masses of muddy water sluggishly flowing from the extreme north to the extreme south, carrying away in their filthy bosom the best and most fertile soil of the nation and dumping it in to the gulf so as to obstruct shipping and transportation? This has been going on for decades and for centuries; it is still going on. In addition to this in the late winter and early spring when the snow melts the waters rise. They spread far out over the land so that one looks down upon vast lakes of mud and refuse. They overflow and destroy the crops; they ruin the homes; they drive the people out and kill them by the hundreds; they destroy the trees and make just holes. They make life on or near the river banks so uncertain that communities become festering slums where a few people living far beyond normal standards of life perch for a while between floods in the midst of disease and malaria. Flood Control If this were a new thing; if this were something unusual and unheard of; we could perhaps regain our sense of decency and knowledge. But this has been happening since the beginning of time, and certainly has recurred successively from the beginning of the United States. What do we do about it? We raise little mounds of mud to keep the water in its path

so that when it gets down by New O rleans one looks up to the river rather than down into it. We know perfectly well that this mud is going to float away and melt ~~before~~ with the next flood. Nevertheless we appropiate now and then a few millions to make work for people who ~~can~~ could do much more important things and few people suggest that there is any remedy for this state of affairs. Yet there is a remedy which all intelligent people know. We know that the floods of these rivers could be held back by dams; could be restrained into reservoirs so as to furnish irrigation for the desert, water for power, cheap electricity for homes, all over the land. We could have a transformation of life and consequent raising of wages and standards of living if we wanted it; if we had sense enough to realize what has been done in the Tennessee Valley.

35-1-276

¶ Not only do we do nothing about this; but the great Republican Party and its allies among the Democrats cut down the appropation for the Tennessee Valley and refused to make appropiations for the Missouri and the Mississippi. Yet as I say we call ourselves intelligent; we are looked upon as leaders of civilization. We are doing this because it is denominated free enterprise; we want to make certain persons who can monopolize and sell land and power rich beyond the dreams of avarice. ~~based upon what we call free enterprise.~~ ¶ What is this enterprise? Free Enterprise It is the enterprise of doing nothing when we know exactly what ought to be done. It is freedom to take from the poor that which will make them more poverty-stricken and to add to the rich that which they do not need and cannot use. Once in a flash of knowledge and burst of indignation we rose up and struck the power trust between the eyes; we ~~made~~ stopped the super-trust of profit makers who ~~are~~ were trying to monopolize public power of water and electricity and ~~who threw~~ drove its chief protagonist to his death. Then we went to sleep again; we forgot all about the power trust. But they did not forget because the prizes were too great and too vast and they are working overtime in the muddy floods of the West today.

25 June 1947

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

33-1-247

The Atom Bomb

There is a wide misunderstanding concerning atomic energy. Most persons regard it primarily as a new weapom of death and destruction. This is as false as it would be to think of electricity as primarily a force to electrocute murderers. That, to be sure, is a way of using the electric current, but the least important and beneficent of its wide uses for mankind. The great and primary use of electricity is for heat and light, power and energy, telephone and radio, and a thousand other helps to higher standards of living and broader life. So atomic energy is the discovery of one of the greatest sources of power and well-being man has ever known. It is incidental and accidental that its first discovery came through war and its first use was to kill thousands of men, women and children who were taking no part in war.

Atomic Energy.

If the men of science in the world were free to develop this amazing discovery of a new and inexhaustible source of power, we might in our day revolutionize human life on earth. We have at hand universal source of power which can easily supersede coal, steam, water-power and most other sources of energy now in use, and at a cost below anything dreamed of, since manufactured power began to replace the brute toil of human muscles. The world is face to face with a miracle which can replace human effort and raise the standard of living among men to a height of which we have seldom dared to dream. All the vast cost of transportation of goods, running of automobiles, giving power to factories farms and homes; digging in the earth, exploring the seas---all this and a thousand

35-1-278

Atomic Energy.

other matters could be cheaply, cleanly and quickly done, at the cost of one day of world war. We need no longer have dirty, dangerous mines; noisy factories, child-labor instead of schools, brutish toil instead of leisure for music and art. We could in our day have universal medical service and hospitalization and security for old age and misfortune. In other words the power and energy which now enslaves us could be cut to less than half its present cost if we developed atomic energy.

War.

Instead of this, we are talking of atomic energy as though its only use was murder. That it can be used for distruction on hitherto unheard of scale, Hiroshima has proven. What then should mankind do? Outlaw the use of atomic energy for bombs. Do that and do it now and first. This is what Russia has proposed a year ago and is still proposing. To this the United States has answered, through Big Business Man Baruch: We have the Atomic Bomb and we are going to keep it and continue to manufacture it, until in our judgment a proper world-wide inspection system has been established, to whose activities no nation can interpose a veto. Then and not until then, will we stop manufacturing bombs and share our knowledge of atomic energy. Such a demand is fantastic; it asks the world to trust us while we remain suspicious and distrustful of all mankind; and in the meantime we hold the threat of ultimate and awful war over the world. To strengthen this, we want to conscript and draft youth t is land over for this ultimate war.

Big Business

What is the real reason back of this campaign for ultimate and continous war? It is the fear of Big Business, that atomic energy,

Big Business

if developed, will interfere with present profits and investments and break the hold of industrial monoply on the world of industry. Technique is being deliberately retarded, as has often been the case in the past, in order to keep down the worker and prevent his ability through high wage and union activity to control the democratic processes of this and other lands. The whole attention of men is being diverted from atomic energy as a remedy for poverty, to its use as a weapon for war. Every discussion of the matter from the President to Lilienthal, from Compton and most of the college presidents, persists in jumbling together and making no distinction between atomic energy and the atomic bomb. America, who first made and used the bomb and who alone is manufaturing it is trying to make the world believe that Russia is the culprit. We, who want to retard the development of atomic energy until Big Business can monopolize it, are the guilty parties before the intelligence of the world.

35-1-279

3 July 1947

WINDS OF TIME
by

W. E. B. Du Bois

POVERTY IS UNNECESSARY. Most intelligent people today, even in the most civilized parts of the earth believe that it is normal and necessary that most human beings should not have enough to eat and wear and insufficient shelter; and that because of this inevitable poverty most human beings must be ignorant, diseased and to a large extent criminal. The persons who believe this mythical witchcraft are ignorant of the plain teaching of science and industrial technique especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They still think and act in accord with the beliefs of primitive ages, when scarcity of food, difficulties of technique, ignorance of natural forces, made the world a desperate fight between human beings for survival, in which murder, war, cheating and stealing were the only paths to survival for most of the human species. Despite the fact that we have moved far beyond such a situation, we still talk and think and act as though war was inevitable, early death by disease natural, crime congenital, and lack of food and housing normal.

WASTE Yet we know better or could know bet er if we would use the brains with which even the most stupid are endowed. To be specific, we know that the present floods in the Missouri and Mississippi valleys are due simply to carelessness and greed: we could dam these waters, store them in reservoirs, and use them for cheap irrigation and power production for a cost not one-tenth as great as the annual toll of dead farmers, lost crops and property; and ruined rich soil which is annually taken from corn and wheat fields and deposited in the gulf of Mexico to obstruct shipping. We know that annually ten times as many persons die of tuberculosis, cancer and heart disease,

as need to if we would apply our present medical knowledge: and that the lost value of their work would pay to society five times as much as our present medical care sosts us. We know that the money which we refuse for schools and teachers, does not amount to a tenth of what we are compelled to pay for police, jails, courts and insane asylums, to take wretched care of the crime of ignorant young people who we neglect as children, leave in ignorance during youth and imprison and hang before they are thirty. If we were really trying to relieve the wants of men, we would not have to destroy potatoes, burn corn, let food rot in warehouses or prevent men from buying wool from areas where w wool can be raised cheapest and best. In a land like this where most of our land surface is empty unused space, and where wood, iron and coal are more plentiful than anywhere else on earth, it is simply a monument to our stupidity that we should have and continue to have a housing shortage.

35-1-281

THE NEW TECHNIQUE To turn from the specific to the general: We tax poor much more heavily than the rich; we can make endless masses of goods but we refuse to pay workers enough to buy them; we have unlimited natural power in water, electricity, steam and gas, and yet by monopoly and legal restrictions, we make the cost of these free gifts of nature so high that most men cannot reap the advantage of their use. Today on the threshold of the vastest gift of natural power production of which man ever dreamed, we refuse to develop Atomic Energy and talk wildly of bombs for murder in order to save the invested capital of corporations who fear competition.

In fine, while it was true a thousand years ago, that human toil and energy was unable to feed, clothe and shelter all mankind, this has not been the case since the beginning of the nineteenth century; and today, with what we know of natural forces; with the land and labor at our disposal, with the known technique of processing materials and

transport of goods, there is no adquate reason why a single human being on earth should not have sufficient food, clothing and shelter for healthy life.

9 July 1947

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

At San Francisco

When I was in San Francisco at the meeting of the United Nations Organization I was anxious to have a statement concerning colonies adopted. After a great deal of difficulty such a statement was made in the well-known Section 73 of the Charter. However, this was in part contradicted by the stern affirmation in the earlier part of the charter that there must be no interference in the internal affairs of the United Nations.

Before Section 73 had been adopted, I had written out a statement which I showed to Judge Proskauer of Philadelphia, leader of one of the organizations fighting for the rights of Jews. Mr. Proskauer assented to the validity of the statement, but when finally the consultants petitioned that something be done concerning minority rights the statement was ignored, which I regard as so great a mistake that I venture to print it again.

A Statement on Race and Colonies

The main groups of mankind, commonly called races, are essentially equal in capability of progress and deserve equality of treatment, opportunity and respect.

In the eye of both science and religion, all men are brothers, with rights to freedom of thought, belief and expression; freedom of domicile, movement and communication; justice before the courts and equal civil, economic, political and social rights. The first duty of civilization is to see to it that no human being is deprived of these rights because of poverty, disease or ignorance.

The colonial system of government, however deeply rooted in history and custom, is today undemocratic, socially dangerous and a main cause of wars. The United Nations recognizing democracy as the only just way of life for all people make it a first statute of international law that at the earliest practical moment no nation nor group shall be deprived of effective voice in its own government. An international colonial commission on which colonial peoples shall have representation should have power to investigate the facts and implement this declaration under the Security Council.

35-1-283

The N A A C P

This statement I am still sure is much stronger and more to the point than even Section 73 of the United Nations' Charter. Moreover it does not dodge behind the problem of the internal affairs of each State. As I have said it was not adopted; it still remains merely a statement, but it is a statement worth studying and worth learning in order that one may be sure of the scientific bases of the demands for the abolition of colonies in the modern world. For this reason, at the thirty-eight annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, I sought further, to carry out this idea, by laying down and defending these propositions, as follows: (I) Poverty is unnessary. (2) Colonies and quasi-colonial regions are the most poverty-stricken portions of the earth and most human bei gs live in them. (3) Socialism is an at ack on poverty. (4) The United Nations is the greatest hope of abolishing colonialism and thus abolishing poverty throughout the world.

1947 Colonialism and Race (?)

A STATEMENT

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35-1-86

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35-1-87

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16 July 1947

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

The Atlanta Negro library [April 5?]

In my column for April 15, 1947, I critized Negro library facilities in Atlanta. A few days later the colored librarian of the Auburn Branch wrote me complaining and said. "Many of your fellow workers, students, friends and acquaintances wonder why you made such a statement, and have called or talked with me concerning it. Of course I think I know the answer."

In case the known answer should be inadequate, here are facts concerning the Negro library service in Atlanta. ~~You~~ Remember that Atlanta has a population of three hundred thousand of which a third is colored. The total appropiation for the library department of Atlanta, 1947, is $268,215. Of this there was appropriated for Negro library service in salaries, books and binding $13, 886. Also something was given to the Negroes for "heating, lighting, shelving, furniture and equipment, repairs, operating supplies, etc." But these items were thoughtfully not broken down as to race in the printed report. If we assume that as much was appropriated to the Negroes for these as was appropriated for salaries and bo ks, which was unlikely, nevertheless even then Negroes received not more than one-tenth as much as was appropriated for the whites. At the beginning of the year 1945-46, the white high schools had 83,000 volumes, the colored high schools twelve thousand. During the year the white high schools received $6,000 while the colored high schools received $1,600 for new books; the total expenditures for the libraries in the white high schools amounted to $10,000 while the colored high school

received $2,000. Four hundred and fifty thousand students used the white high school libraries and two hundred and seven thousand the colored school libraries.

What a Librarian Says

In addition to this, a trained librarian made a personal visit to the colored libraries of Atlanta in 1947. He writes me as follows: "You are right as right can be. The colored public library is dead, oh, so dead! I looked at the collection thoroughly and I agree with everything you say. I pulled out book after book and most of them had not circulated for twenty years. Imagine a library with such books! There were sets and sets of old books which no one would ever use. I thought that I was going into a tomb."

35-1-285

The Librarian

I am not blaming the colored librarian for this discrimination. I know that under the circumstances, she is doing the best she can, with inadequate facilities. But she must not excuse the city of Atlanta. As my dead friend, Henry Hunt, used to say "I can keep still in seven different languages!" So the Negro librarian of Atlanta is not compelled to rush into print in order to defend something which is indefensible.

From the past I remember the opening of the first public library in Atlanta, the dedication of the building where the bust of Andrew Carnegie is set in front between Shakespeare and Dante! I remember being one of a committee which went to the trustees of the library. We did not bite our tongues. I was the spokesman. I asked that colored citizens and tax payers of Atlanta have every right that white citizens and tax payers had. The board angrily refused and for more than ten years Negroes had no library facilities at all. Then a branch "colored" library was established; today a second and perhaps a third branch are contemplated; but even with this, the discrimination against Negro citizens of Atlanta in Library facilities is nothing less than contemptible.

23 July 1947

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

35-1-286

Economic Illiteracy

Every once in a while, some American of intelligence and even of prominence comes forward with a statement which reveals how tragic is our ignorance of the present economic organization of the world. This time it is the President of the United States, Harry Truman, who speaking at the home of Thomas Jefferson in Virginia has said; "Certain nations today are withholding their support of reconstruction plans on the ground that this would mean interference by some nations in the internal affairs of others. This is as fallacious as the refusal of a man to enter a profitable business partnership on the ground that it would involve interference in his private affairs."

Private Property

It does not occur to President Truman that it would be logical for a man to refuse to enter a "profitable"business partnership; or that such partnership would involve any "interference with his private affairs" to which he could possibly object. Yet the revolution which is sweeping the modern world turns precisely upon the fact that intelligent human beings today are refusing to enter "profitable" business partnerships because such partnerships today are "interfering" not only with the private affairs of individuals but with the public affairs of nations and groups of nations. What is a "profitable" business? It is an organization of work and wealth which brings profit to somebody and the only criterion of its success is the amount of profit which it brings. In addition to "profit" it may bring to thousands and even millions of men, poverty, disease, ignorance and

crime. But the success of the enterprise is judged not by these misfortunes, but by its profit. Moreover, men like President Truman do not ask where the profit goes, and why they are willing to let it go to any person who has the power to seize it; and goes not in accordance with any rule of ethics or of justice.

Nowhere has this been proven more completely than right here in the United States. Fritz Sternberg writes in The Nation of June 28th that in 1913, Europe accounted for 53 per cent of world production. In 1938 the holdings of the 250 largest manufacturing corporations in the United States, 31 are controlled by 5 financial groups, for the most part, the traditional giants of American industry.

35-1-287

Our Imperial Rulers

"If these industrial giants finally acquire the plants on which they have purchased options, their holdings will come to $38,500,000,000, or 66.5 per cent of total usable facilities in America." Today these 250 corporations control two-thirds of American industry. Today with European industry hampered by lack of material, plant, and buying power and by the destruction of war, the 250 American giants can produce as much as the rest of world industry wit in and outside of the United States.

This is the concentration of industrial and economic power which is today ruling the United States. Without its consent no law can be passed or if passed enforced. If there is any nation in the world which is not afraid of the ultimate imperial power of such an organization of individuals, then that nation lacks ordinary common sense.

30th July 1947

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

35-1-268

Marshall Plan

What is the Marshall Plan? I doubt if one American in a hundred has any clear idea. The usual way of stating it is Europe "needs dollars". This is, of course, nonsense. What Europe needs is coal, iron, steel, machines, automobiles, tools; and especially food like wheat and potatoes, and fibers like cotton. Now it happens that in most of these things we have not only plenty but a surplus; and so far as machines and tools are concerned, we have a productive organization geared to make an even larger amount than we are now making. Moreover, unless we can sell the things that we are making and raise our output for the things that we are prepared to make, we shall have to cut down our industrial organization, discharge employees, and slip into the well-known and often repeated industrial crisis.

Foreign Trade

Now in order to sell our goods, we must buy the goods of foreign nations. There is no international money; all international trade is barter, exchange of goods for goods. The question is then what has Europe for which we could trade our goods? We can get from Europe, either directly or through their trade with other lands, furs, tobacco, wool, diamonds and precious stones, tea, coffee, and cocoa, fish, wines and liquors, vegetable oil, metals like tin and copper, chemicals, cloth, clocks and watches. There are many more things which Europe used to sell, but which on account of war destruction they are not able to manufacture today. In view of the fact that sometime she will be able to manufacture a host of other

things which the United States wants, Europe can give us in return for present goods her promises for future payments, with interest to pay for the delay. Here then is a chance for a good economic bargain. It is no matter of philanthropy; we need to sell to Europe, just as much as she needs to buy from us.

35-1-289

Prices

But in bargaining, there is of course, the question of the rate of exchange: how many fur-pelts or diamonds or watches will sell for how much wheat, steel, or automobiles? There is nor can be no absolute scientific rate of exchange. Basically things ought to exchange roughly in accordance with the amount of labor it takes to get them. In reality they sell for what their scarcity compels people to offer. Now it happens that the scarcity in Europe for food, clothing and tools, is so tragically intense, that the United States can put almost any price upon her exports which she wants to; and the prices of goods in the United States are already at fantastic heights; yet coal which sells for $9.00 a ton here in the United States can be sold for $20.00 in Europe. The United States therefore has the whip-hand. This explains what has happened in the case of the vast sum of money we loaned England. United States prices have gone up so, that this sum cannot today purchase half what it could have purchased when the loan was made. In this way and in others private interests in the United States have been making profit beyond the dreams of avarice, and driving financial bargains which promise fabulous profits to the future.

Taxing Americans

Moreover organized industry is making profit not simply from the goods sold Europe but principally from goods sold in the United States.

And if goods raised or made in the United States, can be furnished us cheaper by European countries, then the industrial barons of our country demands that either these goods be excluded or that the consumer here be taxed so as to maintain their profits at the former or even higher level. Anyone can see that all this is pointing straight towards disaster.

Says Mr. Marshall

Here comes then the Marshall Plan which promises nothing; but simply says to European countries: "What kind of goods can you raise or make for export?" And when we know "perhaps we can arrange to buy them." To which Russia naturally answers: "On what terms are you going to buy? And when this bargain is struck, who will control buying and prices?" The United States and Great Britian reply that is nobody's business, and they proceed to sit down and talk, with Russia absent. Now we must await the pay off; if the profiteers of the United States are determined, just as they were after the First World War, to bleed Europe and the world for the last cent of profit, they are heading for the same disaster which we met in 1929 and the ensuing decade. If, on the other hand, they are going to see how cheaply they can sell American goods for the goods and promises-to-pay of Europe, then there is light in the world.

35-1-290

6 August 1947

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

Preaching

This week I regret to say I feel called to preach. It is a bad habit which grows on one and is a sure sign of advancing years. But at times it is quite unavoidable. My text is "Gum". You know that stuff which America chews incessantly. This text was thrust upon me while I was sitting before the Lincoln Memorial awaiting the Presidential ukase. Mr. Truman had on a nice new suit and a distracting tie. But what I was really looking at was the audience. To me there is nothing so fascinating as a crowd of colored folk: the colors of skin and clothes, the carriage, the manners always thrill me. There is plenty to critisize, to laugh at, but in all it is an uplift and a satisfaction. I sat ignoring the sonorous "And I mean all Americans!" watching a slim teen-age girl! she was dark brown, velvet-skinned, with a smart hair-do, a well-fittin dress and sparklin eyes; and then I saw her mouth and I stiffened. Chewing with open mouth! My somewhat alarmed companion stared at me. I held myself firmly in hand and spoke with but a slight tremor in well-modulated voice: "I am willing to concede a point in the argument," I said. "It may at times be imperative for a certain type of human constitution, in reminiscence of past gastronomical joys, or in fervent anticipation of future meals, to exe cise her jaws vigorously in the manufacture of a flow of perpetual saliva by champing modified rubber. I admit for the sake of argument that, to a certain sort of human being this seems absolutely necessary. But I ask earnestly and in the name of High Heaven, is it--is it, also imperative that in this essentially

private rite, she should open her insides to the world and chew in public with her mouth stretched wide open? I am firmly of the opinion that if every gum-chewer could be suddenly faced by a mirror, revealing not only a hunk of worried rubber, but the teeth and tonsils protruding between slobbering lips, she (it is I regret to say usually SHE) would swear hereafter to chew gum with closed mouth as a mere matter of decent regard for the weak stomachs of their friends and astonished onlookers."

Gum In General

35-1-292

Having now relieved my spleen at this extreme case of an essentially filthy habit may I be permitted now to attack the basic matter of the habit of chewing when eating. I not only admit, but rush to declaim, the advisability of chewing when eating; a habit which many Americans with astonishing perversity refuse to adopt; imitating cows when eating and swallowing vast gobs hastily at meals, apparently with the intention of chewing later, which they often forget letting the unchewed morsel become stomach ulcers, etc. There was once a man named Fletcher, who make a fad and a good living by imploring Americans for their digestions sake, to chew as well as eat while eating.

But chewing without eating has been an American foible for generations--probably Freud would discover in the habit the subconscious endeavor of a nation to finish an unfinished job. For that reason perhaps Americans took up chewing tobacco;while hungry and dipping snuff flourished in the seventeenth century in elegant snuff-boxes which in part atoned for th nasty habit but finally degenerated into a handy stick of wood in the South. I can remember when no Pullman car was complete without a reeking spittoon in at least every other berth, and saloons were spitteons surrounded by liquor. I am aware that certain blood-relatives of mine in Africa and Asia, chew the betel nut

with astonishing vigor and persistence, and with results even worse than the tobacco and snuff habits of the Western World. This simply proves that such signs of degener tion are by no means racial but characteristic of morons in every age and land. A search in the ancient world would reveal what the Greeks and Romans chewed between meals and similar habits among Ethiopians and Chinese. Here is a place for scores of Ph.D. theses, with pointed morals a mile long.

Prospectus

35-1-293

I return to my mutton: in my mother's house there was no chewing of gum; in my primary grade Miss Cross would have unhesitatingly eaten raw any little wretch who had brought a wad of gum into the room. I remember no college mate who chewed anything less manly than tobacco, and was a bit ashamed of that. But today civilization is being disrupted by gum. It ruins chairs, clothes and carpets and disfigures faces; it promotes universal indigestion bad breath; and it leads to bankruptcy. How? A guy takes a cent's worth of chickle; and another cents worth of scent and colored paper. He adds to this one million dollars for advertising and sells two million dollars worth of Fruity Juice. We spend fifty million dollars a year for chickle to make gum, while the world starves and goes insane and bankrupt.

Q. E. D.

12 August 1947

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

Our Economic Program

What Negroes need in America is an economic program; a carefull planned way of earning a living. This does not mean giving up the fight for the ballot--rather renewed efforts for the right to vote. It does not mean surrender in the pressure for civil rights and social equality; no, it means to keep fighting for all human rights. But not to stop there or even rest, we must be able to earn a living and to earn it not by joining in the exploitation of our own poor--not by trying desperately to "make money" in the same way that white America does, but to seek out and adopt for ourselves, the new organization of industry which the British Labor Party, the French Socialists and the Russian communists are following. We must not be scared by the calling of names.

ECONOMIC PIONEERING

We, American Negroes lack the pioneer spirit for obvious reasons. We are hereded by ourselves into cities; we are sticking close to everything that the white American does. We must try economic pioneering; we must branch out the new ways of doing things and helping ourselves. The first matter is this question of group production and them comes the distribution of these goods and services among the people who consume them, without the intervention of the middleman. That is industrial democracy; the carrying out of the consumers ccoperative can lead us into a knowledge of what political democracy really is. We tried to envisage a modern democracy as political; it is not, so far as it succeeds; and where it succeeds it is and must be economic. We must take our first steps in independent cooperation with the world along such paths.

PLANNING

There is little disposition among American Negroes to strike out boldly in thought or action toward new or unusual lines for solving the problem of their place in the modern world. To most of us it seems enough if we

"keep up with the Joneses", who are average Americans and do what they do. We distrust our ability to do more than this. But suppose that Americans get on the wrong track as all folk sometimes do; and suppose that we see things from a different point of view just because we have been so terribly disadvantaged in this land? Take for instance this matter of "individual initiative" and "free enterprise." To a New England white boy of the middle class; to a vigorous young white westerner, whether of German, Scandinavian, or Irish descent, these phrases make sense; they have seen men start at scratch and become executives, millionaires, senators, presidents. They can easily forget or never know of the vast numbers even of these stalwarts who have become underpaid laborers, crippled drudges, paupers, bums, beggars and criminals.

35-1-295

We Negroes cannot ignore these, because we know that only by exception and bull-necked luck does even the gifted Negro get a fair chance in America today. We get by and up, now and then, but our enterprise in not free to act and our initiative is heavily handicapped.

What can we do to free our own ability and make it easier for the average colored boy to succeed? Manifestly such action must be social; it must be planned by the group; it must strike out in new and untried ways. It will not be enough to imitate America, especially just at the time when the old American ways are breaking down, and social planning is unpopular. No, we must think and plan for ourselves, with faith and independence.

20 August 1947

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

POVERTY

It is characteristic of our modern scientific civilization, that while we want exact facts when we study stones and trees and even animals, we are nevertheless content to talk about human beings without knowing the facts. For instance we talk about Poverty. Everybody knows that Poverty not only is, but always has been, the great human problem. Now what we ought to know, first of all, is just how poor people are and how many people are poor. This unfortunately, we only know indirectly, and more or less by guess-work.

Suppose we wanted to arrange the families of the United States in a scale according to their annual income; we could not do this today; we have not the data. If we could use all of the figures collected by the Bureau of Internal Revenue for income-tax purposes, even then the income of most of the people, being below the figure necessary for income tax returns, would be unknown. But even for those who do pay income-tax, it is illegal for these figures to be used. Certain figures concerning very high incomes are published, but otherwise we must remain ignorant. If we do not know the income of the people of the Unites States, or know only vaguely, we cannot make final conclusions; and if we try to, we can be immediately contradicted by people who assert, and they are largely speaking the truth, that we are basing our conclusions upon guess-work.

TEPOZLAN

It happens that there has recently been published a study of a little Mexican village, Dr. Oscar Lewis of Washington University has been down in this village of 3,580 persons in 853 families, to try to find out as carefully and accurately as possible what the income of these

is.

RICH AND POOR

In this lettle village in 1944 the minimum property ownership for a self-sustaining farm family of five, would be ten acres of land, a plow, a team of oxen, a horse, a cow, two hogs, two plum trees and a sewing machine. Of the inhabitants of this little town 80% or three fourths do not have this minimum for self-sufficient living. This is a well-known pattern of poverty in the whole world.

Eighteen per cent of the families belong to the "rich and well-to-do;" they include the better artisans, most of the merchants and the well-to-do farmers. They wear store clothes, send their children to high school and have a fairly high standard of living. The wealthy group among these are a little over four percent; they own considerable land which usually they have inherited; they eat more meat, milk, eggs and bread and live in better houses than others. They wear shoes and sleep on a bed instead of on the floor. They have hired help; but they are not a leisure class, but work beside their help.

35-1-247

On the other hand, down at the bottom of the scale are 511 families owning almost no land, but working the barren land belonging to the community on the mountain side. For a living they burn charcoal, sell wood, and follow various haphazard lines of labor. Usually they own their own small homes, and about 40% have some income from plum trees; about a third of them have hogs, less than a third own a mule, a horse, or a donkey.

Here then in microcosm is a picture of the poverty of the world; it is not the worst poverty imaginable; these people get food to eat; they have something of clothing and shelter; but three fourths of them do not get enough to be healthy or send their children to school. We ought to know more facts like this, for the great majority of the people of the world, accuratly and in detail. Then we would have a firm statring-point

at which we could say: what is wrong with this Civilization? With our work, with our technique, our distribution of wealth? Why is it that the great majority of the people of the world in this heyday of civilization, in this day of mounting wealth, luxury and power---why is it, that the vast majority of the people of the world are desperately, and as it seems to most of us, inexcusably poor?

35-1-298

27 August 1947

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

THE FORGOTTEN POOR

We use to have glib explanation for poverty. In the first place we had a way, which we still fol ow, of ignoring the poor people as though they did not exist; we say for instance of the city of New York that most of the people are "gone away during the summer." This is an astonishing lie! Of the seven million people in and around New York City, six and a half million at least are still there during the hottest of the summer. The great department stores trim their windows with dresses which people "wear at the seaside and on the mountains"; when most New Yorkers visit neither. In the winter, they change that trimming and show what people are "wearing in Florida, and Southern California." But the vast majority of people summer and winter are right in the places where they usually live the year round. Of course our ignoring of the poor today is nothing as compared with hat people use to do in the 17th or 18th centuries. Then they deliberately talked of the rich, the well-born, the aristocrats, forming much less than a tenth of the nation, as bein the only part of the nation for which civiliz tion existed. Today we are trying to think of the masses as being the real people of the world and yet w studiously ignore their actual condition; we do not know just how little they have to live on, and we refuse to study it.

AMERICAN NEGROES

This is true among American Negroes, even when they look upon th their own condition. There are a great many of us who think of the well-to-do Negroes of Detroit, Atlanta and Los Angeles as being the real Negroes;while the poor ignored, semi-criminal and desperate, are regarded as not "typical" of the race. Yet in a wide sense, they are

typical, because they represent the majority of American Negroes. The real problem is why do they represent us? Why are we so poor?

Here again we used to blame ourselves bitterly; we used to talk about those among us who were lazy and careless, who did not save, who would not work regularly, who wandered around from place to place; we almost persuaded ourselves that the only people who were poor and criminal were Negroes. Of course we knew better than that; we knew that when you carefully study the situation, no group of people have raised themselves more quickly than American Negroes. But we also know they have not raised themselves faster than large numbers of other people in the world; and that most people in the world are poor and will remain poor so long as the present organization of work and income continues.

WHAT POVERTY MEANS

35-1-300

Realizing this we try to think of poverty as an ethical problem: most people are poor because most people are inefficient, lazy and ignorant; therefore the distribution of the wealth of the world is roughly a map of human desert. This was the nineteenth century answer to the problem of poverty. It was wrong. We are beginning to realize that it was wrong. There is no human being today who looking around at the world can see the people who are good and industrious and saving as the rich and the people who are poor as the wastrels, the lazy, improvident and the evil. There are plenty of poor people who are criminal; there are plenty of rich people who have worked hard for the wealth which they own. But on the other hand, there are rich people who are rascals and there are poor people who are saints. By no manner of argument can it be shown that the wealth of the world is distributed according to the deserts of the workers. The distribution of income in the modern world is a fantastic contradiction, and the first duty of religion and science is to try to bring reason and right into the remuneration which a human being gets for his exertions. This is admittedly a hard task, but no matter how difficult, it is the first task of civilization.

3 September 1947

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

The Race And Nation

There is a change of emphasis going on in the consideration of social problems of which many people are unaware. During the last generation we talked about nations and about races, so that in the United States the problem of Negroes became specifically "a race problem" if not "the race problem;" having to do with questions concerning what many newspapers called "the race."

35-1-301

Now it happens that during the twentieth century, there is a change in meaning and attitude so far as races and nations are concerned. Science has shown us that the conventional idea of race is wrong; that you cannot divide mankind into biologically separate races, and that there is no such thing as racial unity; beyond that, we have found that nations instead of being the natural unit of political life, are only natural as they become unified economically; that is as they produce and consume, buy and sell, so as to be self-supporting; without such economic self-sufficiency they can never be independent nations. In the absence of economic unity, national patriotism, national political life, has led to war in the past and will lead to war in the future. So that both the names and the ideas back of them, of race and nation, are falling into disuse.

Group Culture

On the other hand, it is perfectly true that groups of human beings live and work together; that they remember things in common, have common experiences and act in common; and that this common group action is the greatest dynamic force which civilization knows. It is this working and acting together, that is today called a "Culture". So that instead of speaking of the white "race" and the British "Nation"

we are speaking of European culture and English culture. So in our thinking of American Negroes, we have got to remember, as has often been pointed out, that we are not a race, and certainly not a nation. There are nations of Negroes like Haiti, Liberia and Ethiopia. There are nations with large proportions of Negroes. There are also great groups of Negroes reaching out toward nationhood, which they may eventually attain, like Nigeria and the Gold Coast in West Africa, and the West Indian Confederation which has long been talked of, and steps toward which have been taken.

But quite outside and beyond the conception of race, there is distinctly an American Negro Culture; this is using the word in its sociological sense, and not in its popular sense of manners and education. A Culture is a Way of Life; a set of habits, by which we meet the every-day problems of living: birth and death; marriage and work; home and contact with our fellows. In this sense of the word, there has grown up in the United States a broad and interesting culture which carries a literature and an art, a history, and a political and social life.

35-1-302

American Negro Culture

~~But out of these various influences as is continually growing~~ The new cultural complex which is American Negro. It consists of the various and interesting ways by which this group of people, of varying descent and varying blood, have been thrown together so as to establish folk-ways by which they solve the particular problems of their living today in the United States of America and in the modern western European world. The study of these facts has been neglected; in some respects we are not conscious of them; and yet they are perhaps one of the most interesting developments of the modern world. The time will come when a course in American Negro culture will be a scentral study of students of sociology, not only in Negro colleges but in white colleges and in the universities of the world. ~~It involves a most interesting application~~

10 September 1947

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

1. Illiteracy

The United States had great difficulty in fighting the second World War because so many of its young men were illiterate.. This is an astonishing statement for a country which has yelled itself red in the face concerning its extraordinary educational system. Herbert Aptheker has brought out the facts concerning this situation in the January 1947 number of the Journal of Negro Education. He shows us that of all the men regristered in the army before Pearl Harbor, 347,000 could not write their names and of these 125,000 were white and 220,000 Negroes. Thereupon new regulations were introduced declaring that no one could be registered in the army who had not completed the fourth grade of an American Elementary School..

2. Special Training

Six weeks after this rule, 55,000 registrants were deferred because they were illiterate and by September this number had increased to 140,000 of whom 60,000 were white and 80,000 Negroes; by October 1942 the Senate was informed that the army had inducted 135,000 Americans who could not read and write. Thereupon an experiment of special training, intended for eight to thirteen weeks, was given in order to do away with illiteracy. The classes were small the expenses were not limited. Negro teachers were employed extensivly for Negro students.

3. Schools

In these classes from June 1943 to October 1944 180,000 men were placed, and 150,000 completed their training and attained a basic degree of literacy. Of these, 96,670 were Negroes. The evidence was as General Hersey said, that the higher rate of Negroes as compared with white existed not because Negroes could not be educated but because educational opportunities had not been made available for them. This was proven in these special schools; 87% of the Negroes successfully completed the

work, while among the whites the percentage was 84%; of the Negroes 71.7% completed the training in less than sixty days and among the whites the percentage was 75.6%. As a result of these figures, it is clear: first, we have a wretched system of public schools; secondly, the children of the nation, white and Negro, are not attending them regularly, and third, the attempt to do away with illiteracy among Negroes in the United States has never been thoroughly attempted and is not being attempted today. Discrimination in education by race and color is a serious and despicable thing but denial of education is worse and that is the problem which faces American Negroes.

35-1-304

4 Federal Aid

We have plenty of money for war. We have money to give to Germany, Greece and China. We have funds for military training and exprimen[e]t but we have only a pittance for Federal Aid to Schools. In 1948, vote neither for Taft or Truman, Dewey or Eisenhower. Vote for Schools with funds distributed without discrimination as to race.

17 September 1947

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

Popular America

If the American people think that they are the most popular nation on earth, they should read what European papers and commentators are saying about them. They wil not read this in the so-called "free-press" of the United States.

35-1-305

Back in April, the British New Statesman and Nation declared that the break-down of the Moscow conference was inevitable after the President's message to Congress on Greece and Turkey. It declared that Secretary Marshall at Moscow was "as obstructive as a Communist Commissar;" and that no subject was discussed with any reference to its merits. "The American people, responding to a well-organized propaganda campai n, is now possessed by an anti-Communist hysteria, far stonger than any disapproval of ermany which it displayed durin the war." In July, at the British National Union of Mine Workers, the President, Will Lawther, critized bitterly the so-called "American way of Life" he said, "the dynamic ideas of Communism, could not be suppressed by atomic bombs."

Free Enterprise

Lately Earnest Bevin, British Foreign Minister, has openly smeared American "Free Enterprise" which he said was illustrated in the depres ion of the thirties. Great Britain is again and openly trying to organize trade with Russia and nobody but Americans believes that the Marshall Plan is philanthropy. hat the Marshall Plan is , is an attempt to arrange for keepin up our sale of goods and ra materials to Europe at the hi hest price that we can obtain by treaty; and the object of Western Europe is to see if prices of necessary American goods cannot be reduced to a decent level.

Because of the high price which can be obtained for exports today the American consumer is being charged twice as much as there is

ny reason for his paying. One of these days exports are going to be uddenly and largely cut off. The prices then of raw materials and manufactured goods in the United States is bound to fall. Industrialists will begin to discharge workers by the wholesale and their "free enterprise" will be efforts to get the United States Government in various ways to cover their losses.

35-1-306

World Socialism

In the meantime, everywhere but in the United States the socialization of industry is proceeding: in Great Britain, the nation owns the great bank of England, all the railways and transport and the coal mines; and it is going to own sometime the manufacture of steel. In France the government has long since owned railroads and telegraphs and is enlarging as fast as it can, its ownership of industry.

In every other European country it is recognized as the first principle of economics that any great industry which has grown through monopoly to be nation-wide, should for just that reason be taken over by the state. The whole world is thus moving in the direction of socialism with almost the sole exception of the United States.

Penalizing Thought

The United States has started out to drive anybody who dares believe in Socialism out of the Civil Service; to turn over the housing of the people to monopolistic real estate dealers and masters of the building trade; and to keep profits as high as possible, and then deny that the rate of profit has anything to do with prices.

If we were not one of the most stupid people on earth we could not for a moment let a movement of this sort go so widely uncontradicted and uncontested, as this silly yelling about "free enterprise" and "private initiative" has gone in the United States. We will not learn by the lessons of history, we will not remember that after the First World War, we tried exactly this kind of foolishness and collapsed and dragged down the whole world about our ears.

And the second tragic World War was due principally to this American greed, and the attempt of American business to make money out of the distress of the world. What we are trying today, is not only to repeat this tragedy, but to put in jail or what is the same thing to put out of a job, anybody that dares critize it or call it to the attention of the world. Most of the thinkers of the United States today are silent; most of those who know what is going on, are scared to say a word; and when a man like Henry Wallace points this our, our only answer is to sing the "Star-Spangled Banner."

35-1-307

24 September 1947

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

Character

One contrast which I note between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has to do with the emphasis on our own character and on the action of others.

In the nineteenth century we paid a great deal of attention as to how we acted and how we ought to act. We talked about the "training of character." In the twentieth century, we rather tend to emphasize how other people ought to act, and how much they should be blamed for not acting in the right way. Both attitudes have their truth, but we must not forget the attempt at character-building in the nineteenth century. We must today think of our attitude toward other people and especially guard ourselves against envy and jealousy and the spreading of ill-natured gossip.

Gossip and Envy

We must remember that gossip is the peculiar weakness of depressed classes of people. It is naturally the weakness of Negroes in the United States. Unless they take care and forethought, they become bitterly inimical to any advancement made by their fellows. They look upon the rise of one Negro as a sort of slap in the face of all others. It would be interesting, for instance, after the announcement of the Rosenwald Scholarships and the Guggenheim Fellowships to know whether the amount of congratulation for accomplishment was equally or exceeded by bitter disappointment and even hatred of the lucky ones among those who did not succeed. Among the large number of our teachers, any promotion or increase in salary on the part of their fellows, gives rise to a wave of criticism; in the case of our children, the success of one child, by good marks, or appointment at commencement, or in the class-play, raises so much bitterness, that often the principals and authorities are loathe to have any open competition at all.

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35-

Injustice

It can and will be said that much of this criticism comes from the fact that selections are not fair; that rewards in this world are not always distributed according to ability; and that above all income, seems to have very little to do with honesty or hard work. But even granted, that much that comes to human beings does not come because of desert, we must for our own souls salvation avoid what the Germans so aptly called "Schaden-Freude" joy at ill; uplift because somebody else has suffered.

We Negroes mean the same thing when we talk about "dishing dirt," we know how often in card parties and in visits and meetings of all sorts, the true joy that some people seem to get out of this contact with their fellowmen is to tell mean stories and gossip about each other. This sometimes happens almost in the persons' faces, if they leave the room and suddenly re-enter. Now all this is bad, not only for the person libeled with idle gossip, but it is fatal for the person who allows himself to think on this line; who instead of being glad when a friend succeeds, finds himself almost naturally feeling a tinge of distaste. They ought immediately to take hold of such feeling; they ought to go and visit the successful; write and talk about their work particularly if it is a success deserved, as certainly large numbers of successes are.

In Japan

I remember once standing before a great temple in Japan, beautifully carved in age-old wood. Over the door were the well-known effigies of three monkeys, whose replicas have been sent all over the world. One, with his hands on his eyes said "See no evil" One with his hands on his ears, said "Hear no evil" One with his hands on his mouth, said "Speak no evil!"

We should cultivate the will to believe in good because there is good in the world. We should not let that darken our scientific knowledge of truth, of evil as well as good; but it should be our main business to spread the Good and not always to gossip exclusively about the Evil.

1 October 1947

WINDS OF TIME

by

About Free Masonry

W. E. B. Du Bois

Sometime ago we spoke of the History of free masonry among Negroes in merica, by Harry E. Davis, now member of the Senate of the state of Ohio. There has been an interesting development following his study and that of other historians in this field. It is, of course, common knowledge that hitherto white masons have refused to recognize Negro masonry, not only by declining to initiate Negroes, but by declaring that their lodges were not legitimate. On November 25, 1946, a committee of the White Grand Lodge of Massachusetts made a report in which it said: "The Committee appointed by you to consider and report on the subject of Negro Freemasonry in Massachusetts, begs leave to submit the following report:

35-1-217

"It has been a full half century since our Grand Lodge has considered the subject of Negro Freemasonry. Then, and in all previous studies of the subject, attention was directed primarily, if not solely, to the question of the technical regularity of the origins and early history of Negro Freemasonry. In the light of the evidence then available, it was believed that it could not according to Masonic Law, be regarded as legitimate Freemasonry. On the same evidence the same conclusions would presumably have been reached--and perhaps even more emphatically--if the individuals and lodges in question had been white instead of colored."

"In the intervening half century, Masonic historical research has made much progress, and the emphasis has changed considerably in Masonic thinking, with respect to some of the factors involved in any such inquiry. The legality and regularity of each organizational act is now tested according to the law and customs of its date rather than by

those of the present.

Negro Origin Legitimate Your Committee finds that according to the then prevailing Masonic law and custom, the origin, early procedures and subsequent development of the so-called Prince Hall (Negro) Freemasonry in this Common-Wealth have been and are, regular and legitimate. Moreover, there is reliable and uncontradicted documentary evidence, dated June 30, 1784 that African Lodge, of which Prince Hall was Master was, in 1776, granted a "Permet" by John Rowe of Boston (then Provincial Grand Master over North America where no other Provincial was appointed) "to walk on St. John's day and Bury our dead in form," etc. Rowe succeeded Henry Price in 1768.

35-1-218

"Thus for 170 years African Lodge and its successors have been functioning in Massachusetts in good faith and with the justifiable belief that their origin and procedure were as regular and legitimate as we have thought ours to be."

On March 12, 1947, this report was "accepted, approved and recorded by unanimous vote of the Grand Lodge. Thus for the first time in American history the legitimacy of Negro Freemasonry at least in the jurisdiction of Massachusetts is openly admitted.

Permit saved from fire The "Permet" granted by the Grand Lodge of England and referred to above is still in existence, although mutiliated. This warrent number 459 was granted September 29, 1784 and delivered April 29. The African Grand Lodge number 459 was organized May 6, 1787, the warrant was kept rolled in a metal tube in the safe deposit vault of a Boston bank; later it was laid out flat between two thick plates of glass and moulded together. In 1869 a fire destroyed Grand Lodge Headquarters and the charter then in its metal tube was saved from the flames by Grand Master Kendall, who crawled in the burning building at the peril of his life. It has taken a long time for Negro Masons to secure this recognition but steady research, careful records and determination have at least accomplished this result.

8 October 1947

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

Barter of Beliefs

To my mind the most serious ~~rot~~ Rift in the moral fiber of the United States is the fraud buying and selling of belief and opinions. There was a time in our history, when this was regarded as one of the lowest forms of dishonesty. What a man wrote or said was regarded as his version of what he believed to be true. It might not be accepted as truth by other persons; it might be attacked in various ways and for various reasons; but so far as the author was concerned, it was either his honest opinion, or a joke or a lie. Today that is changed and we do not seem to realize the change and the implications of it. For instance recently one of the greatest coorporations publishing magazines in the United States, with aggreate circulation running into eight figures, was in conference with its staff writers on the question as to wherher those writers had any right, outside of their employment on these magazines, to express their own opinions. The plain implication was that while they were in the employ of the magazine and writing for them they were naturally expressing not their opinions, but the opinions which their employers hired them to express.

Selling Souls

This is not only true in this particular case, it is true in the case of a vast number of magazine writers, columnists on newspapers and radio broadcasters. Men of ability today are hired to express the opinion of the persons who hire them. Of course, probably in most cases only those persons are hired to express these opinions who themselves believe them. Nevertheless the distinction is a delicate matter: if a man wishes to keep his job, he will say what he is hired to say.

Less than a generation ago this was not true. Men wrote their opinions and sent them to magazines and most reputable periodicals

advertised and gloried in the fact that they represented diverse but honest opinions of men who were writing what they believed. This is no longer so today. Today the Magazine has a policy. It either picks out an honest man who believes in this policy and asks him to write, or , with increasing frequency, it hires a man of ability who is willing to write no matter whether he believes what he writes or not.

The Dirty Dailies

In the daily press this began years ago when a rich playboy from the west established a chain of daily newspapers, without morals or ideals, splashed their front pages with news of crime, dirt, calamity and deliberate lies, and then made that press one of the widest circulated disseminators of news in America, by deliberately hiring the best writers in America. At first there were some writers who could not be had for this work at any price. But more and more down to our day, the number who resist this sale of their opinions and beliefs is smaller and smaller.

35-1-221

I once knew a young white man. He came out of the South and thought and spoke strongly and bravely on the race problem. He became managing editor on one of the liberal weekly magazines. Suddenly he was hired by the greatest publisher of magazines in America and given a salary of $25,000 a year. I do not think that when he accepted this, he realized that he was selling his soul. I do not know just what happened, but certainly within less than a year, this man gave up that salary and deliberately walked into oblivion, rather than sell himself for gold. It was a maganificent act. Few people knew any of the facts, perhaps none knew all; but here was the kind of sacrifice that makes for heroes.

Time and Tide

A memorandum of the magazine called Time was recently sent to the New York Newspaper Guild detailing the conditions under which writers could do outside work for themselves. It said that if anything which a staff member wrote "deviates so as to be in opposition to Time policy, the management will discuss the matter with the author and if the differences

are not resolved and the author goes ahead with the publication," then he will lose his job. The Newspaper Guild replied in the voice of one writer: "It is hard to keep one's sanity after reading the proposed policy on writing and speaking. If ever I saw a charter of utter mental slavery this is it." This is the present situation, this is the depth to which creative writing in the United States is sinking.

35-1-222

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WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

An Inventor

The SCIENTIFIC MONTHLY, has recently published a new statement and estimate of the Negro scientist Norbert Rillieux. Rillieux was a quadroon born in New Orleans March 7, 1806 and baptized in St. Louis Cathedral. His father was an engineer and inventor and operated a cotton baling press on Poydras Street. Norbert was sent to Paris for his education. He showed rare ability and at the age of 24 was an instructor in applied mechanics at L'Ecole Centrale in Paris. In 1830, he published papers on steam engine work and steam economy. In 1812 a man named Howard invented a vacuum-pan for boiling sugar solutions. Effort was immediately made to extend this invention, and Rillieux's invention came as an improvement upon Howard's. He enclosed condensing coils in a vacuum chamber and employed the vapor from the first chamber for evaporating the juice in a second chamber under higher vacuum, and thus "laid the foundation for all modern industrial evaporation."

For 20 years he tried to interest French manufacturers, but finally was called to New Orleans to be chief engineer of a sugar refinery.

The First Sugar Evaporator

In 1834, the first practical evaporator was built but failed on account of the financial crisis of 1837. In 1843, Rillieux again installed an evaporator which operated with complete success in 1845, and this was the first factory-scale multiple effect vacuum evaporator. A patient was taken out in 1846 (United States 4,879) and thus the machine is officially described:

"A series of vacuum pans, or partial vacuum pans, have been so combined together as to make use of the vapor of the evaporation of the juice in the first, to heat the juice in the second and the vapor from this to heat the juice in the third, which latter is in connection with a condenser, the degree of pressure in each successive one being less.... The number of sirup-pans may be increased or decreased at pleasure so long as the last of the series is in conjunction with the condenser." The manufacture and refining of sugar was thus revolutionized. The new system in 1846 was established in other factories and prizes were awarded.

35-1-224

The Color Line

Rillieux, while prosperous and popular, suffered many difficulties on account of his color and eventually, because of the attempt to reduce all persons of Negro blood practically to slavery just before the Civil War, he left Louisiana and went back to France. He was living there in 1861. In France he gave up his interest in sugar machinery and took up the study of Egyptology---decipering hieroglyphics at the Bibliotheque Nationale. He died October 8, 1894 and was buried in Pere la Chaise.

Oct. 20, 1947

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

35-1-313

Soldier's Children

A Year or more ago I spoke in this column of the illegitimate children of Negro soldiers, by white English mothers, who are a problem in the present day England. Recently, the English journal, MOTHER AND CHILD, has discussed this matter. The problem of illegitimacy is wide in England, as in all countries after wars; but the illegitimate child whose mother is white and whose father is colored is a peculiarly pressing problem. The paper says frankly: "The present trend of public opinion in countries predominately inhabited by white people is definitely against coloured peoples; and the somewhat large increase in Britain's coloured population creates a problem which is bound to tax the patience and genius of sociologists, educationists and social workers. The main consideration is, of course, that so many people are disinclined to face the question of intermarriage squarely and they show a definite objection to association between Negro and white people; more than ever they resent marriages between the two peoples. The problem now engaging attention is that of the children born of white mothers and the American Negro troops who were stationed in England during the war."

The Present Problem

A report, published by the League of Coloured Peoples, reveals that the total number of these children is about 550. This report is the result of a study made in a number of counties and boroughs throughout England and Wales where coloured American troops were known to have been stationed. It was found that some 544 children were born to 536 mothers, 89 of whom were known to have been married, 95 unmarried and the marital status of the remaining 352 unrevealed. The main point, however, is what

is to be done to assist these mothers to look after their children and what methods should be adopted to integrate this new coloured population into the community in such a way as would remove from the minds of the children the handicap of illegitimacy, which is sure to act as a hindrance to their progress.

England's Plans

MOTHER AND CHILD says, "We are already convinced, that so far as school life is concerned little difficulty is ever ixperienced, because children mix quite freely. The problem arises when they leave school and have to enter industry. The present state of public opinion in the countries predominatly white is such that these children are subject to social disadvantages which illegitimate children of pure white parents will never experience." The paper goes on th say that one suggestion is that the child be sent to its coloured parent; another, that it be sent to the West Indies. But that these children are British, and that Great Britain must see that they are properly cared for, and that careful inquiry ought to be made before they are sent to foster-parents abroad. Especially it would be difficult to ensure their safety and proper selection of foster-parents if they were sent to America. Another suggestion, is that a segregated home be established for them, but that would not be wise, the paper finally concludes. The only reasonable solution, therefore, is to develop a foster-parent plan in Britain and subsidize those white persons who are willing to adopt a coloured child into their homes. "The subsidy should provide ample financial assistance to enable t ose children who show an aptitude for school work to proceed further, and there is no doubt that a good many of them would, with such opportunity, be a credit to the community in which they are brought up."

35-1-314

35-2-17

Chicago Defender
11-8-47

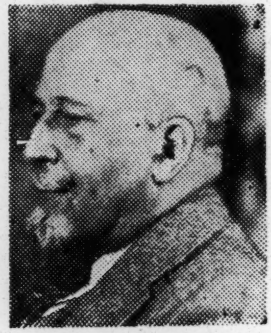
File from Richmond, Va., Mercury, April 11, 1948

W. E. B. DuBois

The Winds Of Time

Marshall Plan

THE REPORT OF the European conference on the Marshall Plan, brings forward again the role of colonies. If we are not careful we will fail to realize how the value of the raw material in colonies in this new era of capitalism, may easily stop the broad plan for colonial emancipation laid down by the charter of the United Nations at San Francisco.



The text of this report said, for instance, "The extension of the war into southeast Asia upset Europe's trade balance with the United States, which was partly financed by exports from southeast Asia. And goes on to say: "Early in 1947, indeed, it became clear that the effect of the war had been to upset the balance between the productive power and resources of the Western Hemisphere and those of the rest of the world." And finally British statesmen have recently said frankly, "We got 50 millions from West African cocoa and a hundred million from other products in West Africa during the war."

Colonial Exploitation

ALL THIS SHOWS that a system of trade which was of great benefit to Europe has been broken up by the war. This trade system consisted of using cheap colonial labor in Asia and Africa to raise raw material; this raw material transported to Europe was priced at the lowest; then it was processed and manufactured and sold for high prices all over the world. In this way the exploitation of men and materials in the colonies supported Europe in luxury.

Then came the second World War, Japan cut off the tribute from Asia. The tribute from Africa still poured into Europe and England and through them was used to purchase needed goods in America. But the war raised labor unrest in Africa; strikes in the copper mines, organization of the cocoa farmers and demand for independence and autonomy in other regions. The reorganization of the world has come and Europe practically says to America, "we have been deprived, at least temporarily, from the income which we derived from colonial regions; we want you to loan us money until we restore that flow of income."

The new colonial question, therefore, is how far capitalism from America, and in time, from Europe, is going to re-establish a system by which through low wages and underpriced material, Europe can grow rich.

Revised November 1, 1947

WINDS OF TIME
by

W. E. B. Du Bois

35-1-315

Marshall Plan

The report of the European conference on the Marshall Plan, brings forward again the role of colonies. If we are not careful we will fail to realize how the value of the raw material in colonies in this new era of capitalism, may easily stop the broad plan for colonial emancipation laid down by the charter of the United Nations at San Francisco.

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35-1-316

mailed November 8, 1947

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

Wage and Price

When we fight for colonial freedom in the United Nations and in public opinion, we must keep these newer aspects in mind. If the world needs colonial produce, and it certainly does,--rubber from Asia and Africa, quinine and rope from Asia, and a dozen different other valuable articles---then it is the business of modern men to insist that these countries be paid, and paid adequately for what they raise. That in the first place, decent modern wages be paid for their labor, so that this labot with adequate income can support its own social services, especially in education and helath. In addition to that, the price of this raw material must not be set by the people to whose interest it is to make it as low as possible. A fair division of value between the colonial farmer and the European and American manufacturer must be worked out on a humanitarian basis.

25-1-317

Votes and Poverty

If we face this fundamental economic aspect of the colonial problems, we must insist not simply on political power, for there can be no adequate expression of political power on the part of the people who are receiving like the Egyptian peasantry, $17.00 a year. If we give these people the right to vote and give them no income so that they can establish and control their schools and pay for social services, then education in the hands of employers will be directed toward building up a subservient body of artisans and an emasculated civil service.

You will get no free expres ion of independent citizens in democratic countries. That is the reason that we in America should look askance upon the new proposal of American capital to enter Liberia. Capital can do a great deal for Liberia but its first step must be toward adeuqate payment of Liberian labor, decent valuation of Liberian products, and the establishment in Liberia of a mass of citizens who can acquire education and earn decent wages. Any other program is a delusion and a snare.

35-1-318

mailed oct, 1947

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

Union Labor

The long fight of the Negro to enter the ranks of Union Labor is not finished, but is well begun. At first the Negroes had to be persuaded that they had any interest in union labor. They had forgotten the path that began with Crispus Attucks, who may have represented organized labor of his time, in his fight against the British. But after his time there came the long way in which the Negro as a slave had no part in organized work. Artisans were organized not only without friendly cooperation with blacks, but usually in opposition to them because they represented slavery. After the Civil War, organized labor began to recognize that the Negro worker ought to be called in or he would become a competitor, replacing and undercutting the wages of the whites.

Efforts to this end were made until after Reconstruction, and then, although the Knights of Labor largely excluded them, until finally the rule for successful union labor was the exclusion of the Negro worker. This was first attacked on a large scale by the organization of the CIO. Since then, gradually the Negro has been integrated. But the best st tement of his present status in labor is summed up by Abner W. Berry, in the Daily Worker.

The Last Ten Years

"During the last ten years Negro workers have very generally expressed their sympathy with the American Labor movement; nevertheless, there are still five American Federation of Labor International Unions which exclude Negroes; seven other unions accept members, but only in segregagated locals without membership rights. Other groups like the carpenters and painters, airplane pilots, the switchmen's union, the railway carmen, and boilermakers, exclude Negroes in various ways.

"The status of the American Negro worker in the CIO is higher than it is in the AFL. Nevertheless, even in the CIO he is welcome as a general laborer and yardman, but very few have been accepted as tool and die workers in the automobile factories, or as machine operators in foundries. The electrical divisions of General Electric and General Motors are practically all white, and this is true of the textile mills.

"Of the 15,000,000 organized workers in the CIO and AFL, about 1,000,000 are Negroes but there are only 17 National officers--6 in the AFL and 11 in the CIO. In the Packing House Workers Union, with half of its membership Negro, there is only one Negro who is an international officer. There is none in the Automobile Workers nor the Electrical Workers Unions despite the large Negro membership."

35-1-320

This means, of course, that while great progress has been made in the labor movement, there is still wide discrimination on the part of white laborers and their leaders to exclude Negroes from the movement; w which is to say the least, a suicidal policy.

The Firemen

Another development along this line is the long fight of the Negro fireman in the South to retain their status in the Union. Gradually by white union effort and collusion of the railroads, these workers have been pushed out of employment and even attacked by assassins. But they obtained not long ago a decision of the courts which recognized their right to employment and to defense by the white labor union which had become their representative for bargaining, and had tried to bargain them out of employment. A suit is now pending to settle this difficulty. On the whole, the advance of the Negro in the labor movement, which means advance in democracy, is slowly but surely making desirable progress, but white labor does not yet fully realize that democracy cannot stop at lines of race, sex, or creed.

November 17, 1947

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

Ebony

It is unfortunate that a Negro magazine so excellent in many respects as EBONY should allow itself to print a good editorial like that on Negro Labor in its December issur, and then support it by such lousy reasoning. The main thesis of advocating more Negroes in skilled trades especially the building trades is excellent. But most of its arguments are idiotic. For instance: (1) That I have opposed industrial training and want Negroes to crowd the professions. (2) That our losses in the building trades and other skills is due to failure to continue teaching them. (3) That a person should choose the best-paid work as his vocation. (4) That it is a disgrace for a Negro Ph.D. to teach in a Negro college.

Industrial Teaching

I have always advocated training in industries; I said in 1903 "So far as Mr. Washington preaches Thrift, Patience, and Industrial Training for the masses, we must hold up his hands and strive with him, rejoicing in his honors and glorying in the strength of this Joshua called of God and of man to lead the headless host." I vehemently opposed and still oppose an educational program which would confine our training to industrial skills. As I said 35 years ago, "The object of Education is not to make Men Carpenters; it is to make Carpenters, Men." The mass of men cannot learn to read and write make shoes, build houses and work steel, unless also the group has trained teachers, good physicians, honest lawyers, moral clergymen and skilled engineers. Even more than the rich and powerful whites, we poor and ignorant Negroes need men of trained brains and wide scholarship to guide us as we work, and guard us from exploitation and slavery.

Skilled Trades

Our undoubted losses in the skilled trades are not due solely to lack of industrial teaching in our schools; they are mainly due to changes in industrial technique and discrimination by employers and trade unions. Shoes are no longer made by cobblers at benches, but by expensive shoe machinery; carpentry is done by costly planing mills; steel-working is carried on in vast plants. No school can teach such technique. It must be learned on the job and in the mill. The marvellous German training in industry was not done in schools but by apprenticeship in the factory with regular pay and security for the learner. Mass production has utterly revolutionized most of the simple hand work of former generations which could be learned at home or at school.

35-1-228

When the black boy has learned to read and write, and knows something of science and history, taught by "Negro Ph.D's in Negro schools" then he is ready to learn a trade, as well as to become an intelligent citizen and voter. But when he tries to enter a trade and learn on the job, the trade union, to which perhaps his father belongs, refuses to accept him as an apprentice; the factory or shop refuses to employ him; the great electric or chemical plant will not promote him to the lucrative and interesting departments. There is where the exclusion works and not at Hampton or Tuskegee.

Income and Career

The argument for work at trades is not that of income alone. It is silly to argue that a man should become a carpenter because carpenters earn more than dentists. That line of stupid logic would lead us to train our sons to enter the "Numbers" racket or send our daughters into the lucrative vocation of prostitution. TNo! The work of the carpenter is in itself as interesting and valuable as that of the dentist for the man who has a bent for it; the steelmaker has a career as fascinating as the physician if he likes that kind of work. The criterion for a life work is what one likes and is fitted for, and not simply what one gets for his work.

Buick starved to death and Jesus Christ was hanged. Yet their lives were not failures.

Negro Teachers

I am bitterly incensed at the reiteration of the lie, that it is disgraceful for Negroes to teach in Negro schools; for clergymen to serve Negro congregations; for black men of the highest training to give their lives and talents to the enslaved and despised and segregated people of their own race, who have often given their own heart's blood to educate these men of talent. It is a disservice for EBONY to sneer at such workers and join the silly chorus of those who seem to think that the only goal for Negro intellectuals is to teach white people. I see no reason to commit suicide because no white university has ever offered me a chair. That is their loss not mine. I have spent a quarter of a century teaching Negro students in Negro schools. I am proud of it.

35-1-229

Chicago Defender

mailed Nov. 24, 1947

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

Big Inch and Little Inch

An extraordinary story of free enterprise and individual initiative as practised in the United States has recently been revealed in the papers. Sometime ago someone thought of the brilliant idea of transporting oil and gas by pipelines, instead of by railroad tank cars. It was a simple idea, and if it could be realized, it meant tremendous savings and greater efficiency. Its realization depended upon the building of such tubes, legal rights of way, the use of steel and concrete, and ways of insuring continued efficiency and removing obstructions.

Our much vaunted "private enterprise" did not want to undertake it, but the government built these two lines, Big Inch and Little Inch, from Texas to the East and across the Mississippi valley and over the Allegheny Mountains, at a cost of $145,000,000. Recently a Texas company bid $143,000,000 cash for these pipelines, paid five million dollars cash to bind the bargain. Then it looked around to finance this operation, that is, to get hold of one hundred thirty-eight million dollars cash.

Finance

Now what does "financing" mean? First, for $150,000 cash this banking syndicate bought a million shares, or thirty per cent of the Texas companys' common stock at fifteen cents a share, giving it practically control of the sooperation. They offered to American investors at $9.50 a share. Of this $9.50 a share they take $1.00 a share for themselves as "commission", giving them something over a million dollars for $150,000. This is only the beginning. Through the ownership of this million shares they control three and a half million shares and the sale of these at $9.50 a share will put thirty million dollars in the companys' treasury, which added to $130,000,000 from the first mortage on pipeline

bonds will pay the government for the sale of the pipelines. In addition to this, $9.50 a share is a very small price for a profitable undertaking; in the long run the shares which the original investors got for $150,000 maybe worth ten or twenty times as much as that.

Private Initiative

This is what is currently called "private initiative", but as a matter of fact it is a way of making the public pay for private profits sums out of all proportion to the service rendered, without any question the person who conceives the idea of a pipeline and laid it deserves pay. Those persons who invested $150,000 deserve to get, as you and I get, three, four, or five per cent on their investment. They do not deserve to get ten times as much as they invested because they were on the inside of a so-called "financial" deal.

35-1-226

This is the argument against what is miscalled "private initiative". It is asummed by many people that these millions of dollars created out of nothing cost nobody anything, and therefore should not be a matter of envy. On the other hand, it must be remembered that this income is going to be payed for out of current production; that what these people get for nothing is coming out of the wages and earnings of the people of the United States, one third of whom today do not earn enough to live decently.

mailed DEC 16 1947

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

Racial Names

Every once in a while I receive letters like this which came recently from Honolulu. "I am in the dark concerning the word 'Negro' I would like to know why people born on the United States mainland that are not white, are 'Negroes'. I was born in Pennsylavnia. My father born in slavery, and his father came from Africa; my mother was born free in West Virginia, and her mother was one-half French and one-half Senegalese. They came from Canada. I would like to know if my racial extraction shouldn't be Afro-American, and not American Negro?"

"And again from around the world, I note in the SUN of Capetown, which is the organ of the Colored people, the following paragraph. "I see writers to the local press have again taken up that hoary subject--a distinct name to define the Coloured people of South Africa. One suggested 'Midafricans', whilst another was at pains to point out that even the term 'Eurafrican', prevalent in the Transvaal, was unsuitable as it implied only a mixture of European and African blood, whereas many Coloured persons were descended from Batavians, Javanese and Asiatics. I wonder whether he was trying to suggest something by signing the letter--'Euafasian'? My view is that the Coloured people as Union nationals can only be South Africans."

Names are Symbols

It is queer how people insist upon regarding names as scientific descriptions of what they stand for, they are nothing of the sort; if we tried that sort of thing we would never get satisfactory names. Names are symbols agreed upon; all they do is to convey to the person

who uses them and hears them a definite idea. If that definite idea is conveyed the name is suitable, if not it is not. As I have said elsewhere, we could call American Negroes "Pantofagoi" and, if when the name pantofagoi was used in itself and so far as its derivation is concerned, the name is nonsense but it is the understanding that counts. So in the case of "American Negro" when that phrase is used, it means a definite thing; a person of Negro descent but not necessarily wholly of Negro descent. He may have more white English blood, he may have Asiatic blood, he may be Scandinavian, Dutch, or German also by descent. But if to the mass of intelligent people the word "American Negro" brings up definitely the idea of this well known group, then it is a good word and it is to be used. Moreover, the name in itself carries no absolute conclusions. Every once in a while some crazy person writes me with the thesis that if we called ourselves something else besides Negroes the whole problem would be settled. He thinks that all we have got to do is to call ourselves Americans, and then there will be no Negro problem; or any name which does not bring in the stigma of past memories of slavery, of present poverty and ignorance would automatically make people different from what they are; this is, of course, arrant nonsense.

35-1-322

<u>People Make the Name</u>

The name does not make people, people give significance to the name. There was a time when "Quaker" was a name of derision, a name from which many of the Friends shrank, and concerning which there was endless controversy. Today "Quaker" is a name of distinction. What has happened? There has been a change in the sort of person that was designated as Quaker. Once he was a simple, untrained, religious fanatic. Today he is a well-to-do, educated philanthropist. The name did not make the change, the people designated made the change. There was a time in the days of my grandfather when to be called a Negro

made any decent Colored man furious because it meant to the minds of most people everything low and disgraceful. Today no man need be ashamed to be called a Negro because it means a far different thing, and in the future the time will come when men will be proud to say that they were descended from Negroes. The change will come in the people, not in the name.

35-1-323

Chicago Defender

mailed Dec. 8, Wkly. 1947

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

The Grand Mufti

Recently I have received a letter from the Grand Mufti of the Western United States, sent from the Mosque at Sacramento, California. This official is head of the persons professing Mohammedanism in the West. He writes as follows: "Some years ago I came into contact with your writings for the first time. Your work on colonies was of particular interest to me. At the time of the United Nations conference in San Francisco I was fortunate enough to hear you speak in the auditorium of the University High School, which has since been closed due to the fact that large numbers of the school population transferred to other schools with the influx of a large colored population and the school was underpopulated.

35-1-325

"The framing of an appeal to the United Nations seems to me to be particularly well timed and important to the cause of the Negro and other colored people of our great country. The situation here compares only to the situation in the Union of South Africa and Kenya colony, and seems to me to be entwined with the colonial problems in every section of the world.

"Moslem peoples have always led the fight against slavery and it was the holy Qur-an that first took steps toward the liberating of slaves. While all of Europe was in slavery until the French Revolution, and in some places until the early part of our own centry, the people of Moslem countries managed to escape any racial consciousness at all. The slavery that was known in Islam, in its early days, often produced Caliphs and rulers and leaders, and surely after he had been 'free' for a hundred years he was no longer set aside and discriminated against. Gandhi, the Hindu leader, says that the one thing the whites of Africa fear most is the leveling influence of Islam.

"You will find Moslem peoples always sympathetic with peoples who are being discriminated against. I have written to the ambassadors and ministers of Moslem states in Washington and have urged them to exert all possible influence with their home governments in the name of Islam to bring the Negro problem before the United Nations at once.

"My sincerest regards and the prayer that God will grant success to your great and noble work."

Mohammedanism and Race

I am very glad to have received this letter, and I have written to the Grand Mufti thanking him. There is no question that in the vast Mohammedan world there has never been a color line or racial distinctions. As I have said in my recent book, THE WORLD AND AFRICA, "Mohammedanism arose in the Arabian deserts, starting from Mecca which was in that part of the world which the Greeks called Ethiopia and regarded as part of the African Ethiopia. It must from earliest time have had a large population of Negroids.

35-1-326

"The two greatest colored figures in the history of Islam are Bilal-i-Habesh (Bilal of Ethiopia) and Tarik-bin-Ziad: Bilal-i-Habesh was Mohammed's liberated slave and closest friend to whom he gave precedence over himself in Paradise. The Prophet liberated all his slaves and they were all well-known figures in the early Islamic history. He adopted as his own son another Negro, Zayd bin Harity, his third convert, who rose to be one of his greatest generals. Later, to show his regard for Zayd, he took one of Zayd's wives, the beautiful Zainab, as his own. But Bilal stands out in greatest relief. Apart from his services in the cause of Islam, it was through him t at the Moslems decided to use the human voice instead of bells to call the Moslems to prayer. He had evidently a marvelous voice and was the first who called for prayers in Islam".

The difficulty with Mohammedanism has not been race prejudice, it has been the economic organization which in most Mohammedan lands

still leaves at the bottom of social organization a mass of poverty and disease concerning which there has been all too little effort to remove. It is my fervent hope that in Egypt and the Middle East the uplift of the mass of people will be the next step in the development of the Mohammedan world.

35-1-327

Chicago Defender

Mailed Dec. 15, 1947

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

Senator Taft

Senator Robert A. Taft, of Ohio is an avowed candidate for the Presidency in 1948. Negroes must watch him and interrogate him on two points: the FEPC, and national aid to education. He stands committed to a fair employment practices program but has advocated a bill without teeth, a bill which amounts simply to advice and provides no compulsion or penalty. This is not sufficient, and we should not allow him to pose as a friend of colored people or of the working man unless he is willing to go further than this. On federal aid to education he is even more untrustworthy. Like his father, the former president, he has been flirting with the South. We Negroes will not easily forget that speech which President Taft made in Birmingham, Alabama, where he promised to appoint no officials in the South who did not have the approval of the white South. He not only kept his word, but he set an example for all presidents who have succeeded him.

85-1-329

On Federal Aid to Education

Now Robert Taft comes forward in favor of national aid to education; but he says that he would oppose any federal plan to aid in providing opportunity for education which did not leave "complete control up to the state and local governments." He is apparently in favor of this because of "an alarming trend toward totalitarianism" and cites nazi Germany as an example.

It is to be presumed that Mr. Taft knows what would be done with federal funds by the educational authorities in the South. At best they would give the Negro some part of the proportion which his number in the community and his lack of education entitles him to, but he would not get his just proportion unless the whole present allocation of funds is taken away from present authorities and placed

under a different set of persons. For this we have no reason in the world to hope the same men or the same sort of men are going to distribute federal funds in the south who are today distributing state funds. And what is the fact about that distribution of funds? Let us look at some figures for 1945 in the 17 states and the District of Columbia where separate schools are maintained by law:

In the value of school property per pupil enrolled whites received $224 and Negroes $52, or the whites were 430 per cent higher. For the amount spent per pupil in elementary schools, Negroes received $32.46 and whites $73.67, or nearly two and one-half times as much. The average white elementary school teacher was paid $1,307, while the Negro instructor received $959, or 40 per cent less.

35-1-320

What Senator Taft proposes then is to give the South a large sum of money which it can distribute in any way that it pleases among the educable people of that section. There will be no federal control, no way in which the government or the people can see to it that those children in the South who most need education get the benefit of this contribution from the United States government. This is worse than no contribution at all, and Robert Taft ought to be made to realize this. If, and when, he does know and realize it, he still stands for federal aid to education without elimination of race discrimination, then he deserves no Negro votes and should get none.

Pitt. Jan 3, 1948

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

Write to Wallace

I wonder how many of my friends and readers will join me in a New Years Message to Henry Wallace, asking him to run for President on a Third Party ticket in the next Presidential election? Tell him that we are asking this for selfish reasons, because we Americans of Negro descent do not want to be put in the embarrassing position of having to choose between fools and demogogues, or giving up our right to vote in 1948?

Candidates

There is not before us a single candidate for whom a Negro can vote with self respect. There is no dependence to put upon President Truman; what he says today has nothing to do with what he said yesterday, or what he may say tomorrow. He is simply devoid of that understanding of public affairs which gives him any right to speak or act for a great nation. If we turn from him to the other candidates, what do we see?

There is Robert Taft of Ohio, who is following in the footsteps of his father and trying to appease the South. He is willing to give the South money for education to let them spend 5 times as much on whites as on Negroes. He wants an F. E. P. C. without teeth.

There is Dewey of New York, a complete opportunist politican, saying just as little as possible about anything that is of moment to the American people, so as to get into the Presidency without commitments and without revealing his lack of knowledge of the great questions fronting the country.

There is a small and voluble politician from Minnesota, Stassen, who is trying to capitalize upon the provincialism of the Middle West

by every possible caper, and thus stem the world tide of Socialism which is overflowing the world and is a part of our own organization of industry.

One Man, One World

In this great crisis of the history of the world, there stands forth in America one man, and one man alone, who is worthy of leadership and of support and that is Henry Wallace. Suppose we admit without argument that the chances for Mr. Wallace to carry the country in the next election are about nil, and that, not because the country does not want him, but chiefly because of the "rotten burrough" system which we have in the South, by which the will of the people cannot be expressed in any national election; a situation in which this great country, as leader of democratic methods of government, cannot and will not govern itself in a democratic way.

35-2-44

Third Party

Nevertheless, we can protest even if our protests put a reactionary Republican in the white house or a Southern-supported Democrat. At least we can let the country and the nations know that there are people in the United States who are not stupid, who are not to be brought with graft or fooled with lies. It would be infinitely better for us to throw our votes away upon a great man who stands for real democracy than to shame ourselves, our people, or our country by voting for the impossible group of candidates who are trying to jostle and yell themselves into the Presidency.

Opinion Jan 10, 1948

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

Conference on China

There is to be held in New York, January 24-25, a national c ence on American Policy in China and the Far East. It is an endeav to form public opinion with regard to the help that the United State can and should give to China. It is to examine the right of Chiang Kai Shek to represent the Chinese people, and to use the methods which he is using to reduce one of the greatest nations in the world into subjection to a venal and selfish set of exploiters. It is enough to drive honest Americans insane to see the way in which since the last awful war, we have persistently aligned ourselves with the forces of graft and exploitation, in Poland, in Korea, in Yugoslavia and, above all, in China. We have persistently fought the forces of elightenment and understanding. We are now about to take money taken from the pockets of poor Americans and give it to the control of the regime which is now ruling China.

Money for Graft

We have put hundreds of milions of dollars into the hands of these grafters. We are about to put more. It is time that Public Opinion should array itself on the side of decency and refuse to be stampeded by the silly yell of "Communist," and try to give the great and long suffering Chinese people a chance to have real voice in their own government and to develop their own land. The propaganda, in favor of the Soone sisters and of Chiang Kai Shek, has been wide in the United States and as has been recently said, our own money is now being used to support a gang of propagandists who are at work in Washington.

The conference about to be held in New York is a protest against this. It is not a conference which is going to be asked to suscribe to a ready-made declaration or a preconceived program; but taking the

facts which are available to the world, we are going to ask sensible citizens from all over the country to sit down and consider them and make careful declaration of what we think is right and just to ourselves, to the Chinese people, and to the great continent of Asia. There will be programs and speeches, but chiefly this is to be a real conference where the rank and file are going to talk and carefully consider the present and future. The address of the National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East, is, 111 West 42nd Street New York 18, New York.

25-2-46

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WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

The Guilt of the Cane

When I attended the Friedrich Wilhelm's University in Berlin in 1892 tol893, the insignia of a student which were absolutely compulsory were gloves and cane. There I acquired the cane habit and have carried one ever since. It is useless and silly, but also harmless and cheap. So I still carry a cane, an incorrigable habit. Once as I was revisiting Germany, I found in a little shop on the Friedrichstrasse, now in ghastly ruins, an enticing umbrella cane, It was a thin silk umbrella with a removable wooden outer sheath. I bought it forthwith and carried it for years until it wore out.

On 45th Street, New York

Recently, in an old umbrella shop on forty-fifth street, New York, what did I see but an umbrella cane almost a replica of my old one! I enquired the price--it was much too high and I left. But the temptation was irresistible. Twice I returned and finally I bought it at a ridiculous price, which I then increased by equipping it with a silver band engraved with name and address. I took singular satisfaction in this toy. It renewed my youth; it brought back a land and culture forever dead; it healed and revived memories.

Union Station, Chicago

I fared west, talking to groups of varied complexions of mind and body; easing a delicious Thanksgiving dinner with my friends the Lochard's; seeing Des Moines again 51 years after my wedding, at Cedar Rapids, and finally landing in Union Station, Chicago, on my way home. Here is a restaurant, where I have a

favorite seat, pushing the Third World War firmly into the background, I had a trout from the North Woods, an appetizing salad, a small bottle of sauterne (albeit Californian), and a demi-tasse in a dainty cup--not a bowl. I then strolled leisurely to my sleeping-car, at peace with a cock-eyed world, until I laid my precious cane-umbrella on the bed: the cane sheath was missing! It was made of turned wood from Sweden and folded sweetly into a warm brown roll. I had the umbrella. I had the engraved silver address but the cane-cover was gone. I had dropped it! I had lost it ! It was irreplacable! I had the sick feeling which, whether it rises from the f ll of the world or the flick of a finger, spells doom. Suddenly a whole group of memories, experiences, hopes, triumphs and failures of fifty years, rose and curled themselves around that lost cane-cover. To the porter's astonishment, I rushed out and began to search the depot floors and platforms.

Searching the World

As you may know, the Chicago Union Station occupies upwards of two acres, fairly full of feet and travelling bags. I threaded doggedly through passengers, lo king in vain, and porters eyed me askance. I finally flew back to the pullman and again searched there. It was still gone. Ah! I remembered, the restaurant! I hurried there. It was closed! The connecting lunch counter was open however. I rushed in there and laid my case feelingly before the pretty counter-girl and the sympathetic head waitress. I was led on to the closed restaurant and searched the check-room. No trace! "But", said the waitress brightly: "How about the Lost and Found?" In vain! There was nothing there but a yellow stick with a ribbon! My time was running short. I began to have that f elin , not simply of loss, but of loss of nothing, which still seemed of fundamental importance, because it linked

to this world the dream of another that had been born and died--I was unbelievably and illogically dejected and disillusioned. After all, what was the use--and just then I saw it! It lay quietly folded in its soft, brown roll, cunningly hidden under the desk of the Pullman agent, where I had checked in an hour since.

I fell upon it. I rubbed it gently and slipped it carefully in place. I became suddenly quite voluble. I explained to the Pullman agent, the Gate-man, the Pullman porter--until finally I began to sense obscurely but definitely that to none of these did the matter seem of that cosmic importance which it did to me. Then I went to bed.

35-2-47

Pub. Jan 24, 1948 Mailed Jan-

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

Harold Stassen Speaks

Mr. Harold Stassen, self-supported candidate for the presidency, is doing some fancy foot-work these days which we ought to watch carefully. In a speech made before the Young Republicans in New York, January 6, Mr. Stassen laid down several of his planks and explained them. He said that "the overshadowing question of our time is that of a future world war or world peace," and he proposes to meet t is by calling a United Nations convention in 1950 for the purpose of amending and rewriting the charter. He notes that this convention can be called without a veto.

This is perfectly true, but also it is true, and Mr. Stassen does not mention this, that no amendment can be adopted or new charter proclaimed without the right of the 5 great powers, Russia, Britain, the United States, China, or France, to veto this change. He wants also "new steps toward the rule of law in special problems and in Human Rights on a world wide level."

Views on Human Rights

He does not, however, touch the matter of human rights in the United States. Indeed, so far as Mr. Stassen is concerned, during the whole of his campaign, he has, so far as I can learn, utterly ignored the fourteen million Negroes in the United States. He has said nothing about them, nothing about their rights, nothing about their disabilities, and has made absolutely no promise that in the very unlikely event of his being elected to the presidency they would receive any more at ention after his election than they have before.

Capitalism vs. Socialism

This is a reason why we should give attention to Mr. Stassen and be careful not to vote for him, in case we have the opportunity. Mr. Stassen is in favor of capitalism and against socialism. But although he stated this boldly in the West, he tapers off a bit when he talks in the East. It seems that our "free economy" in America is due to its "modern peoples capitalism with high production and excellent distribution;" just what Mr. Stassen means by a capitalism which is "modern" and which is controlled "by the people", we do not know; nor do we understand what he means by "excellent distribution". The present distribution of the great income of the United States is nothing less than disgraceful and the greatest menace to our future liberties.

No country in the world with anything like similar production has so unfair a distribution of the results of industry. This, of course, Mr. Stassen knows perfectly well. But he is trying to impress his audience that there is something peculiarly "modern" about our capitalism, and that the capital "belongs" to the people. Nevertheless, he has to admit that something has got to be done about this "excellent" distribution; that the government has got to come in to curb excessive credit, to decrease inflation, to supervise exports, to limit hoarding, to check booms, and avoid depression, and Mr. Stassen is compelled to notice that there should be some supplementary action on housing and health and education. This has got to be done by the government, and all this is, of course, nothing less than socialism.

Of Concern To Negroes

But we must do this in the United States "while maintaining that precious individual economic freedom" which we have not got and which we are steadily and increasingly losing. Further, we must maintain a st strong military position, and above all we must start on an expensive

and world wide compaign to combat the propaganda of Communistic Russia. And the object of this campaign would be to advocate, explain, and inspire individual freedom for men everywhere. Presumably "everywhere" includes the United States. But what Mr. Stassen is going to do to increase the freedom of human beings in the United States, particularly if they happen to be of dark complexion, is not specified in this excellent and progressive speech. The finest propaganda which Mr. Stassen could support would be an anti-lynching bill, an anti-poll tax bill, a Federal FEPC, and Federal Aid to Education without discrimination as to race, color or religion. Of this Mr. Stassen says nothing. But he does have a beautiful picture of the future. He sincerely hopes that by 1950 we will see continued success of the American exonomic system, progress in rebuilding Europe and at the same time "continued low production and poor living standards in Russia."

One could hardly believe that a man of any responsibility today could give voice to such a terrible hope. But here it is in his own words. One thing, therefore, is certain for every Negro American voter in 1948, and for every other voter, that Harold Stassen should never be president of the United States.

Weekly Times Rico ch 1948, weeks & Times

The New York Times says
on an editorial Nov 13, 1947

Through the Federal Reserve System the Government of the United States was regulating the conditions of private credit in this country long before the British Labor party thought of nationalizing the Bank of England. Through the Interstate Commerce Commission the Government has been regulating railway rates and railway competition for more than sixty years. The Government regulates the buying and selling of goods through the Federal Trade Commission. It regulates price competition, business mergers, corporation reports, commercial acquisition and consolidations through the same office. It regulates the stock exchanges through the Securities and Exchange Commission. It regulates the public utilities through innumerable Federal, state and local agencies. It regulates the radio industry through the Federal Communications Commission. It regulates the food and drug industry under legislation which is a generation old. It regulates banks. It regulates shipping. It regulates aviation. It regulates the conditions of collective bargaining. It regulates wages and hours of work under a Fair Labor Standards Act. It subjects corporate and private incomes to heavy taxation, fairly comparable with that which has prevailed recently in England, and distributes the proceeds of this taxation to projects devised for the public welfare.

(A)

We may add to this that the government carries on business enterprises — Panama Canal Railroad — express, banking, farm & ore reclamation projects, manufacturing fertilizer, publishing books & pamphlets via post guards,

Mailed-JAN.16,1948

pat- January 31, 1948

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

Socialism

The world is going Socialistic. No amount of lying or hysteria can contradict this clear fact. England has a Socialistic government and is socializing industry and wealth as fast as her difficult post-war conditions will allow. France has been and still is a socialistic state, owning railroads, telegraphs and telephones, and regulating industry. The same is true of Italy. Mussolini's facisism was socialism under a dictatorship, but socialism just the same. All of east Europe is socialistic. Franco's Spain has adopted a wide socialists program.

The United States

Even the United States, despite Mr. Stassen and other experts, is today socialistic. The New York Times in an editorial recently pointed out: "Through the Federal Reserve System the Government of the United States was regulating the conditions of private credit in this country long before the British Labor Party thought of nationalizing the Bank of England. Through the Interstate Commerce Commission the Government has been regulating railway rates and railway competition for more than sixty years. The Government regulates the buying and selling of goods through the Federal Trade Commission. It regulates price competition, business mergers, corporation reports, commercial acquisition and consolidations through the same office. It regulates the stock exchanges through the Securities and Exchange Commission. It regulates the public utilities through innumerable Federal, state, and local agencies. It regulates the radio industry through the Federal Communicatons Commission. It regulates the food and drug industry under legislation which is a generation old. ——————— No P

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Government in Industry

We may add to this that the United States government carries on business enterprises; carrying mail and express packages, building dams like Boulder, Grand Coulee, and T. V. A. , and irrigation projects, and manufacturing. It publishes books and pamphlets in vast quantities. What do people mean by saying that the United States is given over to the anarchy of free enterprise, or represents only "individual initiative?"

35-2-51

Chicago Defender
mailed Jan. 23, 1948

published - Jan. 7, 1948

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

Truman on Discrimination

No president has spoken fairer on race discrimination than President Truman and few presidents have done less to implement their sayings. What Truman said, in his annual message, leaves nothing to be desired. But Truman has said this before, and it is going to cost him nothing to say it again. He knows perfectly well that the main backing of his own party in the South will not stand behind him in legislation, and that the Republicans cannot be expected to take any action. He is, therefore, quite free to make a true, and even flamboyant expression, knowing that in all probability he will not be called upon to implement it. It is a characteristic Missouri politician's gesture.

We can await with interest the recommendation for action in the special message which he promises, but we know perfectly well what will happen. This has been a characteristic gesture toward Negroes on the part of Republicans for years, and on the part of Democrats in the last few years. It is assumed that Negroes do not have sense enough to see the utter futility and meaninglessness of this sort of action.

Republicans vs. Democrats

The Republicans promise an FEPC, an Anti-lynching Bill, and Federal aid to Education without race discrimination. They do nothing about it. They did not intend to do anything when they said so. In the same way, the Democrats are willing that Mr. Truman should make promises, but they were bitterly unwilling when Franklin D. Roosevelt actually tried to put into action some of these promises.

Just so today, Henry Wallace, and the petition of the NAACP to the United Nations have made the Administration speak out. But that does not mean action.

The only way in which we will get action is to have men like Franklin D. Roosevelt and Henry Wallace in the White House, and then to have the right congressmen. If we cannot get Wallace there, we can at least let the world know that we want him there by giving him our vote. With every consideration for Mr. Truman, we must remember that tomorrow he may contradict what he said today, and that if he does not contradict it in words he will contradict it by action or inaction. On the other hand, Henry Wallace has never wavered; he has gone all out in meeting and combatting segregation in the South, and particularly in standing against universal military training which will only continue the semi-slavery of American Negroes.

25-2-2

Mailed January 30, 1948

pub. Feb. 14, 1948

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

Socialism

We are a socialistic state, not entirely or completely, but sufficiently so as to take our stand with the leading states of the world in planning and controlling industry, and regulating private profit for the interests of the mass of American citizens.

This, of course, brings up again the question of what socialism is? It is a vague and general term, and means generically, the attempt to regulate the activities of men for the good of the mass of people, instead of letting government or industry be run for the benefit of certain individuals. It arose as a philosophy and a distinct body of social thought during the 18th and 19th centuries, when the freedom for exploitation or hiring labor through wage contracts, which kept the income of the laboring class low. And against the idea that industry was for private profit and not for social welfare, many plans for socializing the state arose with different degrees of completeness, and with different ways in which the government was brought in to control interests.

The Function of Government

The most extreme proposal of Socialism was that of Communism, which is socialism based on dictatorship and force, and designed to introduce immediately the complete socialistic state. But there are other varieties of socialism, and there is no modern state which does not to some degree adopt socialistic methods. All this means is that instead of regarding the state as we used to, as a limited field of narrow control, which was to have small part in the general life of men, we are increasingly convinced that government must plan and to a certain degree control industry, that we have got to own a considerable part of capital, that we have got to limit profits, and limit individual initiative and private enterprise, whenever they interfere with the

common good. This is a plain fact which cannot be denied by honest people. It would be most unfortunate if we entered the next campaign with any idea that the world today is divided into two parts; the one of which stands for individual freedom, and the other for government control. We all stand for government control. Although the degree of that control varies in different nations and among different thinkers.

Great Socialists

35-2-21

Among the great thinkers who have thought and written about socialism are: Godwin, and Robert Owen of England; Saint Simon, Fourier, Proudhon, and Louis Blanc of France. Among the Germans are Marx and Engels: and recent writers such as George Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, and Harold Lasky. No one has any right to discuss socialism without having some acquaintanceship with the work of these leaders of modern thought. Their books can be found in any public library.

Planned Industry

All industry is and must be planned, but instead of the planning today in great countries, like the United States, being primarily in the hands of the government, it is largely in the hands of private citizens and the planning is directed toward the maximum of individual profit and not toward the maximum of social welfare. The real fight then, is whether industrial organization shall be planned by private persons for their own benefit, or planned by the public through democratic control for the benefit of the state.

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Mailed February 6, 1948

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

The Bandwagon Tradition

There is a peculiar assumption among Americans, that they must never be caught backing a losing cause or an uncertain venture; that they must always be on the Bandwagon; they must always be successful; that no matter how great and good any plan may be, if they see that it is not sure to succeed, it is their business to give it up immediately and to scramble on the side of those who are about to be successful.

Of course, no sooner does one express an idea of this sort than its utter stupidity is clear. No cause would ever triumph if no one dared to advocate it, or temporarily lose it. No temporary defeat ever settles a great question. It may postpone its answer, but insofar as the problem is really important and the right answer is in sight, a defeat is simply a postponement, nothing more. How American Negroes can believe anything else when they remember the abolition controversy is difficult for me to see. Some can talk of a vote for Wallace as being "thrown away". Some could vote for Taft or Dewey just because they are afraid that one of these reactionaries might be president of the United States. What difference does that make? Abraham Lincoln was a poor bet in 1880. If that is true in our own history, how much more has it been true in the history of the world?

The Fight For The Franchise

There was a time in England when if a man stopped work because he was unwilling to be whipped and starved, he was promply thrown into jail. Striking was against the law. There was a time when if a man objected to the religious superstitions under which he was compelled to act and his children were trained,

he was liable to be burned publicly at the stake as a heretic. The people that strove against this kind of thing may have been called fools by some folk, but history proved that they were exceedingly wise. Then we came to the time where we proposed that a man should have the opportunity to say how he should be ruled and what the laws were to be as to his work and conditions of work. In other words, we adopted among civilized nations almost universally the right to vote. There was a bitter opposition to it. There was every kind of cheating and violence to keep votes from being given to the ignorant mob. But the ignorant mob gained the right to vote, not entirely even today, but so largely that no one dares question it.

35-2-4

That did not mean that the millenium was voted in for next election; it did not mean that when we wanted free schools and free religion, and higher wages, that we got them at the first election. We did not, but we voted for them, and in the long run we won something of what we wanted. The same kind of problem faces us today. There is only one candidate for the presidency that any honest, intelligent Negro American who is free to vote his opinion can vote for without stultifying himself. Now of course, a good many of us are not free, some of us want to keep our enrollment in our parties, because in that way we expect to make better bread and butter in the future.

Negroes Should Vote For Wallace

There are others who are afraid that if they should vote for Wallace, they might lose their jobs. There are others who are just simply afraid. But as I say, the American Negro who is free, has simply got no other candidate for whom he can possibly vote honestly. To vote for Mr. Taft--did you notice what Taft said about the denial of Civil Rights to American Negroes in his answer to Trumans message? He said just exactly

nothing! And that is just what he would do. Have you ever heard Harold Stassen say anything that would indicate that he was aware that there were any Negroes in the United States? No! And you won't! He is much too modest for that.

Is Mr. Dewey going to do anything for Negroes? Not unless he is kicked into it, as he was into the New York FEPC, which he tried desperately to kill before he was finally forced to assent to it.

35-2-5

On the other hand, Wallace has put his neck out. He did not have to say anything about Negroes. He did not have to write that speech for the Alpha Phi Alpha at Tulsa. He did not have to take a stand against "Jim Crow". He might have used very fair language so far as white people are concerned and the double-tongue for Negroes. He did not. He is a brave man. He is a worthy successor of Franklin Roosevelt. We ought to vote for him whether he can win or not. If he does not win in 1948, there is every chance in the world that the principles for which he stands will win in 2048. But whether they will win then or not depends on what we do now. If we vote for Wallace and his beliefs, they will have a chance to win; if we do not, we will set the world back to Dewey, Stassen, and Taft.

2/28/48

W. E. B. DuBois

The Winds Of Time

MR. PAULEY—HIS PHILOSOPHY

MR. ED. PAULEY has resigned as assistant to the head of our armed forces. He says that his only fault was doing business in the usual American way. He has a point there, and let us examine it. Mr. Pauley made a million dollars by playing the market in grain. Just what does that mean? It does not mean that he raised more wheat in the world wheat. There was no when he got through with his operation than before. He does not pretend that he produced new wealth or added to the store of the wealth in the world. Still he made a million dollars. He made that million dollars by what is usually called "betting."

There is a great deal of wealth in the United States that individuals have accumulated in this way. Some of the betting is frowned upon, when it has to do with stock-market "numbers" and is called "policy." (Sacred name.) Other gambling is permitted, when it has to do with horse racing, if it is done at the track. But in the case of the stock market, this betting is looked upon as highly respectable; but is it? Of course, everyone objects when he sees bedlam based on "inside knowledge."

A man possesses "inside knowledge" when he knows what changes in prices are going to take place, and Mr. Pauley might have had such knowledge. He says that he did not have it; but quite outside of that, what ought to be the attitude of the public toward betting? Remember that when a man makes a million dollars on the stock market he adds nothing to the wealth of the world, but he does add to his own power.

He gains a right to services, materials and labor to an extent which makes him a little king as compared to people who are working 'r a few dollars a day or for a moderate salary.

PECULATION AND DISTRIBUTION

What services has Mr. Pauley rendered for his million dollars? There are some people who say that stock market manipulations arrange the amount of wealth we have so that it is better distributed among the people who want it, than would be the case if stock market manipulation did not take place. But this is not necessarily true.

What speculation in the stock market does is to see that the wheat is held and bought by people who will pay the highest price for it; but are these the people who need it most? Ask the starving children of Europe this fool question. No, in the long run stock market speculation does not distribute goods in the most valuable or beneficent way. It distributes power, on the other hand, where it never ought to rest.

Then, too, when people read of how government officials and members of Congress have speculated in the "staff of life" while the world is starving, they get a curious idea of what work means in the world They begin to realize that the process of making money in America and making it fast, is not by taking off your coat and rolling up your sleeves and going out and plowing a furrow.

It is not by going into the steel mills and sweating, and striving to the point of exhaustion. It is not by going into Madam's kitchen and preparing fine food for the people who are invited to eat it, and who do not get enough exercise to enjoy it when it is eaten. No, not in work but in gambling come the great rewards of free enterprise and individual initiative.

THE WORKER—BASIS OF PRODUCTION

This, of course, is a perversion of the truth. No matter who by manipulation, by law, and by common consent gets the wealth of the stock market, neverthless, that wealth is made by the worker, and the worker ought to have a voice into how it is distributed; and the worker is not simply the man who works with his hands, although he is a large and very large part.

He is the man who plans not simply for gain but for the economcal use of wealth; for the invention of machinery, for the direction of work, for the distribution of the results of work. All workers, whether they work by brain or by hand, have a real part in the great result of production, but the man who simply bets and manipulates, the man who sits and gambles on the way in which prices rise and fall is not a worker.

He is worse than the thief who steals money on the street. He is worse than the man who cheats and lies; because he not only does a wrong thing, but he does it because the public does not realize what it is that he is doing. This is the reason that there rises the attack upon Wall Street.

WALL STREET CONDEMNED

There are things that Wall Street can and may do for the advantage of the nation. It can arrange so that the capital which is needed in farming and not needed in paper making or steel manufacture can be transferred without loss to the place where it is needed.

It can arrange so that the man who needs capital can borrow it from the man who does not need it at the present. There are all sorts of banking and financial arrangements that Wall Street can attend to and does. But beyond this, with far greater advertisement and often with far greater activity, Wall Street is the greatest center of gambling in the world, and as such it deserves universal condemnation.

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WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

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35-21(h)

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pub. March 6, 1948

Mailed February 20, 1948

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

The Southern Liberal

We Negroes spend a good deal of time being sorry for ourselves and we are without doubt largely justified; but once in a while we begin to realize how difficult and almost impossible it is for other people to be themselves, especially if they happen to want to fight on our side. I think I have always had a great deal of sympathy for the young Southern white man who wants to be honest, and I know there are such persons. I remember that one of first experiences in the South was witnessing the driving out of a liberal white professor from a North Carolina University because he had the temerity to say in print that thetwo greatest figures in the South since the Civil War, were Robert E. Lee and Booker T. Washington. He did not suffer mob violence, but he found that the climate of Massachusetts was a great deal pleasenter for him after that. He went there and finished his life work there.

Every time I see a young white Southern Liberal say something fair and decent on the Negro problem, I watch him. Pretty soon the pay-off is bound to come. After a while he either becomes silent and you gradually forget everything he said, or he begins slowly and deftly to walk backwards. He tries rather desperately to maintain his small reputation as a liberal, as one representing the forward-looking South, but gradually you begin to place him. He is a Southerner who has liberal instincts, but no courage. I do not for a moment say that these people were not honest in what they said. But I do say that when they realize that what the cost in the South is for a person who is liberal on the Negro problem, they usually do not have the courage to go forward. They either stand still or they walk backwards. And the reason for all this is shown perhaps most clearly today in the case of Don West.

Don West

Don West is a fine young Southern white man, born and reared in Georgia and choosing Georgia as the place of his life's work. On my way from

Atlanta to New York, I used to drive through the little town called Lulu in North Georgia, where Don West became a school teacher. I did not know him at that time, I did not meet him there. I met him when he was in New York on a scholarship, and heard him talk bravely and finely. I hoped that he would keep it up and be among that small and scattering vanguard which is trying to bring modern civilization to the South. But I knew it was going to cost him something.

Now today we can see what it is costing. Don West is a poet. He has published several little volumes; one of which is called; CLODS OF SOUTHERN EARTH, and one of the poems in that book dealt with Harlan, Kentucky. Everybody knows that Harlan, Kentucky is one of the nastiest places on earth for workers, black or white. It is in the hands of a consciousless monopoly and anybody who thinks liberally or talks liberally would better keep away from Harlan. Now Don West had this little school in North Georgia and did some rather fine things in making the people think straight on the Negro problem. Then he became Professor of English and Southern Folk-Lore at Oglethorpe University in Atlanta. Oglethorpe is not much of a school. It used to be celebrated chiefly for wholesale distribution of honorary degrees torich Northerners, who could npt get them in any other way. It has low standards and difficulty in keeping going; and this probably was in part the reason that Don West taught at Oglethorpe.

35-2-25

Charlie Lewallen

The Cocoa Cola University in Atlanta would not have had him on a golden salver, not with the economic liberalism that he talked about. There are not many other institutions in the South who wanted him and I do not know, but I have a suspicion, that the school board at Lulu began to look at him with a certain disfavor. At any rate Don West came to Atlanta, and then a libel suit for $10,000 was brought against him. In one of the poems in his book he had used a purely fictitious name "Charley Lewellen". Somebody in Georgia who claimed to have that name sued Don West for libel.

Now there is no way of proving that this man was not lying. Georgia does

not keep birth records to any extent. If a man says his name is "Lewallen" or "Chigureus" than thats' his name. So this man sues Don West. He probably has no case in any real court, but what he or his backers can do in Georgia, and indeed in most of the United States, is to keep Don West on the hot-seat. He can make him spend money, as he already has for a year, fighting a case, which at best in nonsense and in its worse aspects, simply persecution of a man in Georgia who dares to be liberal. Back of this man undoubtedly is the power of the Ku Klux Klan, the power of the unspeakable Talmadge and of other bigots.

If you are interested in helping white people in the South, and God knows you ought to be, send a dollar to S. T. Capps, a teacher in the Atlanta School System and buy Don West's book.

THE DON WEST DEFENSE COMMITTEE
Post Office Box 1178
Atlanta, Georgia

35-2-36

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WINDS OF TIME
By
W. E. B. DuBois

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER
Mailed 2-27-48

Europe:

John Strawroom, lecturing in England in August, 1947, spoke of Europe in world History. He said in part: "In early times Europe was far from being the most important region in the world. Wherever mankind originated it was not in Europe. The Garden of Eden was not located in this part of the world. When civilizations arose, it was not in Europe, but in the great river valleys of the East and the Middle East. The Mediterranean civilizations of Greece and Rome, presented by so many European historians as European civilizations, were not really European at all, and their attention was focused not on Europe but on the Middle East. It was eastward that Alexander the Great marched; and when he reached India he is reputed to have cried like a child for he had conquered the whole world...a world that included the Middle East, and not Europe.

Rome

"So with the Roman civilization. The interest shown by Caesar in Egypt was not restricted to an interest in Cleopatra. When Almighty God sent His son into the world to save us, He sent Him to Palestine, not to Europe, indicating a correct knowledge of geoplotics in Heavenly circles. All the religions have started outside Europe. Europe, in fact, was what we would now call a colonial region, a place for settlement and exploitation by the waves of peoples who came from the east and settled as their descendants centuries later were to go and settle in America and Africa and Australia. The centers of world culture were Egypt, in Persia, in India, in China, not in Europe. The course of world history was shaped not by the Europeans butby the Arabs, the Mongols, and the powers of Asia. Europe was a region in turmoil, a region of permanent crisis, under the pressure of almost continuous attack by Arabs, Mongols, and Turks.

The Middle Ages

"European society in the Dark Ages and the Middle Ages was a society in a state of siege. The feudal system was not a system at all, but the legalized

rule of military bosses, governing Europe by gangster law and levying 'protection money' in the manner imitated in Chicago several centuries later. It is said that religion flourishes in ti es of crisis. If that is so, then this is sufficient explanation for the growth and the dominant position in society held by the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages, an age of permanent crisis. Throughout the whole of early times, then, Europe was a backward region, and world history was made elsewhere. No wonder there is no 'pattern' in the histories of Europe which read the present into the past and try to explain early European history without reference to the outside world where all the most important things were happening."

MS 2 M 00

Cultured Africa

Frobenius reminded us that "The revelations of fifteenth and seventeenth century navigators furnish us with certain proof that Negro Africa, which extended south of the Sahara desert zone, was still in full bloom, in the full brilliance of harmonious and well-formed civilizations. In the last century the superstition ruled that all high culture of Africa came from Islam. Since then we have learned much, and we know today that the beautiful turbans and clothes of the Sudanese folk were already used in Africa before Mohammed was even born or before Ethiopian culture reached inner Africa. Since then we have learned that the peculiar organization of the Sudanese states existed long before Islam and that all of the art of building and education, of city organization and handwork in Negro Africa, were thousands of years older than those of Middle Europe.

"Thus in the Sudan old real African warm-blooded cultures existed and could be found in Equatorial Africa, where neither Ethiopian thought, Hamitic blood, or European civilization had drawn the pattern."

pub March 20, 1948

Mailed 3-5-48

WINDS OF TIME
By
W. E. B. DuBois
THE CHICAGO DEFENDER

Truman

In the next election there will be some Negroes who will vote for Mr. Truman; a few of them will believe that he is the best candidate, but not many. Others will remember that he has appointed some Negroes to office and that is important; but they will also be sure that in the future he will make other appointments. In this case, however, we must not overvalue appointments. They are good things for the man appointed; they are not necessarily good for the fourteen million Negro people. There will be some who will be very thankful to Mr. Truman for his message on Civil Rights, but those will remember that what Mr. Truman says today has nothing to do with what he will say or do tomorrow. The revolt in the South is going to make him at least tone down his demands, and perhaps utterly forget them. The revolt in the South is ominous for his candidacy. For these reasons, and others, a few Negroes will vote for Truman.

Republicans

As to the Republicans, there is nothing in the record of Taft or Stassen to attract any Negro voters, except that Mr. Taft is a rich man. He did not earn his money, he inherited it. In the case of Mr. Dewey, he has some things to his credit, but very little. He is not a politician upon whom earnest men build their hopes. Of course, it may be that a dark horse will be nominated by the Republicans, but in that case do not let the fact that you know nothing against him lead you to think that he is a friend. The great thing, I regret to say, that is going to attract votes for any Republican candidate in the next election is money.

Money

There is going to be a lot of money put into this next campaign. Newspapers who want funds are going to get them. Individuals of any influence whatsoever will get hand-outs of various sorts. Persons of any prominence or position will be able to bring out of this campaign good fat sums. This is a thing we hate to admit,

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Wallace

Now outside of these persons who will vote Republican or Democratic, what candidate or prospective candidate has the stature of Henry Wallace? He is not a politician. He has nothing like the nimble flair for publicity of little Mr. Stassen, nor the canny silences of Mr. Dewey, Nor the flat-footed stubborness of Taft. He is not such careless a talker as Harry Truman. But he is a man, an honest and sincere man whom everybody, even his enemies, like. Moreover, his popularity is great and it is growing.

I have noticed this in many parts of the country. I am going to watch it. Of course, the press and the periodicals are going to play him down. They are going to use their strongest card of trying not to mention him. Then next they are going to misrepresent deliberately what he stands for. Those people who are influenced by this kind of tactic on the part of the American press have simply to remember the case of the Literary Digest. Here was one of the most widely circulated periodicals in the United States, which bet its pants on the defeat of Roosevelt and lost. It simply folded up and went out of business.

35-2-40

The Press

How many times in the last twelve years has Roosevelt been absolutely defeated according to the editorials in the press? Remember just one thing---the chances are against Henry Wallace, not on account of his lack of popularity or his program, but simply because of disfranchisement in the South and the rotten borough defeat of democracy in that part of the land. Nevertheless, remember this: Henry Wallace has a chance, he may be the next president of the United States! If American Negroes could accomplish this, they would do more for the triumph of democracy in the United States for all people, than any group of people in the last century. Therefore, forgetting the office-seekers, and forgetting the money-men, let the mass of American Negroes, north, south, east, and west, cast their votes for Henry Wallace in 1948.

May 20, 1948

Chicago Defender

WINDS OF TIME

BY

W. E. B. DuBois

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER

Truman

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42-6c-5

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pub. March 27, 1948 3-12-48

WINDS OF TIME
By
W. E. B. DuBois

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER

Geneva: The Commission on Human Rights

Just what happened in Geneva in connection with human rights, discrimination, and the protection of minorities? After some difficulty with the official reports, I have been able to extract some continuity in the story. The Commission on Human Rights opened its second session in Geneva, December 2-17, 1947. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt was chairman. Eighteen nations were represented and three specialized agencies, including the International Labor Organization and UNESCO. There were also present consultants representing the AFL, the Inter-Parlimentary Union, the Catholics, the Jews, the Red Cross, the International Council of Woman, Business and Professional Women, the World Federation of United Nations, and some other organizations. There was no consultant representing Negroes or any group of colored people, except those belonging to independent nations.

Attitude Towards Petitions

The organization showed by its first action its attitude toward petitions. They were presumably regarded as secret matters of information from "subversive" organizations. The Secretary General furnished a "confidential list of communications" without divulging the identity of the authors. It was suggested that the Secretary General might in the future compile two lists of communications: one, non-confidential for persons who were willing to give their names, and the other, a confidential list without names.

The Commission then began to discuss an international bill of rights and ran into all sorts of difficulties. First, the matter of length; second the matter of detail; and third, the question of enforcement. Mrs. Roosevelt insisted that the United Nations was not in a position to take action upon petitions, and, therefore, she did not once mention the document, which the

NAACP had sent to the international organization. The Commission requested that the Secretariat appoint a committee to proceed "in private session" to examine petitions and conduct negotiations. A sub-committee was also suggested to examine the receivability of petitions. Finally there was suggested an international court on human rights. Mrs. Roosevelt, however, felt that such a proposal must be considered very seriously and that it could not be put into effect in the forseeable future.

The Sub-Commission on Discrimination

At the same time that this commission on human rights was meeting, there occurred the first session of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. It met from November 24 to December 5. This commission was determined upon March 28, 1947, and its functions were to examine principles in the field of discrimination. The members of this sub-commission were from Australia, Belgium, China, Ecuador, France, Haiti, India, Iran, Sweden, the Soviet Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America. The representative from the United States was a Southern white man, Jonathan Daniels of North Carolina.

The American Proposal

At the meeting of the sub-commission, November 24, 1947, Mr. Daniels, the Southern white man who was the United States representative, proposed the following procedure. First a proposal for handling petitions received on these subjects, and secondly, handling petitions brought to their attention by any member of the United Nations or the Secretariat, or a specialized agency. Of course, this would have excluded such a petition as that of the NAACP. The sub-commission, if it thought that the particular case warranted consideration, should appoint a committee to examine the matter. This committee working in collaboration with the Secretariat for the prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. This was really a proposal of indefinite delay.

WINDS OF TIME

What happened in Geneva? We have at long last an official report from persons connected with the Commission on Human Rights and the sub-commission on Discrimination and Minorities. A statement of what actually happened at Geneva. Our information begins with this admission from a delegate: "The simply fact is that the NAACP petition was one of the many petitions which had been piling up unread and unconsidered in the United Nations." ~~On the first day~~ The Commission on Human Rights made the initial mistake of starting with what was essentially an eighteenth century process, that is, it tried to make a declaration of human rights. There was no call for this. Declarations of human rights have been made time and time again, excellent in subject and content.

It is not neccessary today to restate what the Declaration of Independence, and the Declaration of the Rights of Man stated a hundred years and more ago. The modern procedure is scientific effort is to start with a particular case and make a study and from the facts proceed to action and general statement. This, the Human Rights Commission has not done, specially with hesitation and distaste, received various petitions and hid them from public knowledge and use. When the sub-commission met in Geneve, the American representatives, a southern white man, Jonathan Daniels

~~from a delegate~~

we can hardly hope to surpass the Declaration of independence and the Droits des hommes, save in detail

mailed 3-19-48

WINDS OF TIME
By
W. E. B. DuBois

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER

More About Geneva

On December 1, 1947, there was a meeting of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, with the representative from Sweden in the chair and Mr. Roy of Haiti as vice chairman. The other members represented Belgium, Australia, China, Ecuador, France, India, Iran, the USSR, the United Kingdom, and the United States. At this meeting there was a significant proposal by the representative from the Soviet Union.

The Russian Proposal

This Draft Resolution said: "The Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, having taken into consideration the principle clearly stated in the Articles of the Charter of the United Nations that equality must be assured to all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, having taken into consideration the resolution of the General Assembly No. 103 (1) of the 19th of November , 1946, which was carried unanimously and the text of which is as follows:

> The General Assembly of the United Nations declares that it is in the highest interests of humanity to put an immediate end to religious and so-called racial prosecution and discrimination, and calls on the governments and responsible authorities to conform both to the latter and and to the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, and to take the most prompt and energetic steps towards that end.

Having taken into consideration that a year has passed since then and no measures have been taken for an effective prevention of racial discrimination, the Sub-Commission recommends:

1. To consider at its meetings the petition presented to the United Nations twice since 1946 by fifteen million Negroes residing in the United States of America, who are subjected to discrimination on racial grounds, and the Document of the International Democratic Federation of Women concerning the discrimination of women on the ground of their sex.

2. To set up a commission consisting of members of the United Nations for studying on the spot the facts of discrimination to which the native population is subjected in colonies on the grounds of race, sex, language or religion."

The Proposal is Discussed

The chairman, Mr. Ekstrand of Sweden, proposed that a vote should be taken upon this proposal. But Mr. Masani of India proposed a modified resolution. The representative from Iran declared that the Sub-Commission had no power to hear petitions, and the representative from Haiti agreed with him on that. He said that the Commission on Human Rights had no power either to consider or deal with such petitions.

A woman from the United Kingdom, Miss Monroe, thought it was premature for the Sub-Commission to consider petitions until there was an international convention concerning rights. Mr. Masani also said that the Sub-Commission had no power to pass upon petitions, but they could act as conciliators. The representative from Iran said it was a duty of the Sub-Commission not to receive petitions indirectly, but as experts to make recommendations to the Commission on Human Rights. Mr. McNamara, of Australia, said that legal technicalities should not stop the Sub-Commission from taking effective steps up to the point of intervention. He suggested that the Sub-Commission could transmit documents, act as conciliators, and, by voting, demonstrate public opinion.

35-2-10

3-26-48

WINDS OF TIME
By
W. E. B. DuBois

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER

Additional Reports from Geneva

Mr. Roy, of Haiti, admitted that the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and theProtection of Minorities could study petitions before they were discussed by the Commission on Human Rights. Mr. Daniels, of the United States, supported his own proposal of November 24, and said it was a duty of the Sub-Commission to recommend to the Commission on Human Rights, principles to be applied against discriminations. The composite resolution of Mr. Masani was then put to the vote, with ten votes in favor, one against, and one abstention. The chairman then asked for avote on Mr. Daniels' motion to insert the following paragraph,among others:

> The Sub-Commission, in considering procedures for carrying out its terms of reference in connection with the making of recommendations to the Commission on urgent problems in the fields of Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, has concluded that the Secretary-General of the United Nations should be requested to examine petitions received on these subjects, and to communicate to the Sub-Commission those which he considers to indicate the existence of 'urgent problems'. He should also be authorized, at his discretion , to circulate such petitions to members of the Sub-Commission in advance of its sessions.

There were three in favor of inserting this paragraph, five against and four abstentions. The chairman then put to vote the proposal of Mr. Daniels, somewhat similiar to the one already proposed/. There were five votes in favor and seven against. Mr. Daniels concluded that according to this vote, the Sub-Commission could not receive any communications relating to petitions. Then,for sometime, the body discussed the question of including the matter concerning women and this was finally laid aside.

Treatment of Minority Problems

Mr. Borisov now proposed that the Sub-Commission should vote on his original proposal. Mr. Masani of India said, in his opinion a study by the Sub-Commission of the problems of Negroes, and Indians, and colonial peoples would be hindered by the absence of any official petitions before them. He said that his proposed amendment would procure from the Sub-Commission official documents as a basis for study. Miss Monroe, of the United Kingdom, supported his proposal. She considered that it was the duty of the Sub-Commission to promote in all ways the welfare of colored peoples but it would be invidious to give priority of consideration to the particular groups suggested. The member from Ecuador doubted that the Sub-Commission could take any action concerning the Negroes until a declaration had been adopted. He suggested that territories other than colonies would be considered, pointing out that there were 30,000,000 Indians in Latin America who were in need of social and politicial reform.

Mr. Daniels, of the United States, said that he was aware of the problem of Negroes in the United States and that the President himself had authorized a comprehensive investigation. He suggested, however, that it would be invidious to take isolated action on this particular problem, and he supported the setting up of machinery for the receipt by the Sub-Commission of petitions from all types of minorities.

Russia Speaks

At a meeting on December 3, 1947, Mr. Borisov, of Russia, spoke and said: ~~He supported~~

> He supported the chairman's suggestion to vote upon his proposal first. He said that there was a fundamental difference between his text and the text of the composite resolution. He considered that it was the duty of the Sub-Commission to consider petitions and not to submit them to other bodies. He pointed out that he had proposed consideration both of the

Negro problem in the United States of America, and of the question of Discrimination of Women because relevant documents were available. He said that he was ready to consider any other petitions if the documentary evidence was available.

He agreed that it was impossible to approach all the problems at once, and said that he had mentioned in his proposal the tow that he considered most urgent.

WINDS OF TIME
By
W. E. B. DuBois

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER
Mailed Apr. 2 1948

GENEVA: FURTHER REPORTS

Mr. McNamara of Australia proposed an amendment to Mr. Masani's amendment to Mr. Borisov's proposal. He suggested adding the words, "and from other similiar or comparable groups" after the word "Colored People." Mr. Masani did not want to accept that. Mr. Daniels pointed out that the sub-committee had rejected his proposal on the previous day when he had suggested setting up machinery to deal with all petitions. The chairman put to vote the first paragraph of Mr. Masani's proposal as amended by Mr. McNamara; "that the Economic and Social Council be moved to instruct that petitions received from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and from other similiar or comparable groups be circulated to Members of this Sub-Commission and resolves that their consideration be placed on the agenda of the next meeting of this Sub-Commission." This proposal was rejected by a vote of five to one, with five abstentions. The delegate from France explained that he had abstained from voting because he had only been given the English text of the proposal. Mr. Roy of Haiti, abstained because he objected to the amendment and to Mr. McNamara's addition.

The chairman put Mr. Masani's amendment and this was rejected five to three with four abstentions.

THE RUSSIAN PROPOSAL AGAIN

Mr. Borisov's proposal was now taken up and the first paragraph voted on, to consider at ~~the~~ this meeting the NAACP petition presented to the United Nations twice since 1946 by 15 million Negroes residing in the United States of America

who are subjected to discrimination on racial grounds. The proposal was rejected by four votes to one, with seven abstentions. The woman from Great Britain, Miss Monroe, explained that she abstained from voting because she felt it was unjust to emphasize a petition from one particular group of colored people, and the other members of the Sub-Commission, who voted against the motion or abstained, said they had done so for the same reason.

35-2-15

Finally, by a vote of ten in favor, ten against, and one abstention, discussion was discontinued. Then again, the chairman put to vote Mr. Borisov's proposal as amended, and there was one vote in favor, five against, and six abstentions. Thus the matter ended so far as this Geneva meeting was concerned.

SOME IMPLICATIONS

The net result, so far as anyone can speak of a result, was fear of all petitions, so far as the Human Rights Commission was concerned; and an attempt to make an over-all statement of human rights, instead of considering specific examples of discrimination. And the refusal of the Sub-Commission to consider the two specific petitions which were before them, or to adopt any general rule as to dealing with petitions and discriminations. This is certainly an unfortunate beginning.

It should be added that, Mr. Daniels in a private letter defends himself. He says: "The simple fact is that the NAACP petition was one of the many petitions which have been piling up unread and unconsidered in the United Nations," He adds:

"I think it can be fairly stated that the vote represented the feeling of the Sub-Commission that no one petition, pressed for obviously political motives by one nation against another, should be taken up by the Sub-Commission when the Sub-Commission had declined to consider on their merits all the petitions now before the United Nations in this field."

The difficulty, of course, with this proposal is the wholly gratitudious assumption that the Russian proposal was merely political; or suppose we grant that it was. What about the Negroes who made their petition? Certainly they did not have Russia in mind when they talked about lynching and disfranchisement in the United States.

35-2-16

mailed 4-9-48

WINDS OF TIME
By
W. E. B. DuBois

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER

Universal Military Training

Universal military training is universal Jim Crow. Selective Service is selective segregation. To these methods of choosing soldiers the American Negro is opposed. His opposition is based on long and bitter experience. There is first, the basic principle: that a man, and particularly a growing youth, who is asked to put life, health and career in jeopardy, has a right to expect to be treated as the same kind of man as his fellows, and not herded like an alien animal nor segregated like a leper. The experience of black men in the United States army and navy has usually involved this.

When the American colonies started to fight for liberty from the British industrial monopoly, the army of George Washington announced frimly that no slaves nor free Negroes were wanted. But the British governor of Virginia, the largest and richest colony, had other ideas. He invited Negroes to join the British forces and offered them freedom and land. Negroes immediately began to pour into his forces. Alarmed, the Americans had a change of heart. They received Negroes into their ranks and black men fought at Bunker Hill, starved at Valley Forge, and helped vote in independence.

The War Of 1812

In 1812, Negro sailors fought on the Great Lakes and on the high seas, and Andrew Jackson begged and praised their aid at the Battle of New Orleans. But the wave of emancipation now slowed up and a new pattern began to appear and spread. America stopped regarding Negro slavery as an evil forced on reluctant colonies by

rapacious English merchants and began to realize that slaves and cotton were a paying investment. Emancipation halted at Mason and Dixon's line--the line which marked the beginning of lucrative cotton culture. A fatal fifty years changed the face of American civilization. Negroes were no longer unfortunate victims; they were fortunate inferiors, born to serve. Free Negroes were systematically ~~eliminated~~ eliminated and color caste reigned.

When free white labor began to fight for free land, the slaveholders bitterly disputed their clams and went to war. But both sides indignantly repudiated the idea that slavery was the issue. The North defended slavery and promised not to disturb it. The South averred it was fighting for "freedom" and not for slavery. Black soldiers were not wanted by either-- it was a "White Man's War!"

A White Man's War

But the white men couldn't finish it. The North resisted the draft. The poor whites deserted the Southern armies. Two long bitter years of stalemate followed, and then the Negro was invited to fight; first by the North, and then by the South. But he was invited to take arms not as a man but as a half man: in segregated units, with lower pay, and with the prospect of being killed like a mad dog if captured alive. He bowed to all this humiliation, because emancipation was the real reward. This he gained, because not only his actual fighting, but the threat of revolt of the whole laboring class of the South forced her to surrender.

35-2-24

The War With Spain

In the Spanish War, Negroes were again segregated and Negro officers eliminated in the National Guard. Even at San Juan Hill, the Negro fighters got almost no credit even when they rescued the Rough Riders and Teddy Roosevelt.

In the First World War, the complete segregation of Negroes became a national policy. Northern Negro recruits had to be shifted all over the country until Negro units could be found. All Negroes were trained in the South and made to submit to Southern Jim Crow patterns. Training as officers was at first refused all Negroes until the uproar compelled one officers training camp. And of the price we paid to fight for our country in 1917 and later in 1941, let me say more next week.

WINDS OF TIME
By
W. E. B. DuBois

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER revised 4-16-48 4-16

Fort Des Moines

The establishment of a Negro officers training camp at Fort Des Moines did not settle the controversy. It was decided that no Negro could be made a field officer; and even when 700 cadets qualified for commissions, the War Office in Washington hesitated. Pressure was brought to bear. I secured an interview with Secretary of War, Newton Baker. He looked at me coldly: "We are not trying to settle the Negro Problem in this war," he said. "But", I answered, "you are surely trying to settle as much of this problem as interferes with winning the war!"

Negro officers of field rank in the National Guard were nearly all eliminated before embarkation. As many Negro units as possible were kept from combat service and used as stevedores and laborers, where they furnished America's real contribution toward winning the war. But Negro officers were hounded, and Negro troops always liable to violence from white American troops.

In the French Army

Some of the Negro divisions however got a break, when at the urgent request of the French, they were hurried ahead and integrated with the French army. They were greeted by the French army and people with open arms. They were sent into the front combat lines and praised and decorated. The French cables sent word of thier exploits around the world.

The Americans resented this treatment of Negroes. The officials of the American liaison unit sent a secret request to the French command, asking that Negroes be no longer treated on terms of equality. They said that America disliked this. Particularly they were angry to see white women and black soldiers on the streets or pictured in the press. They asked French officers not to shake hands with Negroes or receive them socially.

35-2-26

In the U. S. Army

The American army held its black combat troops in the rear, making their camp life as disagreeable as possible; refusing them leave when there was any possibility of their mingling with the French; hauling them before courts-martial on trumped up charges of "rape"; decorating one of their camps with large concrete dice; and finally sending them into battle in the Argonne with neither maps nor directives. Because of alleged failure in their objectives here, a score of Negro officers were court-martialed; but President Wilson intervened and released them. One unit was deliberately sent into battle after the armistice had already been signed but not announced, although the commanding officers knew it. Scores were killed. In returning the soldiers all manner of discriminations cropped out. First, a few Negro units were rushed home so as to get them out of French racial patterns as soon as possible. But their enthusiastic reception in New York stopped that policy. The rest were kept cooped up in detention camps, with few leaves or amusements. It was a bitterly disillusioned body of Negroes that returned to the United States after the First World War.

Second World War.

The Jim Crow pattern of the Second World War was changed in some respects. The over-all policy of separating the troops by color and race was maintained. But officer training was open to all with a minimum of discrimination. In the Navy, Negroes were given opportunity to get commissions, and in one school granted unprecedented chances of work and promotion. There were cases in the Army where mixed unites of black and white soldiers were permitted; but these were few in number. In general, race segregation was rigidly maintained, with much consequent friction and bad feeling. Since the close of the war, attempts

to break down segregation by army regulation, or in obedience to state law has been firmly resented by the High Command.

For Negroes then, the prospect of a third world war is made all the more terrible by the prospect of "Jim Crow Forever," even before Stars and Stripes!

35-2-2

WINDS OF TIME
By
W. E. B. DuBois

4/23/48 The Chicago Defender

Cities

There can be little doubt but that San Francisco is the most beautiful city in the United States. I have often thought of Charleston, South Carolina, and New Orleans as standing foremost. The beauty of Charleston is undeniable; but its charm is confined to the Battery, the Sea Islands, and the historic buildings like St. Michaels, where the "slave steps forth a man!" Its further claim to interest is historic and includes the old Slave Mart. This, and the hopeless color prejudice, makes it difficult for a Negro to appreciate a city otherwise so full of interest and real grace.

New Orleans is not so beautiful as arresting; its long and gripping history gives it an individuality possessed by few American cities. Old Man River floats in dominance above it; Lake Pontchartrain curls about it, and long streets and avenues tell of old and secret sorrows and joys. And then below Canal Street lives an ancient world, where the color line fades and soft French displaces harsh American speech.

San Francisco

But San Francisco is beautiful in every right. Its great hills sweep arrogantly up and down, covered by white-walled homes. They stand on every curve and slant; they repeat themselves endlessly with every change of form and height. The green and color of flowers surge between. Main street is Market, and at one side instead of in the center. Then there are the Waters--the unending, puzzling waters, with oceans that are bays and bays oceans; with cities crowding on cities, until the city itself is lost amid its far-flung children. Yonder sweeps the Pacific; here is the bay of San Francisco,

and yet above the other bay. Riding over all swing the amazing bridges, dwarfing even the magnificent Huey Long Bridges of Louisiana. Small wonder the Romans called their chief magistrate, The Greatest Bridge-builder--"Pontifex Maximus"; yet how their stone arches cower beneath these miracles of steel.

Climate and People

Then there is the climate. There is no climate I have ever seen that can be compared to that of San Francisco. The eternal flowers contradict your umbrella and overcoat. You shiver amid a shower of blooms. You are never hot and seldom cold. You cannot describe the weather as beautiful, nor yet as disagreeable. It is simply unique.

But a city is not streets and hills; it is not bays and bridges; it is not inexplicable cable cars and plunging autos. It is also people. It may justly be argued that people are not exactly a part of a city's scenery; and too, Charleston has its shades of skin and contours of countenance; while in New Orleans search for the Color Line is an out-door sport. But San Francisco is the least color-conscious of any city in the United States. Historically, this arises from the fact that slavery never existed here and the sub-stratum of low-paid labor was Chinese with only a few Negroes. To these colored folk have been added in time, Japanese, Mexicans, Filipinos, some Negroes in the past, and a flood of Negroes since the last war. Some of the darker folk have been trained and well-to-do. So that no legend tying color absolutely to poverty has arisen. Moreover, recently ties between the colored groups and between white and colored have been knitted. The labor unions have been foremost in this--the CIO leading; the AFL following. Workingmen realize that

unless workers of all colors stand together, the backs of each will be broken by the other.

But beyond this, a spirit of inter-racial justice, and friendship between individuals of different racial origin, seems to me more widespread in San Francisco than in any other city in North America.

Finally, there is in San Francisco a political freedom and consciousness of the power of the vote which recalls old New England. It makes for division and "isms," but it makes also for independance. The demagogue flourishes on such soil but he is annual, not perennial.

WINDS OF TIME
By
W. E. B. DuBois

The Chicago Defender
Mailed April 30, 1948

35-2-31

We Negroes have much to complain of. The slave trade and its three hundred years of greed and cruelty. American slavery and its exploitation of human toil for the sake of white civilization. Color caste which today makes us second-class citizens in the United States and members of a lower caste throughout the civilized world. But facing all this, it must be admitted that the plight of the Jews throughout the world has been even harder and more desperate than anything that Negroes have passed through in modern times.

It seems almost incredible that a country like the United States should join with Great Britain in making the sheer survival of the Jewish race a matter of desperate chance. So much of Jewish history is forgotten and distorted that we must continually bring it to mind in order to think clearly and justly. Here is a comparatively small group of people noted even in ancient history for their high religious concepts, for their clear thinking, and the splendid results of their family life. They have met opposition for thousands of years, not on account of laziness and inefficiency, but on account of thier determined will to survive and to be spiritually free.

They escaped the tentacles of Egyptian theocracy. They survived in a barren land east of the Mediterranean by hard work, self-criticism, and magnificent self-expression. They were beaten down by the vast power of the Roman Empire, they were dispersed over the world and those who fled into Europe found themselves without rights and without liberty.

They could not own land, they could not enter the professions, naturally they could not and would not become a part of the all-powerful Church. Their one salvation lay in peddling goods, finance and merchandising in the new and growing trade and industry of a world passing into economic revolution. They became gradually the bankers and financiers of Europe and eventually they entered the professions. They eventually became artists and scientists. In many cases they led the world in thought and creation. And this, despite all kinds of repression and personal humilation; yet their very success brought disaster.

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Religious fanaticism dogged them. Time and time again they became objects of lying and slander. They gained and lost, and lost and gained; political and social rights, and only with the greatest difficulty retained the basic right to their religious belief.

Finally, in the 19th century, it seemed as though the world was coming to its senses and that a man could believe in the one God of the Jews and if he conducted himself as a man, could be a citizen of the world. Jews rose to preferment in all of the leading countries of civilization. But when in the 20th century there came the frantic rivalry between a few great nations to dominate the world, one of them seized upon the ancient prejudice against the Jews to destroy them in order to gain the following of certain elements in Germany. The result was a slaughter so vast and cruel that we will not be able to realize what happened to six million human beings in Eastern Europe during the Second World War until years have gone by.

There was one refuge, a little thing, a little corner of the world where the Jews anciently had lived. Early in the 19th century,

some Jews had proposed to rebuild Zion in Palestine; but many Jews themselves refused and said, "why segregate ourselves, when a free world is open for us?" However, with the systematic murder of Hitler and the attitude of civilized people elsewhere over the world, there came after the Second World War a demand that the British aid in the establishment of a Jewish nation in Palestine in accordance with the former clear promise of the British Empire. Then when this was to be put into practice, the British Empire repudiated its promise for sordid commercial reasons, and the United States government under President Truman first called and demanded for the fulfillment of this promise. Then almost unbelievably took back its word, refused to fulfill its promise, and is today letting the remnant of six thousand homeless Jews rot in Europe while the United States discusses unworkable possibilities for the partition of Palestine.

If there is one act for which President Truman and his advisors can be utterly and finally condemned and refused the support of all decent thinking perople, it is this reversal of stand in the matter of Palestine.

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WINDS OF TIME
By
W. E. B. Du Bois

The Chicago Defender
Mailed May 7, 1948

News

When I founded the CRISIS in 1910, my chief criticism of the Negro papers and periodicals of that time was that they did not pay enough attention to the collection of news; and at the same time their editorial opinion was based on too narrow a realization of what was going on in the world. To correct this, I established a department in the magazine called at first "The Horizon" and then afterward "Along the color Line," which consisted of small paragraphs giving the actual facts with dates and references, of news which I thought colored people ought to know. This proved the most popular part of the magazine and was responsible for its increase in circulation. Since that day, American Negro newspapers and periodicals have greatly widened and perfected their coverage of Negro news.

Franklin Frazier

Nevertheless, now and then, an item of great importance is missed. In the case which I have in mind, the election of E. Franklin Frazier as president of the American Sociological Society was an epoch-making event. I have not seen a single mention of the matter in any colored newspaper or magazine. Of course, I may have missed something, but certainly the occasion has not been noted as its importance deserves. For a long time it has been the hope and belief of American Negroes that the breaking of the color bar would take place first in Art and Sciences. To some extent, we

have been justified, but not entirely. In science, particularly, the bars still placed before persons because of race and color are high and difficult to break.

Earnest Just

Some years ago the American Society of Zoologists elected Earnest Just as Vice President. According to precedent he should have been finally made president, but the Zoologists did not have the guts to do this. He never reached that honor. In no other one of the great scientific associations has a Negro been honored by election to the highest office, save in the case of The American Sociological Society. This is an organization of some two thousand professors, and instructors, white and black, North and South, in the leading institutions of learning in the United States. E. Franklin Frazier was elected third vice president, and then second, finally he was made first vice president. I watched the development with interest. There was no argument or mention of the matter so far as I have seen or heard. Quietly and without remark, E. Franklin Frazier became president of The American Sociological Society last October; and now stands at the head of the Sociologists of America, representing every single great university and college in the United States. It is an epoch-making event.

It was a fine triumph of the American tradition of dessert despite race, which is so often flouted and forgotten in this country. There was no argument, no word of dissent; the election took place in the same smoothe and uneventful way as other elections in the past. Nevertheless, the American Negro Press ought to have noted the event with quiet dignity, so that no

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colored child would be able to forget this great step toward democracy which has been taken in America.

Franklin's Qualifications

Most Negroes, of course, and many whites know of E. Franklin Frazier. He has taught at the Atlanta University School of Social Work and Fisk University. He has for years been head of the Department of Sociology at Howard University. But the distinctive thing about [redacted] is that he has maintained his standing as a scientist; he has not sought notoriety; has not sought executive work or power. He has been a sociologist. He has studied social science, he has written books and papers, he has attended the professional meetings. As a result he has been asked to lecture and to teach at some of the leading institutions of America, and has a standing and reputation unrivaled in his field. His book on The Negro Family in the United States is a classic, not only for knowledge of the Negro, but as an exemplification of scientific method.

July 17, 1945

WINDS OF TIME

by

W. E. B. DuBois

The most interesting occurrence in Negro educational history is the birth, June 2nd, of Prairie View University. On that day Governor Stephenson of Texas signed the bill "changing the name of Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College for Negro Teachers to Prairie View University, and providing for the establishment of courses of law, medicine, engineering, pharmacy, journalism, or any other recognized college course taught at the University of Texas whenever there is any demand for such courses."

Not only that, but the budget appropriated $850,804 for the expense of Prairie View University during the next two years. This represents an increase of about 85% over the budget for 1943-45. About the same time Florida A. F. & M. Colored College got an appropriation of about a million dollars next year with additional money for building.

This emphasizes the fact that in the South the only colored colleges which are receiving adequate support are the Negro state institutions. They not only receive Federal funds under various laws, but also increased appropriations from the Legislature. They are not yet getting the Negro's equitable share, but they are progressing toward it. Their physical plants have grown enormously in the last 10 years. The great Negro institutions of higher learning today are those at Petersburg, Virginia; Greensboro, North Carolina; Tallahassee, Florida; Montgomery Alabama; Scotlandville, Louisiana; Nashville, Tennessee; Institute, West Virginia; and Prairie View, Texas. Compared with the private institutions like Fisk, Atlanta, Talladega, Dillard, Hampton and Tuskegee, these state institutions are superior in most of their physical accommodations.

For the most part, they still lag behind the private institutions in salaries, teachers, and creative scholarship; but even in these respects they are rapidly catching up and with increased salaries and increased intelligence and independence on the part of their governing boards, these institutions are bound to make a tremendous contribution to the education of the Negro in the near future.

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The greatest handicap to Negro education in these public colleges, as well as in the private colleges, is the public school system of the South. And neither set of institutions is giving enough attention to this serious matter. I firmly believe that today a majority of Negro children in the South, and certainly in the country districts of the South, do not have the opportunity to learn to read and write; and throughout the institutions of higher education for Negroes the fact that the student entering and studying there cannot read intelligently and think clearly is the greatest handicap of the educational problem.

The reason for this is that the public schools are without an adequate number of teachers, without teachers thoroughly and sufficiently trained, without teachers decently paid, with limited terms and even in the best cities with double sessions for elementary children; which means that these children go to school half the time that the schedule indicates. Nine-tenths of the stuff that has been published concerning Negro ability to learn and accomplishment in science and literature is simply reiterating the fact that our elementary schools are failing miserably in their work, and that therefore the pupils who go up for higher training cannot read, write and reason.

For several years I tried to make the basic attack upon this position by organizing the Negro Land-Grant Colleges into a cooperative agency for studying the facts concerning Negroes, each in his own state. If and when this is carried through, these colleges will be able to present an accumulated mass of

testimony concerning conditions in th public schools, conditions in housing, health and other matters of public concern. No other organization in the world has the opportunity to do this splendid, continuous piece of social study. Atlanta University foolishly let the opportunity to lead this movement, go. By my efforts it is nowin the hands of Howard University and I trust that that great institution will lead these growing and developing state institutions into a cooperative study of social conditions, particularly in education, which will be the first step toward reform.

36-6-58

July 24, 1945

WINDS OF TIME
By
W. E. B. DuBois

The work of Lester Walton as American Minister to Liberia has not been appreciated because most of us misunderstood the Liberian situation.

In the first place, there is the assumption that a caste of American Negroes consisting of a few thousand families are ruling the natives without reference to native needs. As a matter of fact there is no caste of "American Negroes" in Liberia. The descendants of perhaps 5,000 Negroes from America who have settled in Liberia are today completely swamped by native blood, and are today in nearly every case more native African than American. The President is a full-blooded native, the last Vice-President was a full-blooded native, and there isn't a single family in Liberia that is not overwhelmingly of native descent.

The people of Liberia, however, can be divided into the mass who still live under tribal conditions, and those who by education and contact are living under modern conditions. The relationship between the comparatively small group of the latter and the tribes has in the past followed similar relationships between white rulers and colored natives in African colonies. To some extent it had to follow that pattern because the tribal government could not meet on terms of modern political equality with European peoples.

On the other hand, if the small governing class of Liberians, or of any other African or Asiatic colony, try to govern the masses primarily for the good of the masses, they find certain great difficulties. The first is the difficulty of the elite making a living according to modern standards. Their standard of living must be raised above the tribal standards. They have to maintain an expensive government. They have to finance a system of education. They have to live, dress and eat like modern men.

We have no idea here in America how difficult that is in Africa. It poses,

of course, the temptation for successful rulers to achieve their standard of living at the expense of the masses. But this does not mean that all of them do this. Liberia has been noted for the unselfish men like Johnson, Roberts and Arthur Barclay who have worked for the masses of the people and made great personal sacrifices.

The greatest objective which they have tried to achieve is making a living through exports and imports. They tried raising sugar successfully until tariff legislation in the United States drove them out of the business. They tried raising fibers like piassava until monopoly freight rates ruined their markets. They still raise coffee and palm oil but in competition with countries that have better machinery and methods, and therefore their products get better prices.

36-6-141

The last effort of the Liberians has been in the raising of rubber, begun by the English, carried on by the Liberians and then taken over by the Americans under Firestone. It is a successful experiment but the danger is that with economic success Firestone insists more and more on political power.

Against this, Lester Walton with his great influence as American Minister has stood like a rock and with success. Now, however, comes another danger. The United States Navy has moved in, is going to build a great harbor and is going to use Liberia as an air base for international traffic. This means that not only the American rubber industry but also the American Government are going to infringe upon the real political independence of Liberia. It is significant that at just this time Mr. Walton is being withdrawn. This is a calamity if he is followed by a colored man who does not thoroughly understand the situation and who assumes that Liberians are simply selfish exploiters. Then industry and the Navy will have their way unhindered. If Walton is succeeded by a white man who is sympathetic with American aspirations, the case will be worse. Our only hope lies in the appointment of an American Negro who either knows Liberia or has the will, carefully and sympathetically, to study her extremely difficult situation.

4 December 1945

WINDS OF TIME
by
W. E. B. Du Bois

At the Pan African Congress a delegate said yesterday that the mosquito saved West Africa; it kept whites from seizing the lands; a monument should be erected to the mosquito.

In East Africa, on the contrary, and particularly in Kenya, the highlands made white settlement possible, and the English, especially the great aristocratic families seized huge slices of land. Lord Delamere got two hundred thousand acres at one penny per acre; the Cavendish family, the Scotts and others took similar slices, driving the natives to the desert and vesting ownership even of that land in the Crown.

The representative of Ethiopia was bitter in his demand for the restoration of Somaliland and Eritrea to Ethiopia, and of ports to the sea; he declared that the British were today seizing and holding the best grain lands. They had loaned Ethiopia eight million dollars and then paid half of it back in salaries to English officials driven out of Burma and the East.

It was urged that Great Britain fears the development of a free and independent Ethiopia and that UNRRA is offering no help to the first victim of Italian fascism.

A fraternal delegate told an extraordinary tale about Cyprus. Cyprus is Greek and has been a British Colony for seven years, but if a Cypriot flies a Greek flag today, he is put in jail.

Unions and political parties are illegal and during the war the people have lived on grass; ordinarily, the workers get meat once a year. Wages before the war were 2/- per day for skilled workers, while imported

British labor got one pound per day. Unions have been organized underground, and the Colonial Office appealed to daily. Meantime, the Cypriots sent help both to Spain and China.

A delegate to the Congress from India spoke yesterday and represented not the intelligentsia, but the ordinary Indian worker. This man was a seaman and had worked with Negroes more often than with any other nationality. He brought the sympathy of India to Africa.

1946

The Case of the Pan African Congress

Twenty-eight years ago last November, the first World War ended. The directors of the N.A.A.C.P. asked me immediately to go to France to try to get information and documents on the treatment of colored soldiers abroad. We were in receipt of many complaints from them and others.

I had already in mind a visit to France in order that I might do something concerning the future of Africa before the coming peace conference. I had sent to President Wilson the memorandum suggesting that the German colonies be made an independent region under the general supervision of the allied countries giving the natives the right to self-control with the help of missionaries and philanthropists. I wanted to call a Pan African congress in Paris. With these two plans, I asked for passage on the Creel boat which was to take newspaper correspondents to Paris. There had been a good deal of hesistation as to whether American correspondents would be allowed to go but finally the vessel Orizaba was allowed to take correspondents under the general supervision of Mr. Creel, who was in charge of government information services.

I received my passport, but when I presented myself at the boat there was some consternation because those in charge thought I was too radical to make a trip of this sort, and provision had already been made for R. R. Moton of Tuskegee to go as a personal representative of President Wilson; he was to ask the Negroe soldiers to behave when they returned to America.

A Harvard classmate declined to share my cabin, but Moton did share it and we had a pleasant voyage over. When I landed in France, I found that martial law was still in control and everybody assured me that no meeting or public effort at propoganda would be allowed. I had in mind a meeting of a congress of persons from Africa and peoples interested in Africa to formulate plans for the future of the German colonies and the future of all African colonies.

The government representatives of the United States like Walter Lippman and others discouraged me. I tried to see President Wilson but only got as far as his representative Colonel House, who expressed interest but took no action. But I went directly to the most prominent Negro in France Blaise Diagne who wal a member of the French Assembly and had been special commissioner for enlisting colored troops in West Africa. He was interested and said of course we could hold a Pan African Congress; but despite all my efforts the matter lagged; I had arrived early in December; December passed and January before I got action. I remember the weather of Paris in January and February, rainy and cold. I remember the dark little Hotel de Cloitres where I stayed. Then at last, Clemenceau, Prime Minister of France, gave permission to hold the congress. He said " Don't advertise it - but go ahead" . I immediately began corresponding with various colonies in Africa and countries in Europe and America, in order to get delegates. Here I met a second rebuff. Even the British Government would not allow the white secretary of the Aborgines Protection Society to come. They and other governments refused passports to African delegates. The American Secretary of State refused to visa passports of American Negroes. So that for a while it seemed as though I was going to hold my congress without any delegates. I found, however, finally that there were considerable number of Negroes in Paris: some Negro officers of the United States A.E.F.; the Negro Consul at Lyons; several women connected with the Y.W.C.A. canteens, and various French and Belgian officials.

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A prominent French woman, Madam Calman-Levy, widow of a well-known publisher, helped me. She introduced me to two Belgians, officials, Senator LaFontaine and another; and in that way got in touch with many prominent Frenchmen.

Thus it happened finally that in February at the Grand Hotel in Paris right near the Opera, we opened the first Pan African Congress. There were fifty-seven delegates from fifteen countries including Abyssinia, Liberia,

the West Indies, Egypt, the Belgian Congo and Algeria. Diagne presided; King, afterward President of Liberia, spoke; three French deputies were there and the French chairman of Foreign Affairs; William English Walling and Charles Edward Russell spoke and Madame Siegfried, President of the French National Association for the Rights of Women. We sent a petition to the peace conference and indirectly out of that petition came the legislation for the madate commission over the former colonies in Africa. I remember the feeling of triumph when my congress actually opened. It had three or four subsequent sessions in Europe and America larger and more representative; but none that gave the satisfaction of this first effort.

38-5-36

Mailed Sept. 26

Sunshine Number

~~8 October 1947~~

WINDS OF TIME
by

W. E. B. Du Bois

Sweetness and Light

Since the Gentle Reader has scared the editor into a "Sunshine Edition", I am only too pleased to assist, so as to prove that I too am quite often swathed in grins and not the person of tears and gloom that I am too often painted. I shall choose a subject at once innocent and gay, yet familiar to all from earliest childhood: namely that rare classic, "Mary had a little lamb." I am sure none can cavil at the gentle humor and sweet reasonableness of this touching bit of literature. It is free, I firmly believe, from any suggestion of Communism.

FIRST VERSE

Mary had a little lamb.
Its fleece was white as snow.
And everywhere that Mary went,
That lamb was sure to go.

Mary, naturally, was golden-haired and blue eyed and never, never played with the Jews, Darkies and Dagoes, in the neighborhood. Also may I call your attention to the fact that the lamb too was white. There are as you doubtless know, black lambs: dirty creatures who do not bathe and whose wool has to be handled in separate fleece banks. None of these for Mary. Her lamb was daily washed by the colored maid, ~~and was "white as snow."~~ It slunk along sheepishly tethered to a chain and avoided looking at restaurants advertising stew. Mary also was gowned in white, with a blue (not red) ribbon in her hair. Neighbors cried as she passed, "Lawsie me, ain't that lil' white chile sweet!"

SECOND VERSE

It followed her to school one day,
Which was against the rule;
It made the children laugh and play
To see the lamb at school.

Now as everyone knows, school is not for laughing and playing, as rule

number 56 of the Board of Education clearly says, to the harassed and underpaid teacher, who keeps her job, teach them arithmetic, spelling and putting scratches on the blackboard. This will leave no time for laughing and playing among sixty half-fed children, most of them too dumb to know a lamb from a dog unless it was spelled out on the board. Something naturally had to be done and quick, before the principal came snooping around. "Get that mut out of here," Mary Lubinsky, the teacher, yelled, "and don't do it again!"

THIRD VERSE

And so the teacher turned it out
But still it lingered near
And waited patiently about
Til Mary did appear

Which was natural, seeing that it did not know the way home and was afraid of the dogs, trucks and men, especially with lamb chops at a dollar a pound. It loafed placidly about with one eye on the school door and the other on the rocks which the alley imps were tossing at it periodically. This naturally gave the pests in school a chance for their everlasting pastime of asking questions, in order to consume time and avoid arithmetic.

FOURTH VERSE

"What makes the lamb love Mary so?"
The eager children cry;
"Why, Mary loves the lamb, you know!"
The teacher did reply.

Which was of course just what the teacher had to say, according to rule number 102 laid down by the Board od Education; but she certainly took a lot for granted. And if the darling children had possessed any common-sense, which is also forbidden, they would have asked the lamb, not the teather; and the lamb as soon as he got the query through his thick head, would have replied in the plainest English at his command: "Love? Hell, she feeds me don't she? She gives me a place to sleep, and all the clothes I need! I get a bath everyday, which is more than you do, because there are no bathrooms in most of your flats. What's more, we're moving to a more exclusive neighborhood as soon as Mary's old man steals enough dough. I ain't got a thing to complain about. I don't care a damn whether she loves me or not as long as this keeps up, and I can't meet up

35-1-311

with a sheep or a nice goat. Believe it or not, all I have to do for board and lodging is to yell "Ba-ba!".

All of which goes to show that nobody who has enough to eat and wear ought to complain; and that this the best possible world for them; and that the world is ruled by muttonheads who were originally lambs led around by Marys. Also that the aforesaid lambs were white.

35-1-312